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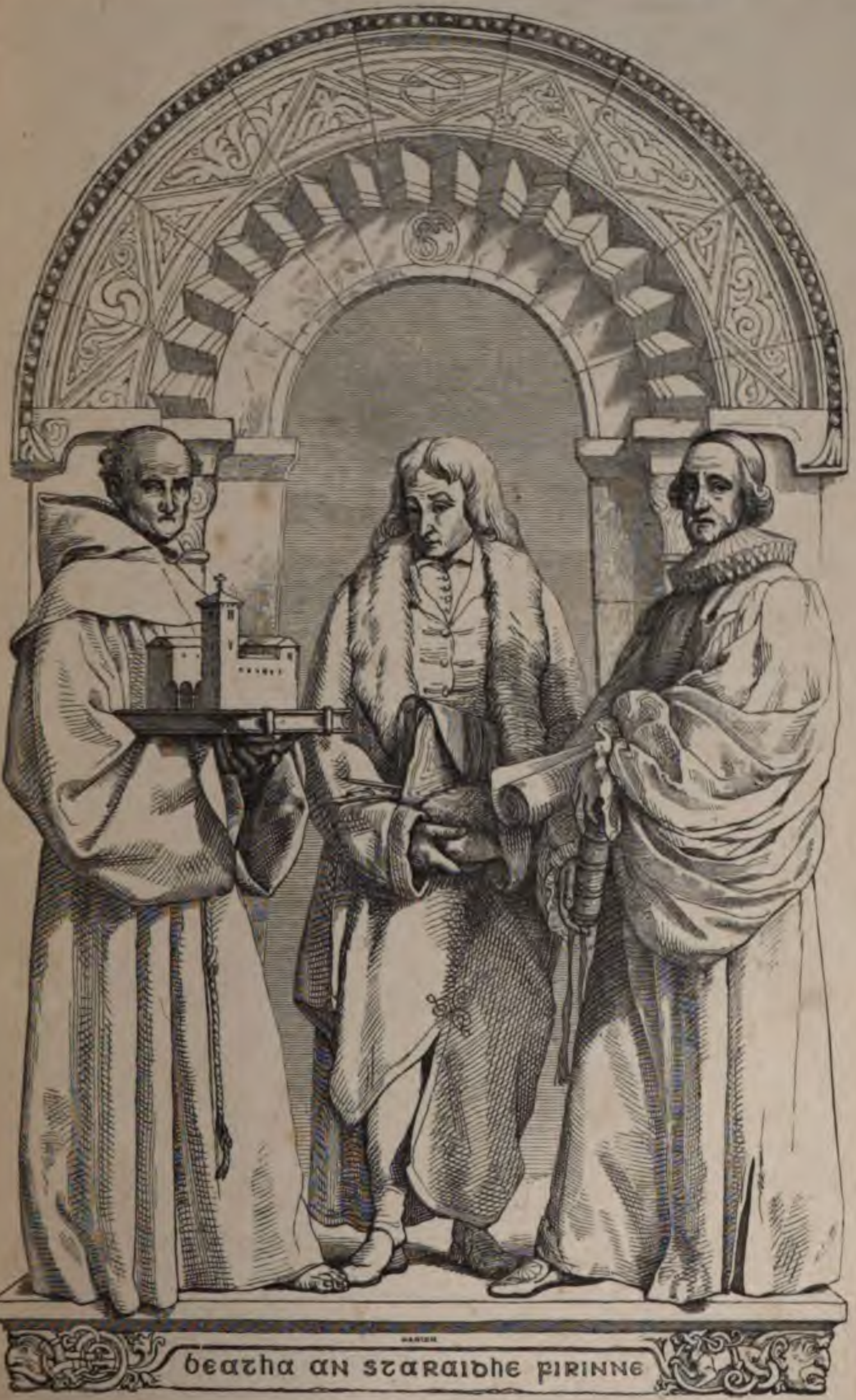

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CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS,

SEU POTIUS

HISTORICA FIDES

IN

REBUS HIBERNICIS GIRALDO CAMBRENSI ABROGATA;

IN QUO

PLERASQUE JUSTI HISTORICI DOTES DESIDERARI, PLEROSQUE NÆVOS INESSE,

OSTENDIT

GRATIANUS LUCIUS, HIBERNUS,

QUI ETIAM ALIQUOT RES MEMORABILES HIBERNICAS VETERIS ET NOVÆ MEMORIÆ PASSIM E RE NATA HUIC OPERI INSERUIT.

" Posuit mendacium spem suam, et mendacio protectus est."—*Isaiæ*, xxviii. 15.

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WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

THE REV. MATTHEW KELLY,

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH.

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The Council of the Celtic Society having intrusted me with the editorship of this volume, and its superintendence through the Press, I hereby certify that it is, in all respects, conformable to the rules of the Society.

MATTHEW KELLY,
Member of the Council.

INTRODUCTION.

Cambrensis Eversus has been generally esteemed one of the most valuable works on the history of Ireland. Viewed merely as a refutation of Giraldus de Barry, it is on some points unsuccessful; but its comprehensive plan, embracing a great variety of well-digested and accurate information on every period of Irish history, imparts to it a value entirely independent of the controversial character inscribed on its title-page. A summary of the work is found at the close of the first chapter. The Introduction must be confined to a biographical notice, including some views of the author on his own times.

John Lynch, the author, was one of those eminent men who rose with such promise about the close of Elizabeth's reign, and, within less than half a century, restored, both at home and in foreign universities, the literary honor of their country. He was contemporary of Rothe, Ussher, Fleming, Colgan, Ward, Stephen White, Wadding, and Ware,—names which nearly exhaust the catalogue of our standard authorities,—as well as of O'Flaherty, the Four Masters, Keating, and McFirbis, who are less familiar to foreign scholars, but justly prized by all who have studied those domestic records to which they applied their honest zeal and successful industry. When we consider how much was written, and what was contemplated in those times, and the cordial literary intercourse between men who were fiercely opposed in religion and politics, it would be difficult to find, in any country of equal resources, and under the same legal disadvantages, a greater love of

learning, or a greater amount of good accomplished, than in the first half of the seventeenth century. That literary period stands alone in our history, and, in its own order, it may well bear a comparison with the contemporary literature of other countries.

The personal history of Dr. Lynch is unfortunately almost unknown, or known only from the dates of his works, though he maintained epistolary correspondence with some of his learned contemporaries, and has given us some finished sketches of the political events and characters of his time. Unlike his famous antagonist, who compiled, in his fiftieth year, an elaborate and highly eulogistic autobiography, he alludes but three times to himself in the Cambrensis Eversus. It was only in the evening of his days, broken down by age, the sorrows of exile, and the ruin of his country, that a pressing invitation to return to Ireland drew from him a touching letter, which, with some meagre notes collected from other sources, are the only materials for a sketch of his life.

He was born in Galway, and descended from a family whose fame is written in all the monuments of that ancient town. The Lynches claimed descent from Hugh de Lacy, one of the most successful of the first race of Anglo-Norman invaders. With the exception, perhaps, of the Whites,—an exception admitted by Dr. Lynch himself,—no family gave a greater number of distinguished ecclesiastics to the Irish Church.

There is no direct authority to fix the precise year of his birth; but, from some incidental sources, we may infer safely that he was born before the year 1600. He arrived in France a little after the completion of his seventeenth year, and was engaged in the study of humanity at Dieppe in 1618. He was near sixty years of age when composing the Cambrensis Eversus, which, though not published until 1662, must, from intrinsic evidence, have been composed before the Restoration in 1660. From these dates, and collateral evidence, it appears he was born before 1600,—probably in 1599.

He was educated by the Jesuits, and, with that fidelity which has generally characterized their scholars, he omits no opportunity of defending them, especially for the part taken by them in the affairs of the Confederate Catholics, 1642. While persecution was at its height, the Jesuits lived in the houses of the Catholic nobles; but as soon as it began to relax, they rented houses in several towns, Galway among others, where Dr. Lynch received the first rudiments of learning. Galway was, at that period, and for many years, the second town in Ireland, and, in some points, the rival of Dublin. So early as 1608, Alexander Lynch, who is traditionally said to have been father of our author, had no less than 1200 scholars from all parts of Ireland, even from the other towns, and the Pale. In 1615 the school was suppressed by Ussher, who has given a high character of the master; but the suppression was only temporary; for it is probable that, notwithstanding the enactment of a penal Statute in 1634, Galway was never without a Catholic school down to the capture of the town by Cromwell's forces. It appears, from Dr. Lynch's works, that Nicholas Skerrett, Archbishop of Tuam, and other dignitaries, had taught school there in the worst times; thus combining, like many of their colleagues, whenever it was practicable, the two professions of schoolmaster and priest.

I have not been able to ascertain from any of his writings how many years our author remained in France, or in what colleges he graduated; but he was probably ordained priest about the year 1622, for he had labored thirty years on the Irish mission before 1652. He had celebrated mass "in secret places and private houses" before the opening of the Catholic churches in 1642. Like many of his predecessors in Galway, he taught school, and acquired a great reputation for classical learning.

Though Dr. Lynch felt acutely the restriction on the public exercise of his worship during nearly twenty years, and expresses, in glowing language, his emotions on first celebrating mass in the churches during the ten years from 1642 to 1652, he never speaks

of the war of 1641, but as "that ill omened, miserable, fatal war." It will be seen that he took no public part in political affairs. Archdeacon of Tuam, he lived secluded from the turmoil of civil strife, in the old castle of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, last King of Ireland. On principle, he was opposed to the active interference of the clergy in the critical politics of his time. He even maintained that such interference had been always, in every country, productive of evil; an opinion more in accordance with his own quiet temper and studious habits than with the history of Christian states. But, whatever were his motives, he does not appear as a public character in any of the voluminous contemporary documents on the wars and deliberations of the Irish Catholics from 1641 to 1652.

Yet he held decided opinions on the political questions which distracted the councils and paralysed the strength of the Irish Catholics, and at last made them the helpless victims of the English regicides. Born in the loyal town of Galway, grand-nephew to one of those priests, who, in Galway, as elsewhere, preached political submission to Elizabeth, while his countrymen were in the field against her,—he could not approve the rising of the Ulster Irish, nor the pretensions of any party irreconcilable with loyalty to the King of England. His own brief experience had taught him to hope for the gradual and peaceful triumph of justice over the privileges of creed and race. From the close of the reign of James I., persecution on the score of religion had relaxed; the Catholic religion had been embraced by the sons of some of the most distinguished families planted under Elizabeth; the old Anglo-Irish families — the Butlers, the Burkes, Nugents, and Fitzgeralds — still died in that religion, though the heads of those families sometimes temporized during life; the strong arm of Wentworth had compressed all the jarring elements of Irish society into something like unity, and consequently mutual toleration; the animosities of Anglo-Irish and mere Irish clergy were dying away; a "Peaceful Association[a]" combined their energies for the common

[a] Founded in 1620 by David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory.—*Messingham*, p. 87.

good; and the prejudices of some of the most intolerant of the ascendant party were gradually yielding before the softening influence of common literary tastes. Everything promised the speedy adjustment of conflicting pretensions. That fond dream,—the union of Irishmen on grounds of perfect equality in every respect, religious and political, for the national good,—should soon become a reality. These were the views of Dr. Lynch, the hopes which, he believed, were blasted by the rashness of the Ulster Irish, the rapacity of Irish land speculators, and the complications of English politics, all which precipitated the catastrophe of 1641.

The Catholic Confederation of 1642, he maintained, was defensible as the only means of self-defence against the open enmity of the Lords Justices, Borlase and Parsons, the deep laid schemes of a hoary adept in confiscation[b], and the fanaticism of the extreme English party, which maintained, even prior to the Confederation, that the extirpation of Catholics was indispensable for the "settlement" of Ireland. Of course, Dr. Lynch defends the cessation of 1643, the peace of 1646 and 1648, condemns the Nuncio, approves the general policy of Ormonde, on the ground that these measures were indispensable for loyalty to the English Crown, and for the safety of the Irish Catholics. He even praises the Catholic Earl of Clanrickarde, for having never joined the Confederation. In general, his opinions agree with those of David Rothe, who, it was commonly believed, had drawn up the plan of the supreme council of the Confederates.

On the surrender of Galway in 1652, Dr. Lynch fled to France, one of those fugitives whom he describes so feelingly in this work, as scattered to the four winds of heaven by the English Puritans. The particulars of his life in exile are unknown. But as some of his works were printed at St. Malo's, we may infer that he had taken refuge on the borders of Brittany, where the States allotted public support to the Irish exiles. His kinsman, Andrew Lynch, Bishop of Kilfenora, resided at St. Malo's, and was visited there in 1661

[b] Note [h], p. 103, *infrà*.

by Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, and uncle of Dr. Lynch. Some of these clerical exiles were engaged in professional duties, but our author's time must have been devoted to his books.

His translation of Keating into elegant Latin, I think, was his first production, and composed in Ireland. The preface gives a just estimate of Keating's work for industry and honesty, refutes the objections urged against its publication, and demands for its manifest deficiencies that indulgence from Irishmen, which all nations have extended to those who had first endeavoured to compile a national history. The style of Dr. Lynch's preface, though fair, is deficient in that ease which characterizes a large portion of his subsequent writings. The translation is free, sometimes paraphrastic, but always faithful.

In 1662, his great work, "Cambrensis Eversus," was published under the name of "Gratianus Lucius." His motives in composing it may be learned from the first chapter. Though they may appear now not to differ from those which suggest an ordinary literary project, it is certain that the want of some work of the kind had long been felt as a national calamity. From the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, the national antipathy of England to everything Irish was roused into aggressive acerbity, and soon found an exponent in the literature of the day. The publication of Giraldus Cambrensis imparted fresh vigor to this spirit, for, whatever Camden or Ussher might prove to the contrary, he was the popular oracle, especially with the small minority of new settlers in Ireland who profited by slander. To meet that fell temper which at last demanded, by the potent voice of Milton, nothing less than the extirpation of the Irish, the Catholic prelates[c], in their first breathing moment, resolved to publish, at the public expense, a defence of the history of Ireland. The resolution was not carried into effect, and it devolved on our author, alone and in exile, to execute the task. How he has acquitted himself the reader may judge from the present volume, though it is far less

[c] See p. 95, note [c], *infrà*.

interesting than the remaining chapters of the work. Throughout the whole work, he proves himself superior to the fatal animosities and prejudices which had so long divided the two great branches of the Irish family. Taught, perhaps, by bitter experience, and beholding the Irish, old and new, involved in indiscriminate ruin, pining at home under the soldiers of Cromwell, or begging their bread abroad from foreigners, who must have despised them for their frantic discords, he holds the balance even between both races. He does fair justice to the old Irish, and even appears to bear heavily on his own Anglo-Irish family, by copying the political tracts of Sir John Davis, which, however valuable in general, have all the characteristic faults of government reports, ordered for special objects. He saw clearly enough that a new era was opening on his country, when landlords were to become tenants, and masters slaves, and victorious Puritan soldiers were to become the fathers of a new aristocracy, not less ferocious than Strongbownians in the field, and more unscrupulous in extorting the fruits of their victory.

However our author may have hoped to have buried the old domestic feuds, it was his lot to be involved in them very speedily. For, while he was putting the last hand to his work, and perhaps congratulating himself on that learned chapter, in which he proves, by such an imposing array of precedents, drawn from the history of every country in Europe, that the Anglo-Irish are really Irish, and ought to be called so, a work was presented to the Propaganda, in 1659, by one of the old Irish race. It was an elaborate impeachment of the whole Anglo-Irish family, a kind of supplement to the Remonstrance of Domhnall O'Neill, in the fourteenth century, but urging accusations far more momentous. There could be no peace, it declared, until the Anglo-Irish had been corrected or expelled. They had supported heresy under Elizabeth, and by their half-measures in the late war had ruined Ireland. Dr. Lynch stood forward as the apologist of his race. In an exceedingly rare and valuable book, he reviews Anglo-Irish history, in-

dignantly rejects the name of *Anglo*-Irishman, extols the superiority of his race; their greater wealth, power, and civilization; their stately cities and fertile lowlands; their fidelity to their faith, which so many of them had defended by their writings, or sealed by their blood; and, what accords badly with modern flimsy theories, their numerical superiority. It must be admitted that the ardor of controversy hurries him into some statements which his cooler judgment rejects in the "Cambrensis Eversus;" but, as a history of the Anglo-Irish race, especially of their anomalous position under Elizabeth, the Alithonologia has no rival. It is in that work that he gives his opinion on the history of the Irish Catholics, and sketches of most of their leading men, from 1641 to 1652. His loyalty, of course, is of true Anglo-Irish burgher stamp, but never descends to that erastian compliance which secularized the Church without serving the country in Catholic times, and which, in his own day, for a gleam of royal favor, was but too ready to sell ecclesiastical rights. In point of style, the work combines, with the good qualities of Cambrensis Eversus, the vigor and fire of animated controversy; while, in moderation, it presents a favorable contrast with most of the politico-religious literature of the age on both sides of the Irish sea.

In the year 1664 our author addressed a brief and learned letter to Boileau, historian of the University of Paris, who, by an error not uncommon at the time, had confounded the Scoti and Scotia of the ancients with modern Scotland. How, he asks, would Frenchmen feel if the colonies of Guadaloupe, Madagascar, or Martinique, were to claim as their own the ancient glories of France. Yet you have been guilty of a similar injustice, by depriving Ireland of her scholars, who first taught in the University of Paris and the Court of Charlemagne. Boileau retracted, in a polite letter highly complimentary to the learning of his correspondent.

In 1667, Dr. Lynch published a Supplement to his Alithonologia. It has all the defects so generally found in continuations,

and most of the excellencies of the author's other productions. His antagonist had been ordered to quit Rome, and his work was disowned by the superior of the religious order to which he had associated himself in Italy. The contest had thus lost much of its interest. But Dr. Lynch gives full scope to his discursive humor, ranging over every period of Irish history, and indulging in his usual exuberance of classical allusion and illustration. It is painful to find him at times bearing so heavily on the memory of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill; but it must be remembered that stories of the ferocity of the old Irish were probably nursery rhymes in Galway when Dr. Lynch was a child. The most significant, and indeed unpardonable trait of partisanship is, that, while he condemns the Ulster Irish, he appears altogether to forget the spoliations which goaded that noble race to desperate measures. His adversary accused the Anglo-Irish, and with great reason, of having co-operated with the new English in the Parliament of 1613, in confiscating the nine counties of Ulster. The charge is hardly denied. That confiscation, on the principles of Dr Lynch, should have been regarded as the completion of the conquest of Ireland, commenced 400 years before by his Anglo-Irish kindred. From the days of Henry II. to the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the history of Ireland may be summed up in the words of Giraldus, "Hiberniæ regio a nostris majori ex parte nondum habita vel efficaciter occupata est."

In the same year he wrote a pathetic poem, in answer to the question, "Why do you not come home to Ireland?" It is a mirror of his feelings in exile, and peculiarly interesting, because it is the only work in which we see himself. He would not return, he says, because, broken down by age and infirmities, he would be a burden to himself and others; he could not bear to see reduced to beggary those whose opulence and public spirit had adorned his native town; he could not exchange the free altars and noble churches of France for the garret chapels and dingy hiding places in Ireland; nor behold the churches, where he had

officiated for ten years, transferred to another worship: finally, his writings had given offence to the father of some person then in power; and, though many of the nobles were inclined to protect him, the son might sacrifice him to the vengeance of the father. This dreaded personage was probably the Governor of Galway, a son of Sir Charles Coote; for Dr. Lynch denounced, in no measured terms, the sanguinary deeds of Sir Charles and of his accomplices. From the chronological notices of his own labors in the exordium of the poem, one might conclude, at first sight, that it was intended for publication (though it was only addressed to a friend); but when we remember that he studiously abstains from all allusion to himself in his published works, and published nearly all of them anonymously, we must rather regard the letter as the sincere apology of a noble-hearted and sensitive priest, for not encountering in his old age the perils of the Irish mission, on the grounds that he had labored there during thirty years of his prime, and, moreover, that he had leisure in a foreign land to devote the remainder of his days to the literature of his country.

In 1669 he published the life of his uncle, Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala[d]. In his other works we see the scholar, patriot, and historian; in this we have a zealous Irish priest, sketching, but not with too partial a hand, his own ideas of ecclesiastical virtue, exemplified in the life of a beloved relative, under whose care himself had been educated, and who, in every phase of his eventful life, in persecution as in prosperity, as a bishop and as a priest, had labored to prove himself worthy of his vocation, and to supply the manifold wants of his Church. It is one of the very few biographical memoirs extant in Irish Catholic ecclesiastical literature.

Most modern writers state, on the authority of Dr. Burke and Dr. Nicholson, that our author was Bishop of Killala. Dr. Burke

[d] "Pii Antistitis Icon, sive de vitâ et morte Rev^mi Francisci Kirovani," edited, with translation and notes, by Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin: Duffy, 1848.

certainly calls him Vicar Apostolic of Killala, a title, however, which does not imply that he was bishop, but the contrary, for, in the Catholic Church in Ireland, the vicar apostolic was only a priest. Dr. Nicholson mentions Dr. Lynch twice in the body of his work, once as a "secular priest," and again, as "Archdeacon of Tuam;" in the preface only it is asserted that he was subsequently appointed Bishop of Killala. The authority of Dr. Burke is entitled to respect. Dr. Nicholson might easily have confounded our author with other Lynches. It is certain that Dr. Lynch was not bishop or vicar apostolic in 1665, the date of O'Flaherty's letter to him on Irish chronology; nor in 1669, when the Life of Kirwan was published, the title-page styling him merely Archdeacon of Tuam. It is also certain that he died in France; so that, if he ever became vicar apostolic or bishop, it must have been in the seventieth year of his age. Now it is highly improbable that, in times so difficult, an old and infirm man, who had resolved not to return to Ireland, would be selected for the charge of a diocese; and it is more improbable that Dr. Lynch, if he accepted, would remain in France, for he had strict notions of the obligations of chief pastors to encounter all hazards in the discharge of their duty. A conclusive argument may be founded on the fact, that, when a Spanish Dominican visited Galway in 1674, to inquire into the pedigree and family of the Lynches, Dr. Lynch's name does not appear as vicar apostolic or bishop, but as the late Archdeacon of Tuam; though, were it in the power of the Lynches to adorn the catalogue of their episcopal connexions by his name, they would not have omitted it, the precise object of the inquisition being to ascertain the respectability of their family in the Catholic Church. Had he been bishop or vicar apostolic, would Peter Walsh cite him repeatedly, in the History of the Remonstrance, as Father John Lynch, and in the preface to the Prospect of Ireland, written in 1682, describe his rank as "sacerdotal," the object of the passage being to magnify *all* Dr. Lynch's claims to respect? Moreover, from Dr. Renehan's comprehensive manuscript History of the

Irish Catholic Bishops after the Reformation, it appears that John Babtist de Burgo was Vicar Apostolic of Killala at the very time during which alone Dr. Lynch could have been vicar apostolic. The usual style of an Archdeacon, "Reverendus admodum," is prefixed to Dr. Lynch's epitaph, preserved in a copy of his translation of Keating, transcribed by Father John Donnelly, O. S. D., Drogheda, 1712, and now in the possession of Mr. O'Donovan.

From the manner in which Dr. Lynch's name is introduced into the inquisition held at Galway, he was probably dead in 1674. In his poem, written seven years before, he declares that, as he was even then tottering on the verge of the grave, it would not be worth his trouble to go so far as Ireland for a little clay to cover him. From the following epitaph, composed by his friend and fellow-laborer, O'Flaherty, it would appear that he died, where his works were published, at St. Malo's:

"Occidit Armoricis pius heu! Lynchæus in oris,
Lynchæus patriæ lux, columenque suæ.
Asseruit famam, commenta refellit, Iernæ;
Eruit e tenebris gesta vetusta stylo.
Gallia habet tumulum, cunabula Galvia jactat;
Scripta vigent terris, spiritus arce poli."

He outlived nearly all his distinguished literary contemporaries, and, with a few brilliant exceptions, they have had, in their own order, no successors. Like the unfinished cathedrals of those ages to which they devoted their genius, their works remain the admiration and the reproach of posterity.

This volume is printed correctly from the original, no change being made, except in the incorporation of the addenda with the body of the work, in those places where, from inadvertence or other causes, they had been omitted in the original. It is also hoped that, in the present edition, the number of errata is at least considerably diminished. The old paging is retained in our margin, for facility of reference, as the original is so exceedingly rare.

The marginal headings of the original are collected at the head of each chapter, the topics discussed being so various, that it was deemed useful to have the substance of the chapters indicated in some compendious form.

Many of the opinions advanced in the Appendix, and some of the notes on the eighth chapter, may appear novel, but it is hoped that the errors, if any, are wrong conclusions from faithfully cited authorities. The Pagan history of Ireland is an open field for speculation, if speculation condescend to tread upon solid ground. We need not agree with the schools represented by O'Flaherty, or Ware, or Vallancey, or Pinkerton and Innes. O'Flaherty adopts as history the poetry of the bards; Ware rejects the whole pagan story as an inextricable tissue of fable; Vallancey would prove, by etymology and conjecture, that we were the Egypt of the western world; Pinkerton and Innes, with some truth, blend more prejudice and insolence. But least of all are the notes intended to countenance the vulgar assumption that Ireland owes her first fame to English connexion. Such a notion deserves but silent pity or contempt, except when prudence demands that the fool be answered according to his folly, or otherwise, as occasion may require. If the notes be in any way useful to the honest and intelligent school of living antiquarians, in eliciting the facts which may be involved in the copious records of pagan story, and arranging Irish epochs in harmony with the known contemporary revolutions in Britain and on the Continent, they have obtained their end. The whole work, amounting to 382 pages, was translated before November, 1847, when many sheets of the present volume had not been printed. Some of the notes were planned to economize space in the subsequent volumes; others, especially at page 235, were indispensable. From Chapter IX. our author must speak for himself. All those who have toiled at our history know the spirit in which, at the close of his Preface to Keating, he quoted St. Jerome, "carpere et detrahere vel imperiti possunt, doctorum est, et qui laborantium novere sudorem, vel lassis manum porrigere, vel errantibus iter ostendere."

The copy of the Alithonologia, and its Supplement, cited in this work, were transcribed for the Editor, under the direction of the Rev. J. Postlewhite, S. J., Stonyhurst. Stephen White's Apologia against Giraldus, which will be very useful on several points, was transcribed from a copy in the Bibliothéque de Bourgogne, Brussels, and forwarded to the Editor by the Rev. J. Tinnebroek, S. J., Louvain. No sheet of this volume has passed through the press without the revision of J. O'Donovan, Esq., in those details on which his unrivalled knowledge of Irish topography, and familiar acquaintance with Irish MSS., could alone secure accuracy; but he is not in any way accountable for the editorial speculations. Mr. Hardiman, the guardian of Dr. Lynch's fame, has kindly given, through George Smith, Esq., the use of his copy of Cambrensis Eversus. To William Elliot Hudson the obligations of our Society are so great, that if this volume is not inscribed to him, it is solely because the Editor's earnest request could not induce him to suspend a rule made by the Society, that its publications should have no patron but the Public. It is but justice to say, that if our edition of Cambrensis Eversus has not shared the fate of a fragment of it, dedicated fifty-three years ago, by T. O'Flanagan, to Henry Grattan, we may thank the generous and untiring zeal of Mr. Hudson alone; for when a calamity, unprecedented in the annals of the world, had concentrated on more pressing objects the attention of those to whom the Society has a right to look for support, he was true to the motto of Dr. Lynch, "Semper fidelis," giving to the Editor encouragement and literary aid, and to the Society that substantial support which preserved its existence, and which asks no reward but the co-operation of our Members to complete the good work.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
2nd February, 1849.

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.

EPISTOLA DEDICATORIA.

AUGUSTISSIMO CLEMENTISSIMOQUE PRINCIPI

CAROLO II.

DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REGI.

[i.] PATRIÆ studium (serenissime Rex) adeo altè pectori meo semper insedit, ut, licèt ab ejus aspectu meos oculos vis hostilis avulserit, in conditione tamen ejus contemplandâ cogitationes meas assiduè defixerim; quas ad gentis meæ famam invidorum dentibus miserè discerptam, integritati pristinæ vendicandam transtuli: demississimè Majestatem tuam implorans, ut eorum nomen hoc opere pro meis viribus propugnatum patrocinio tuearis, quorum vitæ, libertatis, et fortunarum te Deus vindicem, assertorem, et Dominum instituit. Ut autem non magis me civem Patriæ studiosum, quàm subditum Majestati vestræ obsequiosum præstarem; quam potui orationis operam ad supremam Hiberniæ potestatem tibi firmandam contuli[1]. Pro quâ tibi conservandâ, mei cives nuper armis dimicantes maximam vim æris et sanguinis profuderunt. Quippe præsidii opem suo Regi ferre non dubitârunt, apud quorum majores alieni reges perfugium nacti sunt[2]. Quorumcumque autem damnorum memoria non tanto illorum pectora mærore perfodit, quantâ voluptate vester ad pristinæ dignitatis fastigium regressus perfudit. Ita ut Psalmistæ accinant: "Secundum multitudinem dolorum

[1] Infrà, c. 27. [2] Infrà, p. 128; Malmesbur. de Gest. Pont. l. 3, p. 262. [See Hoveden.]

[a] In patriâ scriptis mea tota industria nitat
Ornandâ, hic meus est noctè diesque labor.
Fors optanda Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.
Quæ non sunt operâ prætereunda levi
Verum pro patriâ sunt impendenda labori

TO HIS MOST AUGUST AND GRACIOUS MAJESTY

CHARLES II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND.

MOST gracious Sovereign, the love of my country has been always implanted so deeply in my breast, that, though hostile violence had torn me from her sight, my thoughts were ever absorbed in contemplating her condition. I have now devoted myself to vindicate and restore to its ancient splendour the character of my nation[a], which has been lacerated so miserably by the fangs of the envious; and I most humbly implore your Majesty to protect by your patronage, this, the best defence that I can offer, of the character of those, of whose lives, liberties, and fortunes God has appointed you the protector, the defender, and the lord. A most loyal subject of your Majesty, as well as an ardent lover of my country, I have exerted to the utmost my powers of language, to confirm your title to the kingdom of Ireland, in defence of which my countrymen lately rose in arms for you, and lavishly sacrificed their treasures and their blood. For how could they hesitate to fly to the defence of their own Sovereign, when their ancestors gave an asylum to foreign kings? But the remembrance of all their calamities, however poignantly it pierced their hearts, has not been so vivid as their delight on the restoration of your Majesty to your hereditary dignity. They may exclaim with the Psalmist: "According to the

Quæ licet absenti semper amata mihi est —pp. 92, 93.

Poem by the author in answer to the question, "Cur in patriam non redis?" published by Hardiman.—*Miscellany, Irish Arch. Soc.* vol. i. p. 92.

meorum in corde meo: consolationes tuæ lætificaverunt animam meam[3]." Aspiciunt enim, imò suspiciunt quòd

"Non armatum agmen pro te sed militet æther."

Et succlamant O! vera "mutatio dexteræ excelsi" mehercle "digitus Dei est hic[4]." "Exhonoravit Dominus conventus malorum et destruxit eos usque in finem: sedes ducum superborum destruit Deus, et sedere facit mites pro eis[5]." Utpote ultor exurgens Deus, in virgâ ferreâ |
[ii.] tanquam vas figuli confregit eos, qui adstiterunt adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus, cupientes projicere a se jugum ipsius[6]. Deus enim manibus hostium, arma, et cordibus ferociam excussit, ac perfecit ut, cui vitam et imperium eripere totis viribus paulò antè contenderunt, eidem vitæ necisque suæ potestatem contulerint; et quem dudum pro diro hoste habuerunt, in Regem sibi postliminio adsciverint, ut, non inaniter, quispiam præsagire potuerit quòd

"Via prima salutis,
Quod minimè reris, vestro pandetur ab hoste:"

Ac ipse cum Zachariâ dicere valeas; "Salutem ex inimicis nostris, et de manu omnium qui oderunt nos[7]."

Quare jam asserimus quòd "redeant Saturnia regna:" quia hostes non ita pridem infestissimi, subditi et rebelles, prioribus dissidiis positis, societateque jam initâ, in mutuos amplexus ruunt: non secus ac "pardus et hædus requiescunt simul, et bos et leo comedunt paleas[8]." "Nequaquam ut bos discat feritatem, sed leo doceatur mansuetudinem[9]." Qui facit "sugere mel de petrâ, et oleum de saxo durissimo[10]," ac "potest de lapidibus suscitare filios Abrahæ[11]," belluinas hostium mentes cicuravit, et ferrea corda emollivit: nimirum ut gloriosior ad te de servatis civibus, quàm de cæsis hostibus victoria perveniret, et cumulatior esset omnium de pace lætitia, quam editæ hominum strages non funestârunt, sed concordes animi, et ad obsequium tibi sine bello victoriam et sine cæde triumphum consecuto deferendum anhelantes conciliârunt. Lætitiâ exiluimus quòd, in scelerum condonatione, filii prodigi patrem imitatus fueris[12], qui filium suum gravissimè delinquentem, sed ad bonam frugem se postea recipientem, non solùm veniâ prosecutus est, sed summo

[3] Ps. xciii. 19. [4] Exod. viii. 19. [5] Ecclesias. x. 17. [6] Ps. ii. [7] Cant. Zac. [8] Isaiah, xi. 6. [9] S Hieron. ad Eustoc. [10] Deut. xxxii. 13. [11] Luc. iii. 8. [12] Luc. xv.

multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy comforts have given joy to my soul." For they see, nay, they behold with awe,

"Not armed hosts, but God defending thee."

They exclaim, O! truly, "this is the change of the right hand of the Most High," certainly "this is the finger of God." "The Lord hath disgraced the assemblies of the wicked, and hath utterly destroyed them. God hath overturned the thrones of proud princes, and hath set up the meek in their stead." He has arisen as an avenger, and with a rod of iron broken in pieces, as a potter's vessel, those who stood up against the Lord and his anointed, and desired to cast away their yoke. He has struck the arms from the hands and fury from the hearts of the enemies, and made them surrender the power of life and death over themselves into the hands of him, whom, but a short time before, they strained all their power to deprive of his crown and his life; him whom they regarded as their most deadly enemy, they afterwards selected as their King, thus realizing in a manner the prediction,

"The dawnings of thy safety shall be shewn
From whence thou least shalt hope, a Grecian town[b],"

and enabling you to exclaim, with Zachary, "Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us."

Well may we say "the reign of Saturn is restored," since subjects and rebels, who had lately been most inveterate enemies, renounce their hostility, and embrace each other in the bonds of amity; like "the leopard and the kid, they lie down together, and the lion eats straw like the ox;" not that the ox should learn fierceness, but that the lion may be taught gentleness. "He who maketh honey to be sucked out of the rock, and oil out of the hardest stone," and can raise up from stones children to Abraham, hath tamed the ferocious tempers of the enemy, and softened their iron hearts; thereby granting to you, in the preservation of your subjects, a more glorious victory than in the slaughter of your enemies, and increasing, to the highest degree, the universal joy for this peace, which has been established, not by the dismal havoc of the battle field, but by the unanimous and cordial assent of your subjects, casting themselves before your throne, and giving you a victory without a battle, and a triumph without blood. We have most heartily

[b] "Graiâ pandetur ab urbe."—*Æneid.* vi.

etiam gaudio excepit; et quòd, ob contumacium pœnitentiam exultando, angelos æmulatus fueris apud quos "gaudium magnum erit in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente, quàm super nonaginta novem justos[13]." Et ipsis quidem Poëtis authoribus "danda est venia lapsis." Imò

"Regia, crede mihi, res est succurrere lapsis."

Itaque felicitati tuæ acceptum referimus, quòd bellorum tempestates citra pulverem et sanguinem sedatæ sint; clementiæ, quòd pacis malaciâ subditi afflentur diuque afflabuntur. Etenim te Regni tui gubernacula moderante, "mansueti hæreditabunt terram et delectabantur in multitudine pacis[14]." Sed poëta non poëticè dixit; "miscentur tristia lætis." Cæteris enim tuis regnis gaudio elatis, sola Hibernia in luctu et mœrore versatur, crebrò ingemens et ingeminans: hâc "in pace amaritudo amarissima[15]," reliquis enim sospitatem nactis, malorum cumulis ab illâ pace immissis adhuc opprimor. Et sicut Penelope,
[iii.] ducibus Græcis post eversam Trojam incolumibus, | unum Ulissem virum suum desiderans conquesta cecinit:

"Diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant:"

Sic illa similem ærumnam passa flens ait:

"Mortuus est aliis Cromwellus, sed mihi vivit."

Hiberni quoque patriæ adgementes dicunt: "expectavimus pacem, et non est bonum, tempus curationis, et ecce turbatio[16]." "Sæviora" enim "armis jura, togataque prælia[17]," nos prosternunt, et qui ægrè hostium telis erepti sumus, eorundem sententiis nunc perdimur. Libertate verâ cives eos tantùm frui Aristoteles testatur[18], quibus ad magistratum in suâ civitate aditus patet, si dotibus administrationi idoneis instructi sint. Ejusmodi tamen libertatis jacturam nos modò non querimur: Non lugemus, ut Varus Siriæ Præses Siriam, sic plures Hi-

[13] Luc. xv. 10. [14] Ps. xxxvi. 11. [15] Isaiah, xxxviii. [16] Jerem. xiv. 19. [17] Flor. lib. iv. c. xii. 32; Val. Max. lib. iv. c. i. 12; lib. vii. c. 7. [18] Polit.

[e] The Bill of Indemnity, by which, with few exceptions, all injuries and offences in England against the Crown or individuals, arising from political quarrels, since the 1st of June, 1637, were forgiven, A. D. 1660. *Lingard*, Charles II. c. 4. It was so framed as to exclude all Irish Catholics who plotted or aided what was called the Irish rebellion, and had nearly excluded the Royalist Protestants.—*Carte*, p. 205.

rejoiced that in your indulgence towards the guilty you have imitated the father of the prodigal son, who not only pardoned his once abandoned, but now penitent child, but received him with transports of joy; and that, in your exultation for the repentance of the rebels[c], you have imitated the angels, "with whom there is joy in heaven for one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just." The poets themselves "claim pardon for the erring." Nay,

"To help the fallen well becomes a King."

To your good fortune we owe the suppression of the tempests of war, without campaigns or battle-fields; and your clemency has secured for your subjects the enjoyment and lasting possession of the gentle zephyrs of peace. For while the helm of state is in your hand, "the meek shall inherit the land, and shall delight in abundance of peace." But, alas! the words of the poet, "sorrow is mingled with joy," are not mere poetry; for while your other kingdoms are delirious with joy, Ireland alone grieves and mourns, groaning deeply, and ever reiterating her plaint, "Lo, in this peace is my bitterness most bitter;" others enjoy security, but I am still oppressed with a load of calamities, brought on by that peace. As Penelope, when she missed her husband, Ulysses, alone, among the Grecian leaders who had returned safe from Troy, poured forth her grief:

"O Troy, o'erthrown for all, save me alone."

So, in a similar calamity, Ireland may say, with tears:

"Cromwell, though dead for others, survives for me."

Her children also join in the mournful cry of their country, "We have looked for peace, and there is no good; and for the time of healing, and behold trouble." For laws and civil contentions, more savage than the sword, grind us to the dust; and, after narrowly escaping the steel of our enemies, we are now the victims of their enactments[d]. No citizen, according to Aristotle, enjoys true liberty who is not eligible to civil power in his native land, if he be qualified for office. The loss of that liberty is not, however, now our complaint. We do not complain, that as Varus, President of Syria, entered Syria, so many pau-

[d] "The Catholics of Ireland are excluded from all commerce, which the very Turks do grant to their Christians."—*Unkind Deserter*, c. 18, p. 186.

berniæ Præfectos divitem Hiberniam pauperes ingressos, eandem egredientes pauperem reliquisse; aut instar lienis, quo crescente, reliqui artus contabescunt, nostratium fortunas sic exhausisse, ut opum apud eos fontes exaruerint, contra Bionis consilium monentis oportere bonum virum a magistratu discedentem non ditiorem sed clariorem evasisse. Omittimus in "Plantatione" inimicos Antiochum egisse, ac eam nobis perniciem struxisse[19] quam ille Judæis molitus est, copiarum suarum duci præcipiens, "ut constitueret habitatores filios alienigenas in omnibus finibus eorum, et sorte distribueret terram eorum[20]." Non expostulamus cum Tobiâ quòd "traditi sumus in direptionem et captivitatem et in mortem et in fabulam et in improperium omnibus nationibus[21]." Veterem S. Hieronymi querimoniam silemus, quòd "capti fuerint Episcopi, interfecti sacerdotes, subversæ ecclesiæ, ad altaria Christi stabulati equi, ubique fuerit luctus, ubique gemitus, et plurima mortis imago[22]."

Ad ista dudum occalluimus, et sicut clavus clavum trudit, sic recentia vulnera acceptarum antea cicatricum memoriam abigunt. Certè, ut vulgò dicitur, "quod præteriit levius est," et transactæ miseriæ minùs animum et oculos quàm præsentes feriunt, quæ graviùs multò quàm præteritæ sentiuntur, et ægriùs feruntur. Illarum delinatione quâdam rudiori ac leviùs adumbratâ liber iste temperatur[23]: de his questus vestræ Majestatis auribus in præsentiâ effundimus. Sentiendi enim facultas in nobis adeo sopita non est, ut ærumnis ob oculos positis non tangamur, qui jam elapsis commoti fuimus. Hâc autem audentiâ in spem erigimur, fore ut eam audientiam et miserationem a te una Natio tibi volens libensque subjecta impetret, quam mulierculis Philippus Macedoniæ Rex[24] et Romanus Imperator Adrianus, viduæ Trajanus[25] præstitisse dicuntur. Neque enim humanitate Imperatori Rodulpho cedis, a cujus accessu cùm aulici tenuiores homines arcerent, [iv.] | eos increpans, sinite, ait, homines ad me venire neque ideo Imperator sum ut arculâ includar. Eorum autem, quæ indignius ferimus, caput

[19] Stob. Serm. 43; infrà, p. 252. [20] I. Machab. iii. 36. [21] Tob. iii. 4. [22] Ad Heliod. [23] Infrà, pp. 256 et seq., 277 et seq., 282. [24] Plut. in Apophth. [25] Dion. in Adrian.

[e] An allusion to the distribution of the confiscated lands among the adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers. The former received ten, the latter twelve Irish counties. The Royalist Protestant officers four counties.—*Sale and Sett.*, &c., pp. 83, 100.

per governors found Ireland rich on their arrival, and left her poor at their departure; or that, like the spleen, which swells by the emaciation of the other parts of the frame, they have so exhausted the resources of my countrymen as to dry up all the springs of wealth; in contempt of the wise counsel of Bion, that a good man retiring from office ought not to have become more wealthy, but more illustrious. Neither do we complain that in the "Plantation" our enemies have acted the part of Antiochus, and have worked against us that destruction which he planned against the Jews, when he gave orders to the commander of his army to settle strangers in all their coasts, and to divide their lands by lot[e]. We do not complain, with Tobias, "that we are delivered to spoil, and to captivity and death, and are made a fable and a reproach to all nations; nor do we take up the lamentation of St. Jerome of old, "the Bishops were taken prisoners, the priests slain, the churches thrown down, horses stabled at the altar of Christ; everywhere grief, everywhere lamentation, and death in a thousand shapes."

We have long been familiar with such scenes, and, as nail drives nail, our fresh wounds efface the remembrance of our former scars." There is truth in the common saying, that "what's past is light." Past miseries strike our hearts and senses less forcibly than the present, which make a more grievous impression, and are more difficult to be borne. It is on our present woes that I now pour our complaint into your Majesty's ear, the monotony of my subject being only occasionally broken by a rough and imperfect sketch of our former calamities; for how could the sense of feeling be so dulled in us, that, while we hang with emotion over our past sorrows, we should be insensible to those which are still before our eyes? We confidently trust that, when you have heard us, you will grant to a devoted and loyal nation that attention and redress which Philip, King of Macedon, and Adrian, Emperor of Rome, are said to have granted to humble women, and Trajan to a widow. You will not be outdone in humanity by the Emperor Rodolph, who rebuked his courtiers when they prevented the poor from having access to him. "Why," said he, "should not the men have access to me? am I, an Emperor, to be shut up in a box?" Our[f]

[f] "By the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."—*Drapier's Letters.*

est, quòd ad Angliæ Comitia vel absolvendi vel damnandi sistimur. Quorum Senatores in nos judicia exercere non debent, cum ipsi ejusdem fastigii ac nos subditi sint. Jura enim statuerunt ut "par in parem non habeat imperium[26]." Leges antehac ab Angliæ Comitiis latæ[27] nullum in Hiberniâ pondus antè nactæ sunt, quàm eas Hiberniæ comitia comprobârunt. Nunquam enim post homines natos, qui sunt in Reipub. hospites et peregrini de rebus ejus in consilium adhibiti sunt. Ratio semper suasit, omnium gentium et omnis præteriti temporis consuetudo tulit, ut cives intra Reipub. fines constituti, non alienigenæ, quos oceanus ab ejus limitibus disjunxit, in negotiorum ejus deliberationem venirent. Veteri juris effato monemur "quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari debere;" ab omnibus scilicet et ejusdem non alienæ Reipub. Civitatum, quarum res agebantur, indigenas, non alienigenas Corinthum Philippus Macedo, et Alexander Magnus evocârunt[28]. Avertat autem Deus ut quod adeo a ratione, gentium usu, Principum consuetudine, majorumque tuorum authoritate alienum est, id hostes in capita fortunasque nostras moliri patiaris; aut quot Senatores in Angliâ sententiam de capitibus fortunisque nostris ferunt, tot nos tuos tantùm et non subditorum subditos quasi Regibus obnoxios esse permittas. Plato enim et Aristoteles plures in Repub. Reges esse vetant[29]; non secus ac si cum Homero dicerent:

"Rex unicus esto."

Inferioris aulæ in Angliâ Senatores, genio populi cujus personam gerebant imbuti, gravissimorum delictorum gratiam a te consecuti, nos similium criminum, (ut ipsi asserunt), affines simili condonatione afficiendos esse obnixissimè negabant; servi nimirum ejus vestigiis insistentes[30], qui omni ære alieno heri liberalitate solutus, in socii sui collum involans, nomina per vim, cruciatus, et carceres, illi extorquere

[26] L. ille a quo § tempestivum ff. ad Senat. Consul. Trebell. [27] Stat. Hib. p. 67. [28] Justin. lib. ix. c. 5. [29] Plat. in Polit. Arist. lib. iii. pol. c. 15. [30] Mat. xviii.

[g] The King's proclamation against the rebels in Ireland, June 1, 1660, grounded on the *information of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*, "that all Irish rebels, others than such as have by articles liberty to reside in these our dominions, be proceeded against as rebels and traitors according to law. And that the adventurers and soldiers, and other subjects in Ireland, who, on the first day of

most crying, most intolerable grievance, is, that we are brought before the bar of the English Parliament for condemnation or acquittal[g]; its senators cannot sit in judgment on us, as we are both subjects of the same supreme authority. It is an axiom of law "that peer has no jurisdiction over peer." The laws enacted by the Parliament of England were never binding in Ireland before they were ratified by the Parliament of Ireland. Strangers and foreigners were never, within the memory of man, commissioned to decide on national affairs. The dictate of reason, the custom of all ages and nations, have delegated the adjudication of national affairs to citizens residing in that nation, to the exclusion of foreigners from beyond the seas. It is a maxim of ancient law, "what concerns all should be approved by all," that is, by citizens, not by foreigners. Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great did not summon foreigners to Corinth, but the citizens of that State, whose interests were concerned; and may God forbid that by a procedure opposed to reason, to the law of nations, the custom of Princes, and the authority of your own ancestors, you should aid the machinations of our enemies against our fortunes and lives, and subject us, your loyal subjects, not the slaves of our fellow-subjects, to as many kings as there are English law-makers sitting on our fortunes and lives. Plato and Aristotle will not allow more Kings than one in the same State, and Homer is of the same opinion:

"No colleague for a King."

The members of the English House of Commons, representing the feelings of their constituents, after having obtained pardon from you for their most heinous crimes, most strenuously insist that the same pardon shall not be extended to us, for what they call our similar offences; like the servant in the Gospel, who obtained the forgiveness of all his debts from his kind master, and then seized his fellow-servant by the throat, having resolved to extort all his own claims by vio-

January last, were in possession of the manors, castles, &c., &c., of the said Irish rebels, shall not be disturbed, until we, by the *advice of the Lords and Commons now assembled*, or such Parliament as we shall call in England or Ireland, shall take further order," &c.—*Borlase*, p. 379; *French*, *Sale and Settlement of Ireland*, p. 80; *Carte*, p. 206. Some of the transplanted Irish returned to their properties immediately after the Restoration, and were represented to the King as rebels.

constituit. Cujus pœnam imitatores ejus promeriti tuâ miseratione impunitatem adepti sunt. Ipsi tamen omnes nervos intendunt, ut e perduellionis luto nos non emergamus, desiderio nimirum æstuantes, ut nos patriâ, fortunis, et vitâ excidamus, similitudinem in hoc Judæorum referentes importunis clamoribus exitium salvatori nostro efflagitantium, et execrandum istud "crucifige, crucifige" assiduè ingeminantium[31]. Nonne Pilatum aget qui adjudicabit fieri petitionem eorum? Aut sicut illi Jesum Judæorum, sic nos hostium voluntati tradet? Herodi probro cessit, quòd "videns quia placeret Judæis, apposuit ut apprehenderet et Petrum[32]." Acclamationes populi petentis necem alicujus audiendas esse, leges vetant[33]. Vocibus enim eorum credi non oportet, quando aut noxium crimine absolvi, aut innocentem condem-
[v.] nari expetunt. In | quam illi legem impingentes Maximiani Herculii, crudelitatem imbibisse dicendi sunt; qui, quod in Ludis Circensibus duodecies acclamatum esset a populo ut Christiani tollerentur, et decies ut Christiani non sint, post Senatûs-consultum ad Christianos perdendos impetratum, decreto edixit, ut Christiani vel diis litare cogerentur, vel pœnis subjicerentur, et eorum facultates fisco vindicarentur[34]. Sicut cum Scribæ et Pharisæi violatas traditiones Apostolis exprobârunt, nostræ salutis assertor non ad purgandos Apostolos, sed ad idem scelus in criminatores retorquendum orationem convertit[35]; sic ego, rebellionis flagitio a nostris jam antè remoto[36] Comitiales percontor, cur in perduellionis stigmate nostro nomini tam altè imprimendo tantopere desudent, ut illud nullâ spongiâ deleri, nullis pœnis expiari posse acriter expetant, cùm longè truculentioris rebellionis infamia ipsis inhæreat? Sanè Clodius accusat mœchos, Catalina Cethegum.

Nam apud nos quædam tantùm colluvies et sentina hominum, vel fortunâ miserorum vel voluntate perditorum, brevem insanivit insaniam. Sed ad sanitatem vel attracta suasionibus, vel suppliciorum metu perterrita mox rediit, tumultu intra seditionis conditionem adhuc

[31] Luc. xxiii. [32] Act. xii. [33] l. decurionum c. de pœnis. [34] Epit. Baron. an. 301, n. 3. [35] Mat. xv. [36] Infrà, p. 260.

[b] The proclamation of June 1, 1660, mentions the vast expense for the suppression of the horrid rebellion of 1641, and the innocent blood of so many thousand English Protestant subjects formerly slain by those barbarous rebels. Agents were employed by the new proprietors in Ireland, to influence the English Parliament

lence and torture and imprisonment. The men who have imitated the example, and ought to have shared the punishment of that cruel servant, have been fully pardoned by you. All their might is exerted to fix for ever the brand of treason on us[h], that they may glut their criminal designs against our country, our fortunes, and our lives, and thus rival the Jews themselves, who clamoured loudly and obstinately for the death of our Redeemer, with that execrable and reiterated yell, "crucify him, crucify him." Is not he a Pilate who gives sentence that it shall be as they required, and who delivers us to our enemies, as he delivered Jesus to the Jews? It was disgraceful to Herod, "that, seeing that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to take up Peter also." The laws enact that the clamours of the people must not bring any man to death. Their opinions must be disregarded when they demand the liberation of a criminal or the condemnation of the innocent. Whoever contravenes this principle adopts, in my opinion, the cruelty of Maximianus Herculius, who, when he heard in the Circensian Games the people cry out twelve times for the death of the Christians, and ten times that they should cease to be Christians, obtained a decree of the Senate for the ruin of the victims, and issued a proclamation, that they should either sacrifice to the gods, or suffer the penalties of the law, and the confiscation of all their property. Thus as our Redeemer did not exculpate his Apostles when they were charged by the Scribes and Pharisees with violating the tradition, but retorted the same charge against the accusers; in the same way, after having vindicated my countrymen from the charge of rebellion, I ask those Senators, why do they labour thus strenuously to brand us so indelibly with that foul stigma of treason, that no expurgation shall obliterate, nor penalties expiate it? If the infamy of a far more ferocious rebellion cleaves to their own character, shall Clodius accuse adulterers, or Cataline Cethegus?

Among us, it was only the dregs of the people, a rabble of men of ruined fortunes or profligate character, that were hurried on for a moment by the delirious madness. But even before the commotions had assumed the imposing aspect of a regular war, and were as yet but a

against the Irish Catholics, who were thus excluded from the Act of Indemnity. The adventurers held their estates by an Act of the English Parliament, 1641.—*Carte*,

subsistente, necdum ad belli magnitudinem erumpente. Ubi enim a Comitialibus nefarium bellum in Regem et patriam adornari nostrates jam planè perspexerunt, illis tumultuum facibus, quas paulò antè in patriâ nostrâ furiosus aliquot seditiosorum ardor accendit, non magis feliciter quàm prudenter extinctis, Regis et soli natalis tuendi studio inflammati, ad hostis ferociam armis coërcendam, Regni summatibus in cœtum coëuntibus, communi se consilio non tumultuariè accinxerunt. Et quoniam assiduis potentissimi hostis insultibus, decennali bello per eventus varios et ancipites tracto, vinci non potuerunt, vicisse visi sunt, non tàm hostium armis quàm intestinis dissidiis fracti.

In Angliâ verò non pauci privatorum hominum globi, remotos aliquot recessus, exiguo temporis curriculo, tumultibus infestabant; sed publica Comitia gentis universæ personam induta, per totam Angliam omni direptionum, incendiorum et cædium genere grassata et debachata sunt. Nec ut pauciores in Hiberniâ seditiosi sine nomine vulgus aggressi mactârunt; sed ipsi Regi signa nefaria propudiosissimè inferentes: ac ad vitam dignitatemque illi eripiendam quotidie anhelantes, ipsum pro tribunali damnatum, execrandissimo post homines natos flagitio justitiæ velum obtendentes (horresco referens) obtruncârunt[37], ignari "turpiora esse vitia cùm virtutum specie velantur[38]." E Josepho discere potuerunt quòd "Regem occidere iniquum est licèt ille sit malus[39]."

[37] Infrà, p. 265. [38] S. Hieron. Ep. ad Cælium. [39] Antiq. Jud. lib. vi. c. 13.

p. 205; *Sale and Settlement*, p. 94.

[i] "We declare the war, openly Catholic, to be lawful and just; in which war, if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge, or hatred, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and worthy to be punished with ecclesiastical censures.

"We will and declare all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike, all thieves, robbers, &c., and all who favour, receive, or any ways assist them, to be excommunicated."—*Articles ordained in the General Congregation, Kilkenny, May*, 1642; *Rushworth*, p. 519.

The number of landed Papists or freeholders before the wars was about 3000, whereof, as appears by 800 judgments of the Court of Claims, which sat *anno* 1663, there were not above one-seventh part, or 400, guilty of the rebellion.—*Petty*, p. 23.

[k] "I swear in the presence of God, and of his angels and saints, to defend the liberty of the Roman Catholic and Apostolical Church, the person, heirs, and rights

seditious tumult, these men were instantly checked in their course, either by the force of persuasion or the terror of punishment[i]. For when my countrymen discovered that the Parliamentarians were in open and infamous war against the King and the country, the flames of sedition, which had burst forth in Ireland with such tumultuous and devouring fury, were happily and prudently extinguished, and the great orders of the kingdom, assembling in regular and peaceful council, resolved to manifest their ardent love of their King and country by an armed resistance to the ferocity of their enemies[k]. Through ten long years of chequered and eventful war they triumphed over all the assaults of a most powerful enemy, and had the victory within their grasp; for it was less by the arms of the enemy, than their own intestine divisions[l], that they were ultimately crushed.

But in England it was not in a few clubs of private individuals, nor in some obscure corner of the land, nor for a brief space of time, that sedition was fermenting; the Parliament itself, the representatives of the whole nation, converted the whole kingdom into one universal scene of indiscriminate and frenzied plunder, conflagration, and massacre. Their victims were not—like those who fell in Ireland by the hands of a few bandits—men of no name: against the King himself they shamelessly raised their infernal banners, devoting him to deposition and death; and at last, dragging him before their bar, they condemn him, and under the sacred name of justice (horrible to tell) he was brought to the block, by the most execrable crime ever committed since the creation of man. "Crime," they should have known, "is never more hideous than when committed under the guise of virtue." Josephus could tell them "that it is a crime to slay even a criminal King."

of his Majesty King Charles, and the freedom and privileges of this kingdom, against all usurpers, and at the peril of my life and fortune."—*Vindic. Cath. Hib.* c. i. p. 6, Oath of the Confederate Catholics.

[l] Ormonde's aim was to work a division among the Catholic clergy. "Never did any magician charm with spells more than Ormonde did that harmless people, by what fascination is to me unknown."—*Unkind Deserter*, p. 23. After the Restoration, when the clergy were comparatively powerless, Orrery asks him, "whether this may not be a fit occasion to make that schism you are sowing amongst the Popish clergy publicly to break out, so that we may reap some practical advantage thereby;" Dec. 14, 1666.

Quis autem Angliam crederet tortorem edidisse non solùm domestico [vi.] | carnifice immaniorem, qui ad justitiæ publicæ machæram sanguine Regio cruentandam adduci non potuit; sed etiam Cimbrico illo mancipio truculentiorem, qui ad C. Marium confodiendum percussor immissus tantâ viri majestatem veneratione prosecutus est, ut illi manus inferre nullo pacto voluerit[40]. Comitiorum verò illi magnates, quibus volupe fuit tristissimum Regis supplicium siccis oculis haurire, crudelitate Neronem, qui "scelera jussit non spectavit"[41], longè superârunt, vix magis facto quàm exemplo noxii, quod a majoribus non haustum ad posteritatem primi transmiserunt. Ac proinde sicut præstantium rerum inventores multam laudem, sic illi non solùm patrati sceleris magnam, sed excogitati maximam ignominiam retulerunt. Vulgò dicimus quod exemplo fit, id jure fit, injuriosissimi sunt igitur illi (ut nihil gravius dicam) quorum flagitio nullum præteriti temporis exemplum præivit et qui sceleratissimam imitationem exempli reliquis in posterum prodiderunt. Eorum enim facinus omnis anteactæ atrocitatis comparationem vicit. Nisi velint imitatores haberi Pausaniæ et Hermocleæ, quorum hic illi sciscitanti, quâ potissimùm ratione nominis sibi celebritatem apud posteros compararet, respondit, si alicui clarissimo necem attulisset, ipsum voti compotem futurum[42]. Mox ille Philippo Macedonum Regi vitam eripuit. Inferioris aulæ consessus Hermocleæ, Regis mactator, Pausaniæ similitudinem refert. Illi enim consilio, hic flagitio maluerunt crudelissimi mortalium a posteris audire, quàm sileri. Nisi malint, quia pro senatoribus haberi volunt, Senatûs Romani vestigiis insistere, qui parricidium, quo Nero Agrippinam matrem occidi jussit, approbavit.

Omnes omnino strages a tumultuantium in Hiberniâ gregibus, cædis Regiæ gravitatem longo intervallo sequuntur. Ut taceam plures et atrociores clades hostem Hibernis intulisse[43] quàm ab iis retulisse. Quarum posthac nonnullas paucis insinuabo. Rex enim, ut aiunt, unus instar omnium est. Ciceroni "unus Cato pro centum millibus

[40] Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 106. [41] Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ, sub finem. [42] Policraticus, Joan. Saris. lib. viii. p. 465. [43] Infrà, p. 255 et seq. [44] Ad Attic. lib. ii. c. 6.

[m] Bruodin (p. 667) speaks of an interview between Bradshaw and the executioner, in which the latter refused to behead the king, flung down the axe, and retired.

Could any one believe that England would produce an assassin more savage than even the common executioner[m], who could not bring himself to pollute the sword of public justice with the blood of his king;—more savage than even that Cimbrian slave, who, when ordered to assassinate Caius Marius, was struck with such awe at the majesty of the man, that he could not be prevailed on to execute his sanguinary errand? But the great men of that Parliament, who beheld without a tear, and even with delight, that most shocking murder of the King, bear away the palm of cruelty even from Nero himself, who ordered, but did not assist at executions. The precedent which they established for posterity, without any warrant from their ancestors, was more terrible than the deed itself; and if the authors of valuable discoveries deserve immortal gratitude, shall not these reap everlasting infamy, not so much for the perpetration, as for the original conception of this execrable crime? The proverb says, "precedent is law;" how then can we designate the injustice (to use the mildest phrase) of a crime which is without precedent in all antiquity, and which has bequeathed to posterity a most accursed model for imitation. Nothing in the annals of crime equals their guilt, unless we compare them to Pausanias and Hermocrates. "How," asked Pausanias, "can I best secure an immortal name with posterity?" "Your wish is granted," answered Hermocrates, "if you murder some illustrious man;" a suggestion which was instantly carried into effect by Pausanias, in the assassination of Philip of Macedon. The members of the House of Commons acted the part of Hermocrates; the king's executioner was another Pausanias. The former by counsel, and the latter by deed, preferred the everlasting stigma of most savage cruelty to the silence of oblivion. Perhaps, as they were senators, they had before their eyes the example of the Roman Senate, which approved the parricidal act by which Nero doomed his mother Agrippina to death.

All the murders committed in Ireland, by all the seditious bands, do not approximate even remotely in guilt to the murder of the King, not taking into account even the provocation the Irish received[n], and that their own defeats were more numerous and more fatal than what they inflicted on the enemy; for "the King alone, as they say, is all."

[n] The English Parliamentarians, Oct. 24, 1644, excluded from quarter all Irishmen taken in arms against them. The Irish Pr. Council, Feb. 23, 1641-2, ordered the massacre of all inhabiting the confederate quarters, if able to bear arms.—*Carey's Vin.*, p. 378.

fuit[44]." Israëlitæ Davidi dixerunt: "Tu unus pro decem millibus computaris[45]," qui, et ob unum Goliathum cæsum, decem millia trucidâsse dictus est. Æmilius Probus unum Epaminondam pluris quam civitatem Thebanam fuisse scribit. Et Antigonus unum Zenonem pro centum millibus habuit[46]. Præterea gentium instituta, humana, divinaque jura semper tulerunt ut noxii Reges hominum judiciis obnoxii non essent. Nempe:

> "Regum[47] timendorum in proprios greges,
> Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis."

Augustus primùm, deinde Vespasianus, acceptâ summi imperii potestate, legibus sunt a Senatu soluti: et Aristoteles eos esse Reges negat, qui legibus obstringuntur. David Deum compellans dixit: "Tibi soli peccavi," nimirum "Rex erat" (verba sunt S. Hieronymi) "et alium
[vii.] non timebat;" | quia ut ait S. Ambrosius, "liberi sunt Reges a vinculis delictorum, neque ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti imperii potestate." Homini ergo David non peccavit, cui non tenebatur obnoxius. Nec enim Reges (ut fert proverbium) manus sibi ligant.

Hibernica Comitia, istis ob oculos positis, in verba sui Regis tui patris ultrò jurârunt, et non ad eum proculcandum, ut Anglica, sed ad erigendum, arma sumpserunt. Hæc tamen importunis efflagitationibus majestatem tuam impellere videntur ut sua perfidia præmio, nostra fides pœnâ (quod inauditum paradoxon est) afficiatur, et ut tua

> "Det veniam corvis, vexet censura columbas."

Nimirum "familiare hominibus est omnia sibi ignoscere, nihil aliis

[44] Ad Attic. lib. ii. Ep. 6. [45] 1 Reg. c. xviii. [46] Plut. [47] Horat. lib. iii. Od. i.

° This doctrine was not generally admitted by the divines of the Catholic Confederation. The work entitled "Disputatio Apologetica de Jure Regni Hiberniæ," published 1645, gives a very different opinion: "Suppono 2do tanquam certum inter Doctores Catholicos, et commune theologorum axioma, nullum Regem vel monarcham habere vel habuisse *immediatè* a Deo, vel ex divinâ institutione, politicum principatum, sed mediante humanâ voluntate et institutione, loquendo de lege ordinariâ. Ita 'Suarez in defensione Fidei Catholicæ,' lib. iii. c. 2, ubi citat jura et doctores quos brevitatis causâ omitto."—p. 68. Again, p. 71: "Esset enim contra lumen naturale asserere, non posse rempublicam mutare principem quem ad suam conservationem elegit, quando ipse non conservat sed destruit ipsam Rempublicam." Saurez's opinion is transcribed, p. 72: "Si Rex legitimus tyrannicè gubernet et regno nullum aliud subsit medium ad se defendendum, nisi Regem expellere et depo-

"Cato alone was," to Cicero, "as one hundred thousand." The Israelites cried out to David, "thou alone art accounted for ten thousand;" for after slaying Goliath alone, he was said to have slain ten thousand. Æmilius Probus says, that Epaminondas alone was worth more than the whole city of Thebes. And Antigonus looked upon Zeno as one hundred thousand. Moreover, the laws of nations, the laws of God and man, have ever enacted, that guilty Kings shall not be subject to the tribunals of other men[o].

"Dread Kings of right their subjects must obey,
O'er Kings themselves Jove only holds the sway."

Augustus, and afterwards Vespasian, on their accession to the imperial throne, were declared by the Senate superior to the laws; and Aristotle denies that they who are bound by laws are truly Kings. David, addressing the Lord, said, "to Thee alone have I sinned;" "for he was a King," says St. Jerome, "and feared no other man;" or, as St. Ambrose remarks, "Kings are free from the punishment of crimes, nor can any law subject them to penalties, as they are shielded by their superior power." David, therefore, did not sin against man, to whom he was not subject: "for Kings," as the proverb goes, "do not tie up their own hands."

The Confederate Irish, in conformity with these principles, spontaneously professed their sworn allegiance to your father[p], and flew to arms, not, like the English, to depose, but to support him. But now, the intemperate remonstrances of these English would persuade your Majesty to reward their perfidy, and to punish our loyalty: a paradox that was never heard of. They ask you to

"Pardon the ravens, persecute the doves."

But "men are always inclined to pardon everything to themselves, and

nere, poterit respublica tota, publico et communi concilio civitatum et procerum, Regem deponere, tum vi juris naturalis, quo licet vim vi repellere, tum quia semper hic casus, ad propriam Reipublicæ conservationem necessarius, intelligitur exceptus in primo illo fœdere quo respublica potestatem suam in Regem transtulit." Hæc Suarez totidem verbis, et citat ibi S. Thomam, secunda, secundæ: Quæst. 42, Art. II. III. Dr. Lynch himself, in another place, applies these principles to the revolt of the Irish against Turgesius. The "Declaration" (17 Car. II.) abjures all right of taking arms against the King.

[p] On the cessation in Sept. 1643, the Supreme Council voted £15,000 in money, and the value of £15,000 in provisions,

remittere, et invidiam rerum non ad causam, sed ad voluntatem personasque dirigere[48]." Itaque quot Senatores in iis Comitiis suffragia tulerunt, in totidem Sullas migrârunt. Quia sicut, Sullâ Dictatore, nemo aut bona, aut patriam, aut vitam tenere potuit[49], sic illi ad nos fortunis exuendos totis conatibus incubuerunt. Emissariorum, qui eorum jussu in Hiberniam excurrerunt, assiduis clamoribus aures nostræ dudum personârunt dicentium: suis nos armis protritos avitis sedibus excedere, ac easdem sibi cedere debere. Justi quidem licitique belli leges ferre non diffiteor ut fusorum fundus

"Permutet dominos et cedat in altera jura[50]."

Sed illi jus æqui belli ad latrocinia transferunt, quibus nos diu multùmque infestârunt. Arma enim in Principem rebellia, in socios perfida, latrocinii non belli nomen referunt. Causæ quidem suæ justitiam inde aucupantur, quòd ex animi sui sententiâ bellum iis successerit, illis victorias, nobis clades referentibus. Sed frustra: cùm "incerti semper exitus præliorum sint[51], et "Mars communis sæpe spoliantem etiam exultantem evertit, et perculit ab abjecto. Nam nihil tam firmum est, cui periculum non sit etiam ab invalido[52]." Quare non semper ubi causa justior, ibi fortuna superior est[53] nec rarò insontes a sontibus funduntur, majori superantium quàm succumbentium damno. Siquidem "nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium[54]." Quando autem assiduis sermonibus a Deo sua cœpta religionemque comprobari deprædicent, quia secundi pugnarum eventus iis supra vota fluxerunt, nihil aliud agunt quàm Constantinum Imperatorem Arianum accuratè imitari, cui nihil in ore frequentius fuit, quàm Deum suo calculo Arianismum ratum habuisse, qui tot victoriis ipsum cumulavit[55].

Post nos non tam belli, quàm hostilis perfidiæ dolis obtritos; ad fortunas nobis eripiendas proscriptionis rationem hostes a Sulla traduxerunt, ad ignorantiæ tenebras juventuti nostræ obducendas e cru-
[viii.] delitatis Juliani | Apostatæ pharetrâ jaculum eduxerunt: nam ut ille Christianis erudiendis, sic isti nostris literaturâ excolendis scholas

[48] Vell. Pater. lib. ii. 30. [49] Ibid. [50] Horat. lib. ii. Ep. 2. [51] Cic. lib. vi. Ep. 1. [52] Idem, pro Milone. [53] Curtius, lib. vii. [54] Seneca, de Provid. c. 3. [55] Epit. Bar. an. 353, n. 4.

for the King's army in England. 10,000 men were voted for the same service on the conclusion of the Glamorgan treaty in January, 1646; but on the fall of Chester

to give no indulgence to others, but, heedless of truth, to turn the odium of event, according to their prejudices or interests." All the Senators in that Parliament are so many Syllas. During his dictatorship all persons were exposed to confiscation, exile, and death: we are now fearfully threatened with the loss of our properties. The emissaries whom they have despatched to Ireland have long since been sounding in our ears, "that we were conquered by their arms, and must resign the inheritances of our fathers, and surrender them to themselves." The laws of just and lawful war do, I allow, transfer the property of the vanquished to their conquerors:

"Lands change their lords and own another rule."

But they apply the laws of a just war to the robberies by which they have so long and so grievously harassed us. Rebellion against a King, treachery to allies, are not wars but robberies. They ground their right on what they call the happy issue of the war, their victories, and our defeat. But this avails nothing, because "the issue of battles is always uncertain, and impartial Mars often strikes down the spoiler in the full flush of victory, and crushes him by the vanquished, for nothing is so strong that it may not be endangered by the weak." Better fortune is, therefore, not always a proof of the better cause; and the innocent are often defeated by the guilty, with greater loss to the conquerors than the conquered, because nothing is more fatal than the felicity of the evil-doer. Their repeated assertions, that God has approved their cause and their creed, by blessing their arms with a success beyond even their most sanguine expectations, are but a faithful imitation of the Arian Emperor Constantine, who was constantly boasting that God had given his sanction to Arianism, by the uninterrupted success of the imperial arms.

When we had been defeated, less by arms in the field, than by the perfidious machinations of our enemies, our tyrants adopt the plans of Sylla, in the confiscation of our properties, and taking an arrow from the cruel armory of Julian the Apostate, they consign all our youth to the darkness of ignorance; for, as he closed all the schools against the Christians, they adopt similar measures against the education of

there was no place on the English coast where they could be safely landed; only 300 went under Lord Digby as body-guard to the Prince, and a larger body to Montrose, in Scotland.—*Lingard*, Charles I. c. iii.—*Carte*, i. p. 450.

patere vetuerunt. Nostratium armis exuendorum documentum a Philistæis hauserunt, qui, fabris Israëlitarum ditione abactis, Israëlitis inermibus ex improviso vim inferre aggressi sunt[56]. Ad nos extra Patriæ conspectum ablegandos, Ælii Adriani facinus transtulerunt, qui capite sanxit ne Judæi vel eminus Hierosolimam prospicerent[57, 58]. Ad rapacissimam vasorum sacrorum direptionem, exemplum a Balthazaro Assiriorum, et Antiocho Macedonum Rege mutuati sunt[59]. Nostratium conventus armis, opibus, et amicis orbos, ad divinum numen Catholico ritu colendum factos, ad exitium Reipublicæ machinandum tetendisse

[56] 1 Reg. c. xiii. [57] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 6. [58] Oros. lib. vii. c. 11. [59] Daniel, c. i.; 1 Mach. c. i.

[q] Under the Protectorate no Irish Catholic was allowed to teach reading, writing, or arithmetic, or to send his child to any school beyond the seas. The magistrates were authorized to send the children of Irish Catholics to England, to be educated Protestants. One of the Canons of the Convocation, 1634, confirmed by the Crown, ordained, that no person should teach the Latin language, or be a tutor in public or private, without the consent of the ordinary of the diocese, who was bound to administer to him the oath of supremacy. After the Restoration it was enacted, that all tutors in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital, all schoolmasters keeping any public or private school, or teaching any youth in any house or private family, should, before the 29th Sept. 1667, take the oath of supremacy before the ordinary of the diocese, and that henceforward, all persons teaching as schoolmasters in public or private schools, should take the same oath, under the penalty of three months' imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, for the first offence, and three months for every succeeding offence, and a fine of £5 to the King.—*Irish Stat.* C. II. vol. iii. p. 142. Edward Lord Archbishop of Tuam, on English Schools, published Dublin, 1723, p. 36. Orrery writes, Oct. 19, 1666: "I have several complaints this week of the great insolency the Popish clergy are suddenly (especially since the burning of London) grown into. They have lately set up several schools, which their Jesuits publicly teach in. Though I know they are the best schoolmasters in the world, yet it is to be doubted they teach their scholars more than their books. One Thomas Stretch, a Jesuit, who is lately turned a schoolmaster, did in the county hall, with his scholars, act a play, whither a great confluence of people repaired, notwithstanding that Mr John Andrews, minister of the place, did expressly prohibit him, because the design of it was to stir up sedition; for the plot was, that a pastor having lost his flock by wolves, he was persuaded to teach a school; and his scholars having helped him to destroy the wolves, he turned pastor to a flock again. This is the fable, and in this pastoral he seemed to shew to them his own condition and his hopes The argument was bad, the plot worse, the contempt of authority worst of all." Whether this account be true in substance or details, the preceding Statute was immediately enacted.

[r] Copious illustrations of this policy oc-

our children[q]. They have drawn their precedent for disarming our people from the policy of the Philistines, who, after banishing all smiths from the land of Israel, fell upon the Israelites, unarmed, and by surprise. In banishing us from our country, they revive the edict of Ælius Adrian, who made it a capital crime for a Jew to come within sight of Jerusalem. For the most sacrilegious plunder of the sacred vessels they can plead the example of Baltassar of Assyria, and of Antiochus, King of Macedon; and if our unarmed, pauperized, and friendless people assemble to worship God according to the rites of the Catholic Church, forthwith they are denounced as hatching treason against the State[r]. It was thus that a law prohibiting assemblies of

cur in contemporary authors. It was on a rumour of an Irish rebellion that Charles II. issued his proclamation against the "Irish rebels" in 1660, see note, p. 10. Orrery writes: "I received this day a letter from the Bishop of Meath on the great meeting of the Irish clergy, upon the arrival of one Harris, a Jesuit, sent from their pretended Primate Reyly out of France; of considerable meetings to be in the four provinces this month to hear the said Jesuit's message, and from him the assurance of the speedy landing of forces, arms, ammunition, with money, &c." June 5, 1666. "I hear out of Tipperary, that there is a view taken of Irish Papists, and several are enlisted, both horse and foot, and are buying arms and fixing old ones. Since the enlisting, the priests have had great meetings, one at Knockgraffan of about 800 men, whereof many armed: *their pretence was for consecrating a priest.* Another great meeting in Clanwilliam, on the edge of Kilnamannagh, under pretence of a match at hurling."—July 9, 1667. Ormonde, July 13, 1667, desires his Lordship "to let him know by whom he has been informed that there hath been a view taken of the Irish Papists of Tipperary." July 19, 1667, Orrery answers: "that he had sent for the officer of the militia who gave the information." July 23, 1667. "The information dwindles into a rumour among the troopers." August 2, 1667. "He has good grounds to believe, that, if commissioned to inquire fully into the enlisting of Irish Papists, he shall find more in it than the bare discourses of troopers." August 20, 1667. "He is sorry that Ormonde should think his officers are more apt to take up rumours than those in other parts." Nov. 15, 1667. "He had traced the whole business to Thurles, and found, that one Captain Philips told two English gentlemen that he was told there were orders for enlisting, and that it had commenced, but was not likely to proceed farther." Ormonde, Nov. 25, 1667, totally denies the orders and the fact.—*Carte*, ii. p. 48. ap. But the following extract from a letter of Ormonde's to John Walsh, Esq., July 19, 1667, probably, clears up the mysterious meeting for the consecration of the priest: "I wish that young priest had said his last mass than his first with so much ceremony and ostentation." It is customary still, in several parts of Ireland, for all the friends of the young priest to assist at his first public mass, after his ordination, and equip him for the mission. There were, however, real grounds of alarm after the

commenti sunt; more Trajani, qui legem ad coitiones coërcendas latam, ad Christianorum suæ religionis exercitiis turmatim fungentium perniciem torsit[60]. Ad nos denique penitus delendos Ammani consilium derivaverunt, qui Judæos omnes e medio tollere constituit[61].

De Phylarcis nostris Hibernicis, ac prædiorum dominis gravissimam Angli querelam instituerunt[62], quòd longis asseclarum agminibus stipati clientium convivæ crebriùs justo facti omnem eorum rem familiarem sic exhauserint, ut ad incitas eos redegerint. Morbum autem istum nunc qui gentis nostræ dominationem per scelus arripuerunt non sanârunt, sed mutârunt. Nam colonos iisdem malis graviùs infestârunt, et heros miseriarum societate iis copulârunt. Etenim utrosque non ut oves totonderunt, imò ne degluberunt quidem; verùm ex avitis ædibus et fundis per vim ejecerunt, et patriæ finibus eliminatos, variis exiliis per terras omnes disperserunt ac dissipârunt. Ut quis nunc meritò sciscitetur

"Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris[63]?"

Cum itaque injuriarum, quas olim damnârunt, non tantùm approbatores modò sint, sed et authores, easque non solùm non sustulerunt, sed graviori accessione cumulârunt; planum certè fecerunt majori se aviditate ad nostrates opibus nudandos, quàm injuriis levandos inhiâsse.

Nec satis habuerunt his malis in nostrates nunc temporis sævire, nisi etiam in posterum sollicitè prospicerent, ut omni spe pristinæ conditionis consequendæ privarentur. Comitia enim nuper Dublinii conflata sunt, non e civibus, more majorum, sed e peregrinis, qui antè in

[60] Epit. Bar. an. 100, n. 3. [61] Esther, iii. [62] Davis, p. 177. [63] Æneid. i.

passing of the Black Bill in 1665, from the desultory attacks of "the robbers," namely, the innocents who were for ever deprived of their properties. "This Act, I say, was signed and sealed at Salisbury on the 25th of July, 1665, and this in a time when the hand of God visibly appeared in the great mortality, which then began to increase in London, and when I heard many moderate men say, 'we are justly punished by God for our injustice to the Irish.'" — *A Narrative of the Earl of Clarendon's Settlement and Sale of Ireland*, p. 93.

* The number of exiles has never been ascertained. The population of Ireland in 1641 was, according to Petty (p. 18), 1,466,000, Catholics being to Protestants as eleven to two. After the conquest by Cromwell, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants, according to the same (p. 29), was eight to one. Bruodin gives the exiles at 100,000; a manuscript letter in Dr. Lingard's possession at 60,000. 6000 boys and women alone were shipped to

the people was turned by Trajan against the meetings in which the Christians celebrated the rites of their worship. Finally, for their scheme of our utter extirpation they are indebted to Aman, who had planned the universal massacre of the Jews.

The English complained of our old Irish chieftains and landlords, that they visited their vassals so frequently, and with so great a train of attendants, that all the substance of the tenant was devoured. The men who have criminally seized the government of my country have merely changed, not cured, that disorder. They still oppress the farmers more grievously with the same extortions, and include the former landlords in the common affliction. Both classes were not merely fleeced like sheep, nor even flayed alive, but they were ejected by force of arms from their fathers' mansions and properties, banished from the shores of their country, and dispersed and scattered in exile through every quarter of the globe. Too truly may we say[s],

"Our known disasters fill even foreign lands."

As they not only approve but perpetrate the injuries which they formerly condemned, and not only have not redressed, but have grievously aggravated them, they are evidently influenced more powerfully by an avaricious thirst for the plunder of our properties, than by a wish to heal our wrongs.

Not satisfied with inflicting those calamities on my countrymen, they have, moreover, taken every precaution to exclude them for ever from all hope of recovering their former condition. A Parliament was lately held at Dublin[t], not of natives, according to the custom of our ancestors, but of foreigners, who became our legislators before they

the West Indies.—*Petty*, p. 187. Cromwell and his successors, towards the close of the war, sometimes allowed the Irish nobles to enter some foreign service, with as many men as they could collect, which policy deprived Ireland of 30,000 or 40,000 men capable of bearing arms.—*Lingard*, The Commonwealth, c. vi. p. 11. After this drain the morality of the Irish people was protected by the following article of the Irish Republican Commissioners: "That Irish women, as being too numerous now, and, therefore, exposed to prostitution, be sold to merchants, and transported to Virginia, New England, Jamaica, or other countries, where they may support themselves by their labour."—*Porter*, p. 292.

[t] Summoned May 8, 1661. The Commons, returned principally by the adventurers and soldiers, voted that the King's declaration for the settlement of Ireland, Nov. 30, 1660, should be passed into law, and sent over a deputation with a draft of the bill, to be laid before the King in Coun-

senatum nostrum quàm in civium nostrorum numerum cooptati consilia decretaque non ad emolumentum, sed ad exitium comparandum in dies cudere dicuntur. A Cicerone gravissimum crimen admisisse Verres arguitur[64], quòd, cùm lege cautum esset ut inter Senatores Agrigentinos et Heracleënses indigenæ colonorum numerum uno superarent, cuidam ex indigenis mortuo, colonum pretio corruptus substituerit. In
[ix.] nostris Comitiis, ultra Verrinum facinus | multis gradibus processum est; cùm in eum cœtum, indigenis et ipsis ferè inquilinis penitus exclusis soli coloni adsciti fuerint. Quàm crebra per centum superiores annos Hiberniæ Comitia fuerunt, tam frequentes indigenarum de colonis suffragandi facultatem in comitio consecutis querelæ exstiterunt, quibus Principes nostri semper aurem et medelam opportunè præbuerunt. Quare nos in spem minimè dubiam erigimur fore, ut qui clementiâ majores omnes longè præis et tam perniciosi moliminis cursum cohibiturus, et eam pestem cervicibus nostris impendentem amoliturus sis, nec passurus ut a priscâ consuetudine tam fœdè desciscatur, cujus retentio longè securior est quàm mutatio vel Ennii judicio canentis:

"Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virique."

Si in Angliæ Comitiis Hiberni soli sententias et decreta ferrent, prædiis Anglos multarent, eaque peculio suo adjungerent: annon ad arma mox Angli convolarent? Et suæ religionis scriptorem protinus audirent annuentem ab eo Rege regnum amitti, qui "pluribus imperans, unius populi in gratiam, alterum velit perditum, ut colonias ibi faciat[65]." Certè qui longè levioribus de causis signa Regi, ultimamque perniciem inferre non dubitârunt, ad tam gravem injuriam a se propulsandam, in armis præsidium omne proculdubiò collocarent, nec, ut nos, in Regis arbitrio acquiescerent. Molestè quidem tulimus de capitibus fortunisque nostris, in Angliæ Comitiis, a peregrinis decerni: sed multò est exitiosius eadem in discrimen ab advenis in ipsis Hiberniæ visceribus adduci; quòd illi aliorum, hi suis commodis inserviant. Nemo enim est, qui propriæ litis judex constitutus, non suæ se potiùs causæ studiosiorem quàm alienæ præbet. Benè quidem nobiscum ageretur, si

[64] Lib. ii. in Verrem. orat. 7. [65] Grot. de Jure Bel. lib. i. c. iv. n. 11.

cil. The Irish Lords delegated four commissioners to oppose some of its provisions. The agents of the Irish Catholics, who were heard before the Council, objected principally to the preamble, which involved the whole nation in the guilt of the first rising,

were our fellow-citizens, and are said to be concocting every day statutes and enactments, not for the public good, but for destruction. Verres was accused by Cicero of a most grievous offence, for having, on the death of a Senator, substituted (for a bribe) a colonist for a native, contrary to a law, which enacted, that the number of natives should exceed by one that of colonists in the Senate of Agrigentum and Heraclea. Our Parliament has far surpassed the guilt of Verres, for it consists of colonists, to the utter exclusion of the natives, and almost of the denizens. As often as the Irish Parliament assembled during the last century, so often did the natives protest against foreigners sitting in the Senate, and the complaint was invariably received and instantly redressed. We therefore indulge the confident hope, that, as you far surpass your predecessors in clemency, you will check the progress of this fatal aggression, and interpose to avert the plague that hangs over us, nor tolerate the shameful violation of ancient custom, which it is always better to maintain than to destroy. Such was the opinion of Ennius:

"Her ancient customs nerve the arm of Rome."

Would not the English fly to arms at once, if Irishmen alone deliberated and voted in the English Parliament, and confiscated English property, and made it their own? A writer of their own religion would tell them, that a King forfeits his crown, when, "having many nations under his sceptre, he shall, for the interests of one people, sacrifice another, to plant colonies in their room." The men who, for slighter causes, raised their banner against the King, and consummated his ruin, would appeal to the sword as the only honorable security against so frightful an injustice; they would not await, as we have done, the award of the Sovereign. It was galling enough that foreigners should sit in judgment on our lives and properties in the English Parliament, but it is far more dreadful to be depending on the mercy of foreigners in the heart of Ireland, since the former were judges in the cause of others, but the latter are judges in their own. No mortal can ever be a judge in his own cause, without feeling a greater interest for his own side than for his opponents. We should have some reason to be

1641, and denounced all the proceedings of the confederate Catholics, "as almost a national rebellion of the Irish Papists" against the King.—*Borlase*, p. 381.

tanta generositas eorum animis insideret, ut, instar Achillei teli, qui vulnera inflixerunt medelam adhiberent.

Vetus indigenarum et ante trecentos annos ab iis instituta querimonia est, quòd advenæ Regni gubernaculis admoti, et Comitiis adscripti fuerint[66]. Anno Elizabethæ Reginæ[67] et Jacobi Regis undecimo[68], peregrinorum hominum in Comitiorum Senatores cooptatio non mediocres tumultus in Comitiis excitavit. Sed qui in prioribus Comitiis expostulabant, a supremis Regni judicibus[69], qui in posterioribus, a Jacobo Rege votorum partem impetrârunt[70]. In luctuosissimos profectò gemitus et questus majores nostri citra dubium modò prorumperent, si, oculos per inferioris aulæ cœtum circumferentes, in eo e solis advenis et adscriptitiis civibus conflato, nullum locum indigenis genuinisque civibus relictum esse cernerent. Sicut ergo nos querendi documentum a majoribus nostris hausimus; sic speramus fore ut subveniendi nobis exemplum ab avo tuo subministratum arripias.

Unum e pacis cum tuo in Hiberniâ Optione initæ conventis fuit
[x.] ut | futura primo quoque tempore Comitia libera forent. Sed ista Comitia serva sunt potiùs quàm libera: quia servitutem genti non libertatem parturiunt, et optimatibus nostris e pristinâ opulentiâ potentiâque dejectis; ac cerdonibus, textoribus, fabris, latomis, propolis, zonariis, et servilis ejusmodi generis aliis ad eorum locum elatis, in Hiberniâ theatrum et arenam servitutis instituere gestiunt, non tollentes servitutem sed mutantes, dominis in servos et servis in dominos conversis. Alterum pacis ejusdem caput immunitatem a juramento, quo Regi Primatus

[66] Annal. Hib. apud Camd. an. 1341. [67] Hooker, p. 120. [68] Rivius, contra Analecta, lib. ii. [69] Hooker, ibid. [70] Rivius, ibid. p. 19.

[a] In the elections for the Parliament, 1568, many were returned for places not incorporated; sheriffs and mayors returned themselves; and "a great number of Englishmen" were also returned, contrary to the 23 Henry VIII., 1541, which required residence. The Judges, on the appeal of the Catholics, pronounced these returns illegal, but annulled only the two first, merely imposing a penalty on the sheriffs for the returns of the third class. Hollingshed, vi. pp. 342, 343, 344. Before the Parliament, 1613, forty new boroughs were erected "in places that can scantly pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom;" no writs were sent to some of the old boroughs; and from others returns would not be received. Some boroughs were created after the issuing of the writs.—*Davis*, p. 306, Petition of Irish Lords; *Crawford*, i. p. 346. The members for the boroughs erected after the issuing of the writs were unseated by the English Council; all others were allowed to sit,

content, if they possessed a generosity of soul, which, like the spear of Achilles, healed the wounds which it inflicted.

It was an old complaint of the natives, of more than three hundred years' standing, that foreigners were made governors of the kingdom and members of her Parliament. In the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, and in the same year of King James, the nomination of foreigners to seats in Pariiament excited many stormy debates[u]. The remonstrants in the former Parliament obtained from the Chief Justices of the kingdom the partial redress which the King himself extended to the remonstrants in the latter. What exclamations of intense agony and lamentation would burst from our ancestors, if they could now cast their eyes on the benches of the Lower House, occupied exclusively by foreign adventurers and certificate citizens, without a single place reserved for the sons, the genuine citizens of the land? As we ground our complaint on the precedent of our ancestors, we trust that you will adopt from your grandfather the means of redress.

One of the conditions of the peace concluded with your Lieutenant in Ireland was, that the Parliament which was to be held in the first instance should be free. But this Parliament is not free[v], but enslaved, because it brings slavery, not liberty, to the nation; and, by hurling our nobles from their ancient opulence and power, and transferring their places to cobblers, weavers, smiths, quarrymen, pedlars, girdle-makers, and others of the same servile rank, they anxiously desire to make Ireland a theatre and arena of slavery, merely changing the personages; changing, not removing, the slaves; metamorphizing slaves into masters, and masters into slaves. Another article of the same peace exempted the Catholics from the oath of the King's ecclesiastical supre-

though the Irish Commons, Nov. 19, 1613, "declared that some were unduly elected, being either judges, or outlaws, or excommunicated, or not estated in their boroughs, or returned for places whose charters were invalid." The recusants were nearly one-half, 99 to 127. — *Carte*, i. p. 19. They obtained from the King that no "religious questions should be discussed, but only such things as concerned the general good."—*O'Sull.*, tom. iv. l. ii. p. 254.

[v] The translation here differs from Mr. O'Flanagan's, the text evidently alluding to the Peace signed in the Castle of Kilkenny, Jan. 17, 1648, between the Marquis of Ormonde and the Confederates. Articles III. and V. provide "that a *free* Parliament shall be held within six months, or as soon as possible, and that all legal impediments to the election of Catholics be removed."—*Burke*, *Hib. Dom.* p. 686. These articles are II. and V. in *Borlase*, p. 263.

ecclesiasticus asseri solet, Catholicis impertivit: istorum tamen Comitiorum consessus inferior unicum indigenam Catholicum illo se juramento astringere detractantem senatu movit. Scilicet qui juratam Regi fidem sæpissimè fefellerunt; fidem Regi non juratam sanctissimè servantibus negotium facessunt. Sanè post religionem in Hiberniâ supremæ potestatis authoritate mutatam, Comitiorum senatores ad ejusmodi juramentum adacti non fuerunt, omnium enim Comitiorum jam inde habitorum Catholici "pars magna fuit[71]." Nemo tamen eorum, ob juramentum Primatûs recusatum, comitiorum domo ejectus est. In horum etiam Comitiorum superiori aulâ, paucis majorum Catholicis proceribus ejusmodi sacramentum exhibitum non fuit. Sicut igitur non sine gravissimâ insolentiæ notâ infimus Comitiorum ordo a superiorum ordinum et majorum usu recedit, sic non modicum Reipub. periculum impendet, quòd populi procuratores novitati et rerum conversioni studeat. Nam, ut ait S. Augustinus, "Ipsa mutatio consuetudinis etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate, novitate perturbat[72]."

Per memoratæ pacis pacta, leges antiquæ contra fidem Catholicam latæ sic antiquandæ fuerunt, ut ejusdem fidei professio Catholicis fraudi non foret. Sed postrema Comitiorum classis ad religionem penitus abolendam, non solùm vetera decreta restaurare, sed nova longè gravissima cudere statuerunt. Ut vestris studiis datâ operâ obniti, decretis reluctari, et imperiis obsistere videantur. Et nos invitos dicere cogant: "en hæc promissa fides est[73]." Ita ut qui regere, non regi cupiunt, non Regem habere, sed Reges esse velint, te crudelem in puniendo esse malentes quàm misericordem in condonando præ-

[71] Æneid. ii. [72] Ep. 118. [73] Æneid. vi.

[w] Art. I. Peace of 1648. Carte (p. 221) states there was no Catholic returned, but there was one for the borough of Tuam. The Commons, however, moved an address to the Lords Justices, May 15, 1661, that the Lord Chancellor should commission some person, under the Great Seal, to administer the oath of supremacy to all members of the Commons. This is, no doubt, the fact alluded to in the text. One Catholic Peer sat in the House of Lords, May 8, 1661, and several others were in town, the oath not being required in the Upper House. An address was presented before the elections, first to the English Council, and afterwards to the Irish Chancellor, Eustace, to administer the oath of allegiance to candidates, but without success. Several Catholics were candidates in Connaught. *Carte*, p. 223. *Orrery's Letters*, May 8, 15, 1669.

[x] Primate Lombard states that though statutes had been passed requiring the oath of supremacy from all public officers,

macy[w], but the Lower House of this Parliament expelled the only native Catholic returned, because he refused to take that oath. The men, forsooth, who often violated their own oath of allegiance to the King, persecute those who preserved their allegiance, though not bound by oath. After the change of religion in Ireland established by the Government[x], Catholics, certainly, were not required to take the oath of supremacy, for a large number of them were members of all subsequent Parliaments, and yet none of them were ever unseated for refusing the oath of supremacy[y]. Even in the House of Lords of this present Parliament, that oath was not tendered to the few great Catholic lords[z]. As this departure of the Lower House from the practice of the Lords and the precedents of our ancestors, betrays, unblushingly, the most atrocious insolence, what fatal dangers must threaten the State, when the representatives of the people enact innovation and revolution? "For," as St. Augustine says, "the mere change of a custom disorders, by its novelty, even the good that it effects."

By the articles of the same peace[a], the laws formerly enacted against the Catholic faith were to be a dead letter, so that the profession of that same faith should not be prejudicial to the Catholics. But this last Parliament has not only re-enacted the old statutes, but has even passed laws far more severe for the total abolition of that religion; so that they appear deliberately to oppose your wishes, to obstruct your proclamations, to disobey your orders, and to compel us to exclaim, "lo! this thy plighted faith." Wishing to govern, not to be governed, to be Kings, not subjects, they have preferred that you should be cruel in punishing, not generous in forgiving, in order to increase their own

the cities, towns, and other communities, everywhere (*passim*) refused to take it, or administer it to their own magistrates, who still continued to take the old Catholic oath. The bill for the adoption of the English penal laws was also thrown out in the Irish Parliament; and when the professors of the new College in Dublin began to preach the Reformed doctrines, they were silenced, he says, by the English Governors, lest there might be a rising of the people. The Irish also, though most anxious to avail themselves of the lectures, withdrew their children, when the College attempted to require the oath of supremacy.—pp. 286, 287, 288.

[y] The Irish Parliament, 1641–2, expelled all the Catholic members, and ordained that the oath of supremacy should in future be enforced.—*Carte*, i. p. 328.

[z] Clanrickarde, Westmeath, Fingal, Clancarthy, Mountgarrett, Dillon, and a few others, who were restored by Royal Letters, without trial of innocence.—*Carte*, ii. p. 221.

[a] Art. I. III. IX., *Borlase*, p. 263.

ferentes, ut divitiarum et potentiæ sibi quàm clementiæ accessio tibi fiat, cùm tamen Xenophon moneat honestius esse Regi beneficiorum quàm trophæorum multitudinem relinquere.

Cæterùm, post regnum ab Elizabethâ recenter initum, in Comitiis Dublinii, clanculariis paucorum suffragiis[74] coactorum potiùs ad assensum quàm persuasorum, Catholicæ fidei abolitio decreta est. At in secutis deinde Comitiis, nullum Senatûs consultum Catholicæ fidei professionem abrogavit. Imò Proregi Joanni Perotto crimini datum est[75], [xi] quòd in Comitiis a se indictis | leges contra Catholicos in Angliâ latas sancire decreverit. Et per Regem Jacobum licuit ut, in primis Hiberniæ, post regnum ab ipso capessitum, comitiis, religio in disceptationem non veniret. Quippe fidos se Regibus Catholici semper præstiterunt[76];

[74] Infrà, p. 239. [75] Gubernatio Perroti, p. 71. [76] O'Sull. p. 254.

[b] Sir John Perrot received the Lord Deputy's sword in Christ Church, June 26, 1584. In 1582 he wrote a letter, by order of her Majesty, on the means of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland. Finding, he says, that St. Patrick was more familiar, and of greater credit with the people generally, than Christ, he proposed that the Reformation should begin from God, that friars, monks, Jesuits, pardoners, nuns, and such like vermin, who openly uphold the Papacy, should be executed by martial law. During his administration he called for a Chief Justice from England, to be a light to the Irish courts, which were filled, he says, for the most part, by men ignorant of the law, or corrupt in religion. In the Parliament assembled at Dublin, April 26, 1585, he attempted the repeal of Poyning's Act, but was defeated by the "stirrers of the Pale," and the lawyers, who feared the repeal was intended for other objects than those alleged. In July, 1585, he was accused before the Queen of this attempt to repeal Poyning's law, and also of requiring the oath of supremacy, and of proposing the same laws as in England against recusants. To the first charge he answered, that the object of his enemies in resisting the repeal was, because they would abide no reformation in matters of religion or State; and that, finding them obstinate in Parliament, he thought the oath the best means of trying their fidelity. The justices of the peace also refused the oath. They appeared to yield when threatened with the Star Chamber, but held up their heads again on support from England, for the Queen had given him a special caveat not to tender the oath of obedience to persons of nobility and quality, and to forbear the present search of this allegiance. Perrot was equally obnoxious to the clergy of the Established Church, especially to the Chancellor, Archbishop of Dublin, with whom he was at variance regarding the application of the revenues of St. Patrick's. Yet he was popular before the close of his administration. When he was recalled, all the gentry and nobility of the Pale, who had formerly written against him, now implored the Queen not to take away "the father of the poore country;" and people came to Dublin from forty miles to mourn his depar-

wealth and power at the expense of your clemency; though Xenophon tells them, that, in a king, generous and beneficent acts are more honorable than multitudes of trophies.

Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth, the Catholic religion was abolished in the Parliament at Dublin by the secret votes of a few, who yielded to force rather than conviction. But no statute was passed, in any subsequent Parliament, abolishing the profession of the Catholic faith. Sir John Perrot[b], the Chief Governor, was even severely censured for proposing, in the Parliament held under himself, the enactment of the English Penal Statutes against the Catholics. King James also consented that religion should not be brought into debate in the first Irish Parliament held after his accession to the throne. The Catholics had at all times proved their fidelity to their kings[c], and both by inclination and the exhortations of their clergy, they combined, in the worst of times, unshaken loyalty to the throne with fidelity to the altars of their fathers. If, even in that first change of religion, when men's minds were heated by the rising flame, and when the Catholics might be suspected of dis-

ture. "I am farre," he says, "from the opinion of those that would have the Irish extirped, sith I see that the occasion of dissension being taken away, they are easily made one with us." Again: "Here now lastly doth the *olde common objection* oppose itself, requiring an answere whether it be safety or danger for England to have Ireland reformed, least growing to civility and strength, it should cast off the yoke." "Good government," he answers, "breeds wealth, and wealth obedience." In his last will, answering the criminal charge against him, of having favored the Catholics and their Primate, Doctor Creaghe, he takes God to witness, that he had suppressed more friars than all before him for thirty years, and that he had never favored "Papists for Papistry sake," but did justice to them as to others on any complaint. He was convicted of high treason, April 17, 1592, and condemned to death, June 16, but died in prison. For these facts see Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot, "Letter to the Queen" (not paged), 4, 20, and pages 37, 50, 60, 61, 76, 77, 121, 122, 124; also Life of Sir John Perrot, pp. 202, 214, 219, 220, 311. The Roll of Parliament of 1585 is published by the Irish Archæological Society,—*Tracts relating to Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 140. Donat M[c]Congail, Bishop of Raphoe, one of the three Irish bishops who assisted at the Council of Trent, sat in that Parliament.

[c] "Dumque Iberni et Angli belligerabant, Iberni plerique partes Anglorum (eâ erant insaniâ et cæcitate mentis) sequebantur—si enim omnes Iberni in Anglos conspirâssent, ullo sine negotio, possent hæreticorum jugum cervicibus discutere, ut Angli ipsi communi assensione fatentur."—*Hist. Cath.* p. 75. See also Fynes Morrison, vol. i. p. 237, for a list of the native Irish Catholics in the Queen's army.

difficillimis temporibus, tum suâ sponte, tum sacerdotum persuasionibus, et ab avitâ religione non resilierunt, et in Principis obsequio firmi perstiterunt. Cùm autem mutatione religionis inchoatâ primus hominum ardor adhuc incalesceret, et ambigua fides Catholicorum in Principem avitæ fidei scita recentissimè deserentem fuisse timeretur, asperiora in Catholicos Senatusconsulta non eruperunt[77]. Nunc, illâ religionis conversione temporis diuturnitate corroboratâ, et firmâ Catholicorum in Principes fide perspicuis et assiduis experimentis deprehensâ, supervacanea in Catholicos plebiscita ultimus Comitiorum ordo intempestivè condet.

Nec Elizabetha ipsa Regina fidem Catholicam sic aversata fuit, quin ejus se studio teneri pluribus aperuerit[78], et "Vicecomitem Montis-Acuti præcharum (etsi summè Romano-Catholicum) habuerit, et inviserit. Noverat enim illum ex primâ institutione et animi persuasione, non ex factionis studio ut multi eam religionem coluisse[79]." Rex quoque Jacobus dixit, se diligere Papistam virum alioque bonum, et honestè educatum, qui aliam religionem nunquam imbiberat[80]. Rex verò Carolus pater vester, tantam fiduciam in Catholicis collocatam habuit ut provinciis, et urbibus administrandis eo annuente, tutò præfecti fuerint; qui in fide tuâ tam immoti permanserunt, ut illos ab eâ vel ultimæ miseriæ divellere non potuerint, nec poterunt; Phalaris licèt imperet ut sint falsi ac admoto dictet perjuria tauro. Alio enim elogio patria se nostra honestari non cupit quàm quòd fida suo Regi semper Ierne fuit.

Catholicorum igitur perfidia Senatores tertii ordinis non movit ut odium iis apud vos conflarent, sed metus ne Catholicorum prædiis, quæ majores retulerunt ut nobilitatis tesseram, dignitatis fulcrum, meritorum honorarium et virtutis præmium, illis in militare congiarium, seditionis, rebellionis salarium, cædis et vastationis auctoramentum et impietatis hostimentum non cederent. Et quia vitæ tolerandæ rationem nobis auferendo vitam ipsam sustulerunt, eoque pacto per clades nostras viam ad opes sibi congerendas straverunt, Jezabelem agere videntur, quæ Nabothi cæde vineam Achabo[81] marito comparavit; aut Herodem, qui, ne sibi regnum eriperetur, atrocissimâ infantum strage se contaminare non dubitavit[82].

[77] Lomb. Comment. de Hib. p. 481, N. Bernard, Vita Uss. p. 69. [78] Britanno-mach. p. 118. [79] Camd. in Eliz. an. 1592, sub finem. [80] Oratio Reg. in Camerâ Stel. p. 29. [81] 3 Reg. xxi. [82] Mat. ii.

loyalty to a prince who was then after renouncing the dogmas of the ancient creed, very severe statutes were not enacted against them, the penal enactments of this present Parliament cannot now be justified by any plea of necessity or expediency, when the Catholics have given repeated and unequivocal proofs of their loyalty, and the change of the religion of the State has been consolidated by time.

Queen Elizabeth herself had not such a horror of the Catholic faith, as not to give several proofs of her regard for it. "She had the greatest esteem for Lord Viscount Montague, and visited him, though he was a most staunch Roman Catholic. For she knew that he had imbibed that creed from early education, and conscientious conviction, and not from factious motives, like too many others." King James also said, "that he loved a Papist who was otherwise a good man and well educated, and who had never professed any other faith." So great was the confidence reposed in the Catholics by your father, King Charles, that with his consent they were intrusted with the government of towns and provinces; and to you they have evinced loyalty so devoted, that the last extremes of human misery could not shake it, though Phalaris himself should dictate treason and perjury under the torture of his bull. The highest eulogy our country desires, is, that Ireland has been always loyal to her King.

The disloyalty of the Catholics is not the real cause[d] of the attempts of the Commons to incite your hatred against us; but they fear that they themselves may not be allowed to retain—as the service-money of their sedition, the salary of their rebellion, the wages of their murder and robbery, and the reward of their impiety—those estates inherited by Catholics from ancestors who held them as the emblems of their nobility, the support of their dignity, the tribute to their worth, and the reward of their virtues. By depriving us of all means of supporting life, and, therefore, of life itself,—by hewing out a path to wealth for themselves, over our slaughtered bodies,—they renew the crime of Jezabel, who murdered Naboth to get his vineyard for her husband Ahab; or of Herod, who polluted himself with that atrocious massacre of the Innocents, lest he might be deprived of his crown.

[d] A new English interest. "If this cannibal English interest gives no quarter to the children of the English, may not the posterity of those very adventurers and soldiers, after an age or two, be likewise devoured."—*Sale*, &c., p. 105.

"Procuratio Reipub. (inquit Cicero) ad utilitatem eorum qui commissi sunt, non ad eorum quibus commissa, gerenda est." Quomodo igitur Comitiorum suffragatores ab indigenis non delegati de indigenarum rebus laborabunt? Annon ad eos potiùs amplificandos sollicitudi-
[xii.] nem omnem | convertent, quorum beneficio suffragii in Comitiis ferendi jus assecuti sunt? Enimvero perduellionis crimen ab universis indigenis contractum esse pronuntiârunt, continuòque tecum enixiùs egerunt, ut et illius delicti gratiam iis non faceres, et avitis eos agris propterea multares. Ut non dubitem quin, quo Mithridates et Annibal in Romanos odio, eodem in Hibernos illi prorsus imbuti fuerint, qui torrentem indulgentiæ ad omnes a tuæ clementiæ fonte latè manantem, ad Hibernos fluere non tulerunt. Meminisse debuerunt "judicium sine misericordiâ illi qui non fecit misericordiam[83]:" Et a Cicerone dici; "Cave ignoscas nec hominis nec ad hominem vocem esse[84]." Cùm autem perduellionis longè fœdioris macula non levitèr ipsis sed altè impressa sit, a ratione plurimùm abhorret, ut quorum impunitas clementiæ tuæ laus est, eorum ipsorum ad crudelitatem te acuat oratio.

Nec mirari desino cur avidiùs quam justiùs expetunt, ut sua perduellio sibi opulentiam, honores, et potentiam, nostra innocentia perniciem nobis pariat? aut cur veterum abolitarumque, jam offensarum memoriam tam operosè refricent, et inculcent? nisi eandem rationem ad te a nobis alienandum inituri sunt quam ad Artaxerxis odium in Judæos inflammandum sui consiliarii adhibuerunt[85]. Nam horum verbis illi te compellare videntur, ac dicere quòd Hibernia "rebellis est et nocens Regibus et provinciis, et bella concitantur in eâ ex diebus antiquis[86]." Sed tu Darium Judæos, auribus ad consiliariorum querelas obstructis, summo favore prosecutum imitaris, qui obtrectatorum nostrorum criminationibus parum ponderis inesse deprehendens, ad summam nobis indulgentiam impendendam propendes, aut potiùs descendis.

Nimirum aërem verberant, qui ab innatâ tibi clementiâ te, clementissime Principum, ad crudelitatem attrahere contendunt. Etenim clementiæ magnitudinem condonati sceleris gravitate metimur. Cùm autem flagitium post homines natos atrocissimum veniam a te retulerint, paucis scelerum pœnas dantibus, ne impunitas scelera latiùs propagaret, ad paucos pœna, metus ad omnes perveniret; illis merito suo

[83] Jac. ii. [84] Pro Ligario. [85] 1 Esdras, iv. [86] Ibid.

"The government of the Commonwealth," says Cicero, "must be conducted for the interest of the governed, not the governors." How, then, can members of Parliament, not chosen by natives, have any regard for native interests? Will they not rather exert all their influence to exalt those who gave them seats in Parliament? Have they not already pronounced the natives universally guilty of treason, and pressed you, in the most importunate way, not to pardon that crime, but to punish it by the confiscation of the hereditary native estates? Mithridates or Hannibal, I am confident, did not hate the Romans more cordially than those men hate the Irish. They have excluded the Irish, alone, from tasting of that bounteous stream of mercy which welled from your heart, and lavished its favors indiscriminately. They should have known that "he shall have judgment without mercy who has shown no mercy;" and that, in the words of Cicero, "*do not pardon*" is an expression "not for a man, nor to a man." But since the stain of a much more foul rebellion rests not slightly but deeply on themselves, it is revolting to common sense that men, who owe their own lives to your extraordinary clemency, should excite you to cruelty.

To me it is an endless wonder how they can ask, with so much pertinacity, so little justice, that they should receive wealth, honors, and power, for rebellion; and we ruin for our innocence; or why they are so zealous in reviewing, in perpetuating, the memory of past and forgotten offences; if it be not that they use the same arts to estrange your affections from us, which his counsellors employed to inflame the hatred of Artaxerxes against the Jews. In the words of these counsellors, it would seem, they address you: "Ireland is rebellious, and hurtful to the kings and provinces, and wars were raised therein of old time." But you imitate Darius, who gave a deaf ear to the complaints of his courtiers, and loaded the Jews with his favors; for, perceiving that the accusations of our enemies are groundless, you are inclined, or rather condescend, to extend great indulgence to us.

Never, most clement Prince, shall those men pervert you from your natural clemency to cruelty. The greatness of clemency is always estimated by the heinousness of the forgiven guilt. But, as you have already pardoned them the most atrocious crime ever committed within the memory of man, as only a few have been punished, and these merely on the principle that impunity should not increase crime, that all should

vitam amittentibus, reliquis beneficio tuo retinentibus, Principum te clementissimum jure prædicavero, cujus clementia omnem præteritæ memoriæ clementiam multis gradibus supergressa est; quæ posteris quoque velut e speculâ lumen quod sequantur ostendet. E tuo autem tam ardenti virtutis illius studio portendi confidimus fore, ut tuas et populi tui res secundo successu Deus prosequatur. Etenim "roboratur clementiâ thronus[87]." Et homines[88] ad Deum nullâ re propiùs accedunt quàm salutem hominibus dando. Clementia gratiarum imbrem in Davidem e cœlo deduxit[89]; Constantini regnum felicitate perfudit[90]; | [xiii.] imperium Theodosii prosperis eventibus cumulavit, et deliciarum orbis nomen, populique amorem ipsi comparavit[91]. Denique quo se Princeps indulgentiorem populi delictis præbet, eo firmiori regnum suum potentiâ munit[92].

Nos itaque non tam, innocentiâ nostrâ quàm clementiâ tuâ freti in sinu gaudemus te ad pœnas nobis irrogandas non tam exorabilem esse, quàm hostes nostri ad eas efflagitandas importuni sunt. Nec salutis eorum e nostratibus deprecatores erimus, qui homicidiis se atrocioribus inquinaverunt. Tantùm Abrami verbis Deum compellantis obsecramus "absit a te ut occidas justum cum impio[93]." Justos seu potiùs insontes appello nostrates, qui quamvis aliquâ culpâ tenentur erroris humani, a scelere certè liberi sunt. Ad bellum enim non ultro, sed lacessiti; non cædis edendæ, sed authoritatis tuæ propugnandæ, suique tuendi causâ descenderunt; et castris ac studiis ab hostibus tuis dissederunt. Illorum acies in ipsum Regem struebantur, gladii pectus ejus petebant, animi perniciem ejus capiti moliebantur, impetus omnis ad eum perdendum ruebat. Hiberni ad imperium ei supremum conservandum studia et vires omnes conferebant; in acie pugnas pro ejus causâ, in templis vota pro salute faciebant, et veteri formâ precabantur, ut felicior esset Augusto, melior Trajano[94], nihil magis in optatis habentes quàm, si per maris intercapedinem liceret, vel laterum suorum oppositu periculum cervicibus ejus impendens amovere. Nôrunt enim Regis vitam saluti subditorum esse præferen-

[87] Prov. xx. [88] Cic. pro Ligario. [89] 1 Reg. xxiv.; Psal. 131. [90] Euseb. lib. ii. c. 16. [91] S. Aug. de Civit. lib. v. c. 25. [92] S. Ambr. in Obit. Theo. [93] Gen. xviii. [94] Eutrop. lib. ii.

* The King's Declaration "granted a free and general pardon to all his subjects of and in Ireland, notorious murderers only excepted."—*Irish Stat.* vol. ii. p. 262.

be terrified and a few only condemned,—justly condemned to death,—yet as the others owe their lives to your mercy, I may declare confidently that you áre the most merciful of princes; that your clemency far transcends everything of the kind ever known in former times, and will light all future ages to the noble path they ought to pursue. We hail your ardent love of that virtue as a good omen of the blessings which God has in reserve for you and your people. "The throne is strengthened by clemency." "Nothing assimilates man to the Gods more than mercy and protection extended to our fellow-man." Clemency drew down the choicest favors of heaven on David; it diffused happiness over the wide realms of Constantine; it invested the diadem of Theodosius with the glory of victory and prosperity, and procured for himself the appellation of the delight of the world, and the love of his people. In a word, the more indulgent a prince proves himself, the more firmly does he consolidate his throne.

Relying, therefore, on your clemency, rather than on our own innocence, we rejoice heartily that you have not been as ready to inflict as our enemies have been importunate in demanding our punishment. As to the fate of such of our countrymen who may have been notoriously guilty of murders[e], we leave it entirely in your own hands. But as Abraham spoke to God, we appeal to you, "far be it from thee to slay the just with the wicked;" and by the just, or rather the not guilty, we mean such of our countrymen as cannot claim exemption from some of the frailties of humanity, though they are certainly free from crime. They flew to arms, not voluntarily, but in self-defence; they took the field, not to massacre, but to uphold your authority and protect themselves; and neither in the campaigns nor their ultimate designs had they any communion with your enemies. Those, our enemies, raised their banners against the King; they pointed their steel to his heart; his ruin was the daily object of their machinations; their whole force was directed to his ruin. But all the zeal and power of the Irish rallied enthusiastically around the King; in the field they gave their blood; in the churches they prayed for his cause; and they prayed, according to old ritual, that he might be more fortunate than Augustus, and better than Trajan. The most cherished wish of their hearts was to cross the sea, if possible, and make their bodies a rampart against the blow levelled at his head. The King's life, they were aware, was of

dam; nec Regi suo dubitant, sensu Christianæ religioni accommodato, acclamare; de nostris annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos[95]; etenim

> "Regem non sic Ægyptus, et ingens
> Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Medes Hydaspes[96],"

observant, ut Hiberni suum.

Et verò summum observantiæ nostræ gradum tibi jure tuo prorsus vendicas, qui te non solùm Regem præsidio nobis, sed etiam parentem benignitate præbuisti. Imò ad patronum nostrum agendum te amantissimè demisisti. Nam, criminum a subditis contractorum abolitione indictâ, culparum nostrarum oblivionem, et officiorum a nobis tibi præstitorum memoriam Comitiorum Angliæ Senatoribus non segniter inculcasti, quos ad consentiendum hortatus es, ut in condonationis communionem cæteris subditis præstitæ etiam Hiberni adsciscerentur. Inferioris autem Comitiorum Hiberniæ conclavis Oratori, et in aulâ tuâ tum procuratori incantamentum pacis a te nobis indultæ auferendum esse affirmanti primò silentium indixisti, deinde imperitum te solvendi præstigii artificem esse, pacem tamen tuo nomine contractam ratam habitum iri respondisti. Ita ut non potiori jure Antoninum Pium Romani, quàm nos te "parentem et patronum" nominemus[97]. Inter plura lenitatis vestræ specimina, illud ære perennius Declarationis
[xiv.] vestræ monumentum | potissimùm eminet, quâ nostratium aliis criminum liberationem, aliquibus erratorum veniam, nonnullis salutem nullis spoliatam ornamentis impertiisti, alios non solùm jacentes erexisti, sed pristinas etiam illorum dignitates amplificâsti, et adversariis nostris

[95] Tert. Apol. c. xxxv. [96] Georgic. iv. [97] Aurel. Victor.

[f] "I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy: they have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour and of what I have promised to them."—*King's Speech to Parliament*, July 27, 1660. Again, in the "Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland," Nov. 30, 1660: "In the last place we did, and always must, remember the great affection a considerable part of that nation expressed to us, during the time of our being beyond the seas, when, with all cheerfulness and obedience, they received and submitted to our orders, which demeanour of their's cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection and justice." He promised to observe the articles of the peace of 1648; "divers persons of quality have not swerved from us since."

[g] Sir Audley Mervyn was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, principally by the interest of the Adventurers. He governed the Court of Claims at pleasure, and

greater value than the lives of his subjects, and in defence of their King they did not hesitate to exclaim, but in a Christian sense, may Jupiter prolong your life, even at the expense of our's, for

> "Not Egypt, Lydia, Mede or Parthian, more,
> In loyal truth, their lawful king adore,"

than the Irish honor their's.

And, truly, you are eminently entitled to our most devoted loyalty, since we have received at your hands not only the protection of a prince, but the benignity of a parent. You have even condescended affectionately, to plead as our patron. For when a general amnesty of the crimes committed by your subjects was proclaimed, you earnestly impressed on the English Parliament an oblivion of our faults, and a grateful remembrance of our services towards you; you strongly advised them to include the Irish in the general amnesty graciously extended to all your subjects[f]. When the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who was sent over as delegate to your palace, cried out that the magical peace made by you with the Irish should be violated, you first ordered him to be silent, and then answered that in truth you were not very clever in dissolving charms, but that a peace made by your authority should not be violated[g]. Thus may we style you our parent and patron, as the Romans did Antoninus Pius. Among the many proofs of your clemency, the most remarkable is "the Declaration," a monument more durable than brass, whereby you have granted to some of our countrymen exemption from trial; to others, pardon of their errors; and to others, their lives, with all that can make life agreeable. Some you have not only raised from their prostrate condition, but even

refused to allow the Earls of Westmeath and Fingall to take possession of their lands, though they were restored by the King's letters. He was also one of the Delegates of the Irish Commons to England, and made "a quaint harangue" before the King.—*Carte*, pp. 222, 228, 230, 237. Perhaps the text alludes to an address of the Irish Commons presented to the Duke of Ormonde by their speaker, February 13, 1662, in which they recommended stricter rules to the Court of Claims against the recovery of the confiscated property, "lest the ruin of an English interest in Ireland might bear date under the best of Kings and the most vigilant Lord Lieutenant, in the first and, if not prevented, the last Protestant Parliament there."—*Borlase*, p. 380. By the English interest Mervyn understood the late settlers exclusively.—*Carte*, p. 228. He made large sums of money by selling "provisoes," that is, clauses restoring certain persons by name to their forfeited property.—*Carte*, p. 295.

ægerrimè ferentibus, nostrates per orbem terrarum latè palatos, errantes, et vagos non in cœtum aliquem e montibus, saltibus et silvis, ut primam rudium hominum multitudinem primi vitæ cultioris institutores ac magistri; sed in dulcissimam charissimamque patriam e diuturno funestoque exilio induxisti, ac proinde "reduxisti captivitatem nostram de cunctis gentibus[98]." Quare quemadmodum Cicerone, "nemo expulsus invidiosiùs, aut receptus est lætiùs[99]:" sic quo lugubrior ejectio nostra, eo fuit restitutio gratiosior. Nimirum iis, quibus communio relegationis tecum (quo nemo acerbiorem fortunam expertus est, aut constantiùs toleravit) intercessit, subvenire non dubitâsti. Non enim secus ac olim Dido, "Conscius ipse mali miseris succurrere discis." Mihi memoriæ veteris historias cogitatione volventi nihil modò succurrit, quod hostium nostrorum crudelitatem magis ad vivum exprimat, quàm triginta tyranni, quos Atheniensibus Lacedemonii præfecerunt. Sicut enim illi Athenienses, sic isti nostrates, quibus "in bello fortuna pepercit, patriâ expulerunt, et eorum bona publicata inter se diviserunt[100]." Sicut illi confœderatas urbes perfugium exulibus præbere vetuerunt[101], sic isti Regem ipsum et asseclarum turmas Galliâ excludi curârunt. Illi reliquias Atheniensium in patriâ persistentium armis spoliârunt, et ex urbe demigrare inque brachiis muri, quæ diruta fuerunt, habitare jusserunt, isti nostrates inermes Connaciæ angustiis coërcuerunt. Sed sicut Thrasibulus cives suos[102], sic tua Majestas suos

[98] Jerem. xxix. [99] Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. [100] Æmil. Prob. in Thrasib. [101] Justin, lib. v. [102] Valer. Max. lib. iv. c. 1.

[h] Dr. French thus describes the celebrated Declaration: "The first branch of the Declaration confirms the adventurer in his possession; the second secures the soldier in his debenture; the third satisfies the forty-nine men (the officers who had served in the King's army to 1649); the fourth assures the transplanted Irish the land decreed to them in Connaught and Clare; the fifth makes mention of those Irish officers who served His Majesty in Flanders, as also the generality of the nation who pretend to Articles. Is not this a blessed declaration, which provides in so large a manner for so many different interests; a declaration that satisfies the natives, and yet dispossesseth none of the Cromwellists." —*Settlement*, p. 83. "Innocent" Catholics were to be restored without previous reprisals, even though they had sued out lands in Connaught; but, in the latter case, if they had sold the lands, they should restore the price to the purchaser, and reprise the adventurer. Thirty-six Irish noblemen and gentry, who were either innocents, or claimed on Articles, were expressly named in the Declaration to be restored without further proof. The King had also

advanced to higher honors, and, to the poignant mortification of our enemies, our countrymen, who were scattered homeless and vagabonds in many foreign countries, were recalled by you; not into a civil society from mountains, woods, and deserts, whence the masters and creators of civilized life collected the first hordes of savage men, but to the bosom of their own most delightful and beloved country, from their protracted and cheerless exile. Truly, "thou hast brought back our captivity out of all nations;" and, "as no man was banished with more popular odium, nor recalled with greater joy than Cicero," so with us; the more dismal our banishment, the more welcome our recall. You have not hesitated to relieve those who shared your own fate in exile, and no one experienced a harder fate or bore it with greater fortitude than you[h]. Like Dido of old, "by your sad experience you have been taught to succour the distressed." When I turn over before my mind's eye the long pages of history, I can find no apter parallel of the cruelty of our enemies to my countrymen than those thirty tyrants who were forced on the people of Athens by the Lacedemonians. As the tyrants treated the Athenians, these men have treated us, "banishing from their homes those who had escaped the horrors of war, confiscating their property, and dividing it among themselves." As the tyrants ordered the allied States and cities not to give refuge to the exiles, so these took care that the King, and his band of faithful followers, should be excluded from France. The remnant of the Athenians who remained at home were disarmed, and driven from the city to live among their ruined fortifications: my countrymen were disarmed and penned up in the narrow limits of Connaught. But as Thrasibulus brought back his fellow-citizens, so has your Majesty led back to their native land the

issued private letters of restitution to several persons.—*Carte*, vol. ii. pp. 206, 216. Dr. Lynch appears to have considered these favorable points only, not taking into account the extreme severity of the conditions required to establish "innocence" before the Court of Claims, and the fact that the fund for reprisals had been nearly exhausted by large grants to the Church, Broghill, Coote, Clotworthy, Ormonde, and the Duke of York; *Carte*, vol. ii. p. 221. "Is it fit," asks Dr. French, "to expose His Royal Highness and his princely posterity to the heavy judgments which commonly follow illegal and unjust acquisitions?" James had a grant of all the lands of Miles Corbet and of the other regicides, "formerly the estates of poor Irish gentlemen who had served under the command of His Highness in foreign countries."—*Sale and Settl.* p. 106.

Hibernos dispersam et vagam vitam miserabiliter exigentes in patriam reduxisti. Et sicut ille, sic tu statuisti ut præterita crimina oblivione sempiternâ delerentur. Quia "speciosiùs injuriæ beneficiis vincuntur, quàm odii pertinaciâ pensantur[103]."

Cavent unicè parentes aliquem e filiis ita beneficiis cumulare, ut æmulationem aliis moveant. Nos benignissimum te parentem nacti, non veremur ut ad melius merendum de nuperis Hiberniæ colonis, quàm de priscis indigenis proclivior futurus sis. Lege divinâ monente, "si personas accipitis peccatum operamini, redarguti a lege quasi transgressores[104];" et humanâ statuente "ut suum jus cuique tribuatur." Horum majores Regibus Angliæ summum Hiberniæ imperium vi, et armis primi comparârunt, et multo deinde sanguine, per plures annorum centurias, in assiduis bellis, effuso confirmârunt. Ipsi omnes animi, corporis, et opum nervos, ut idem imperium suo Regi sartum tectum conservarentur, intenderunt. Sed, rebus ex eorum voto non fluenti-
[xv.] bus, conatûs, non successûs habenda ratio | est: Etenim, "Nullus ab eventu facta notanda putat[105]." Nuperi coloni non ad asserendam, sed ad eripiendam Regi nostro supremam Hiberniæ potestatem rebellibus armis Hibernos infestârunt. Ita indigenæ et generis, et suâ indole ad obsequendum, coloni disciplinæ perversitate, et suâ pertinaciâ ad obsistendum Regi propensi sunt. Cùm igitur "difficile sit mutare animum, et si quid est insitum moribus, id subitò evellere[106]," credibile non est, si in Majestatis tuæ gratiam hi redierint, eâ illos excidere posse; aut semper fidos indigenas suis et majorum sedibus ideo ejiciendos fore, ut iis alienigenæ diu perfidi succederent. Non secus ac si ea multitudo foret

"gallinæ filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli nati infelicibus annis."

Non modico sanè gaudio efferimur, quòd isti coloni ad bonam se frugem aliquando receperint, et, nuncio rebellioni remisso, fasces authoritati

[103] Valer. Max. lib. iv. c. 2. [104] Jacob. ii. [105] Ovid. [106] Cic. lib. i. Ep. 1, ad Q. frat.

[i] In 1659 Broghill and Coote had sent private emissaries to Charles. More than 200 officers having been dismissed by Ludlow, they seized Dublin Castle Dec. 13, 1659: a Council was formed, and, on the petition of the Mayor and Corporation of Dublin, a convention of the estates was summoned, which met Feb. 7, 1660, resisted the authority of the English Council, pronounced against the King's murderers, and declared for a full and free Parliament. All were for the Restoration, the only ques-

miserable Irish who were wandering outcasts on the face of the earth. And, like him, you have proclaimed an eternal oblivion of all past crimes, "for it is nobler to conquer injuries by kindness, than to deal out on them an obdurate revenge."

Parents always specially avoid showing to one of their children such marked kindness as to excite the envy of the rest. As you have been a most indulgent parent to us, we have no apprehension that you will confer more favors on the late settlers in Ireland than on the old Anglo-Irish. The law of God himself declares: "that if you have respect to persons, you commit sin, being reproved by the law as transgressors;" and the laws of man require "that every man shall have his right." The ancestors of the old Anglo-Irish laid the foundations of English power in Ireland by their swords, and consolidated it afterwards by their blood shed profusely in never-ceasing warfare during several centuries; and the inhabitants themselves lately exerted all their powers of body and soul and resources to maintain that sovereign power inviolable in their King. Fortune did not smile on their exertions, it is true; but it is the attempt, not its issue, that must be taken into account. For "no one would say, that the turn of events is the standard by which the merit of man's actions must be estimated." Those late settlers turned their rebel arms against the Irish, not to uphold but to subvert his Majesty's throne in Ireland. The natives, therefore, are both by character and hereditary principle inclined to be loyal to the king; the settlers, on the other hand, are impelled by the evil bias of their education, and their own obstinacy, to oppose him. If, then, nothing be more difficult than a change of temper, or the sudden eradication of any deeply-rooted moral habit, is it creditable that these men should be restored to your Majesty's favor, while we are excluded? or that the ever-faithful natives should be ejected from their own and their forefathers' properties, to make room for those perfidious foreigners? as if that herd were

> "All born of favorite sires,
> And we a worthless and unlucky brood."

We hailed with no ordinary joy the tardy conversion of those settlers, when, bidding adieu to rebellion, they laid their power at your feet[l].

tion being whether it should be without conditions. The King was proclaimed in Dublin, May 14, 1660. — *Carte*, vol. ii. pp. 202–3–4.

tuæ submiserint. Credimus eos, qui "priùs dominum ferre non poterant[107]," et deinde "conservo servierunt," maluisse tandem "veterem et clementem dominum habere, quàm novum et crudelem ampliùs experiri[108]." Quod felix iis faustumque fuit. Nam clementiæ tuæ asylo, quod semper pœnitentibus patuit excepti nunc in portu navigant. Tu enim aliorum victor a misericordiâ victus animi generositatem ad indulgentiam flexisti. Nimirum ut apud Romanos viri clarissimi simultates et inimicitias gravissimas Reipub. causâ posuerunt[109]; sic tu omnes eorum offensas Reipub. condonâsti. Etenim verè pœnitentes (ut ait alicubi Seneca) sunt ferè innocentes. Filius prodigus sceleratè vivendi cursum ultro deserens in patris benignitate perfugium nactus est; et eorum pœnitentia, qui criminum suorum dolore capiuntur, cœlites oblectat.

Utinam quam clementiam his excitatus exemplis illis hominibus præbuisti, tam illi se Hibernis comes præstitissent, quos vectigalibus exigendis sic premunt, ut omnes ab iis opes exprimant, et instar lienis, nostris contabescentibus, ipsi nostrorum divitiis intumescant, cogentes ut nostri militum stipendia, et alios quosque publicos sumptus persolvant, qui proinde onera civium assiduè sustinent, jura dudum amiserunt. Licèt autem "huc omnia referenda sint ab iis qui præsunt aliis, ut qui erunt eorum in imperio sint beatissimi: et non modò ejus sit qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam ejus, qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus præsit, eorum quibus præsit commodis utilitatique servire[110]." Tantùm tamen abest ut illi nostratium emolumentis consuluerint, ut potiùs quamplurimùm obfuerint, quippe quæ nostris detracta suo peculio adglomerârunt. Proinde ut Asiaticorum animos a Romanis, sic nostros a gubernatoribus alienavit "rapacitas Proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium[111]." |

[xvi.] Nostros etiam nec in majorum sedibus, nec in avitis sedibus consis-

[107] Cic. lib. ii. Ep. 3. [108] Cic. lib. xv. Ep. 19. [109] Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 2. [110] Cic. lib. i. Ep. 1, ad Q. frat. [111] Justin. lib. xxxviii.

[k] From the Restoration to the final "settlement" of Ireland in 1665, the Catholics were subjected to severe exactions on account of pretended plots. It was a common custom to drop treasonable letters in the streets. Thus, in Dec. 1661, a forged letter was made the ground of an Address from the Commons to the Lords Justices, recommending that all Priests, Jesuits, and Friars should be secured; all serviceable horses and arms seized; and all the transplanted Irish sent back to Connaught. A

We believe that they, who "at first could not brook a master," but afterwards "obeyed a fellow-subject," thought it better in the end "to have their old and clement lord rather than writhe under an upstart and cruel tyrant." Happy, propitious change for them! Safe in the harbour of your clemency, which is never closed against the penitent, they ride securely at anchor. Though victorious over others, you are the slave of mercy, and have carried the generosity of your soul to the limits of indulgence. Like the great lights of Roman story, who laid aside their animosities and factions for the good of the Republic, you have pardoned, without exception, their crimes against the State. The true penitent, Seneca somewhere observes, is almost guiltless. A father's kindness embraced the prodigal son, when he voluntarily abandoned his profligate career, and heaven itself is in jubilee at the conversion of those who are sorry for their crimes.

Oh! that this example of your great clemency to them would induce them to show the same mercy to the Irish, whom they grind to the earth with taxation, and rob of all their property[k]; so that, like the spleen, while we become emaciated skeletons, they grow plethoric on our substance, compelling us to support the army, and defray all the charges of the State. Our rights of citizenship are long since gone; our civic obligations are enforced without relaxation. But "though the grand object of all invested with authority ought to be the greatest good of all subject to their power, though this obligation be not confined to him who rules over his equals or fellow-citizens, but extends to the master of the slave, and of the dumb beasts themselves, binding them to provide for the wants and interests of those under their charge," so far have these men been from providing for our interests, that they have injured them most severely, by amassing immense fortunes for themselves on the ruins of our's. "The rapacity of Proconsuls, the exactions of the tax-gatherer, and the devouring quirks of the law," alienated the affections of the Asiatics from the Romans, and have produced similar effects on ourselves.

After expelling my countrymen from the homes of their fathers,

proclamation was accordingly issued, and executed with great rigor: all tradesmen, who had escaped Cromwell, were banished from Kilkenny, and the other large towns: "Horses and arms were sought for in trunks and cabinets, as they were not elsewhere to be found, and silver cups were defined to be chalices."—*Carte*, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

tere passi nostratium plures in promissos agellos non induxerunt, sed, ad ludibrium, ostiatim stipem petere coëgerunt. Quamplurimi etiam e nostris extra omnes patriæ limites ad incertas terras, sed certas miserias vela facere jussi sunt. Ut ne auram quidem patriam iis haurire licuerit; qui inter abeundum submurmurârunt:

> "Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva.
> Improbus hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit."

In devictos Ethnici Romani longè humaniores erant, quibus septimam tantùm agri partem ademptam colonis insidendam tradiderunt[112]. Licèt autem per secuta tempora, superati quartâ, tertiâ, et tandem dimidiâ fundorum parte, nunquam tamen duobus trientibus, ante nostrates, spoliati fuerunt. Et Cæsar ipse seditiosissimum quemque et prædæ et agri tertiâ parte multaverat[113]. Nec avitis prædiis exturbatos ad terrarum et ærumnarum ultima emiserunt, sed Octavius "Suevos et Sicambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, et in proximis Rheno agris collocavit[114]." Tiberius "bello Germanico quadraginta millia deditiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit[115]." Gillimer Vandalorum Rex ductus Constantinopolim in triumphum agro in Cappadociâ, secundum triumphum, donatus est[116]. Carolus Magnus Transalbiones omnes cum familiis transportavit in Galliam. Ideoque Ussherus ille nostras potissimum reformatæ religionis propugnaculum, ad cujus valentiam in suâ religione tuendâ quidam Hectoris orationem accommodavit dicentis,

> "Si Pergama dextrâ
> Defendi possent, dextrâ hâc defensa fuissent[117],"

conquestus est[118] in præteritâ Hiberniæ plantatione, prudentiam bene institutis Rebuspub. olim familiarem minimè adhibitam fuisse. Nam illæ novis coloniis aliquò deductis, priores indigenas certis in sedibus

[112] Plutar. in Romulo. [113] Sueton. [114] Idem. [115] Idem. [116] Ratio-temp. lib. vii. c. 5. [117] Æneid. ii. [118] Vit. Ussher. p. 71.

[l] The number of the transplanted Irish must have been considerable, as they held at the Restoration 800,000 acres in Connaught. But many were either unwilling or unable to accept the "miserable farms." —*Lingard*, vol. x. p. 368.

[m] "All who had borne arms under the Confederates, or the King's Lieutenant, forfeited, by Cromwell's Act of Settlement, two-thirds of their estates."—See the Act in the Appendix to *Lingard*, vol. x. fourth edit.

and their family estates, they refused to grant to many of them even the miserable farms[l] that had been promised, and compelled them, ignominiously, to beg their bread from door to door. A vast number of my countrymen have been banished far from their native soil, to no certain settlement, but to an inheritance of misery. They were not allowed even to breathe their native air, and could only murmur at their departure the indignant complaint:

> "Forced from our pleasing fields and native home.
> Did we for these barbarians plant and sow?"

The Pagan Romans themselves were much more merciful to the vanquished, depriving them of only a seventh of their land, to be occupied by settlers; and though, in progress of time, the confiscation of some rose to a fourth, a third, and, at last, to a half of the conquered territory, it never extended to two-thirds before our day[m]. Even the ringleaders of sedition were not punished by Cæsar himself with the loss of more than one-third of their land and property. "The Romans did not expel the vanquished from their fathers' homes, and send them homeless beggars to the ends of the earth. When the Suevi and Sicambri laid down their arms, Octavius transplanted them to Gaul, and settled them on the banks of the Rhine." In the Germanic war, Tiberius transplanted 40,000 men who surrendered themselves, and gave them lands in Gaul along the banks of the Rhine. Gillimer, King of the Vandals, after being led in triumph to Constantinople, had lands assigned to him in Cappadocia, after the triumph. Charlemagne transplanted into Gaul all the inhabitants beyond the Elbe, with their families. Hence, our countryman, Ussher himself, the great bulwark of the reformed religion, he, to whose chivalrous defence of his creed some persons applied the words of Hector,—

> "If by a mortal hand the Trojan throne
> Could be defended, 'twas by mine alone;"—

even he complained that, in the former plantation of Ireland, the old established maxims of all well-constituted states had been shamefully neglected[n]. For, whenever they planted colonies, certain settlements

[a] These emigrations continued after the Restoration. A great number of the Ulster Irish settled in the county of Tipperary, and 1000 of them took refuge in the bleak

collocârunt. Sic e Liguribus Apuanis montes Ainido a Consulibus P. Cornelio et M. Bebio deserere jussis "traducti sunt publico sumptu ad quadraginta millia liberorum capitum, cum fœminis puerisque: argenti data centum et quinquaginta millia, unde in novas ædes compararent quæ opus essent[119]." Fulnius Consul "Apuanos Ligures, qui circa Macram fluvium incolebant, in deditionem acceptos ad septem millia hominum in naves impositos præter oram Hetrusci maris Neapolim transmisit; inde in Samnium traducti agerque his inter populares datus est[120]." Idem etiam Fulnius pugnando Ligures sic montibus expulit, ut "tria millia ducenti hostium, omnisque ea regio Ligurum in deditionem venerit." "Consul deditos in campestres agros deduxit, præsidiaque montibus imposuit[121]." Statellatum Ligurum qui se dediderunt, "multis millibus Senatus-consulto in libertatem restitutis, | [xvii.] transductisque Padum ager est assignatus[122]."

Sed non magis novâ istâ et inusitatâ crudelitate in ejectos sævi, quàm insolentes in eos fuerunt, qui domi hærentes quicquid ab harpiarum istarum unguibus radere poterant in lucro posuerunt. Quibus

[119] Liv. dec. iv. lib. x. 531. [120] Ibidem. 534. [121] Ibidem. 344. [122] Idem. dec. v. lib. ii. p. 58.

mountains, between Clare and Connaught, in 1666.—*Orrery*, June 25, 1666. Jan. 15, 1666: "I know not what to do with those vagrant Ulsters. They commit no offence, but certainly it is not fit such herds of people should move up and down a kingdom: I have sent spies among them." July 12, 1667, he gives an account of the wretched condition of Mac Carthy Reagh, O'Sullivan More, O'Sullivan Beare, Mac Donnel, brother of Colkittogh, and others, who were either beggared or dependent on the generosity of some relatives in the French service: "I confess I do not like to have such a crew of men in such a country, and have no tie on them." Kerry fell to the lot of his own troop in the Confiscation.

° Probably alludes to the edict by which all Irish noblemen, whose fathers were not English, were bound, under pain of death, to wear yellow bands on their hats. The inferior ranks were compelled to wear, on their right cheek, a black, round spot, the size of a sixpence, under pain of being branded, in the same place, with a mark the size of a shilling for the first offence, and hanged as spies for the second.—*Porter*, p. 292. In his poem (p. 3, *ante*), Dr. Lynch says:

"Cognovi plures auro fundisque valentes,
Queis nunc accepi vix superesse cibum,
Nobilium natas, paribus quæ nubere suetæ,
Abjectæ plebis nunc juvat esse nurus,
Magnatum hæredibus, quibus ingens copia rerum
Parta fuit, vili queritur arte lucrum.
Sidera lambentis qui mox fuit incola tecti,
Cogitur exiguis nunc habitare casis,

were always allotted for the former inhabitants. Thus, when the Ligurians were ordered to quit their mountains of Apua, by the Consuls P. Cornelius and M. Bebius, they were transported to Ainido at the public expense, to the number of 40,000 men, with their wives and children, and supplied with 150,000 sesterces to provide the necessary accommodation in their new settlements. Fulnius, the Consul, on the surrender of the Apuan Ligurians, who held the banks of the river Macra, embarked 7000 of them, and sent them along the shore of the "Tuscan sea to Naples, whence they were escorted to Samnium, and had lands assigned to them among the natives." The same Fulnius, having succeeded in expelling the Ligurians from the mountains, "compelled 3200 of the enemy, and that whole district of Liguria, to surrender. The Consul planted his prisoners in the plains, and erected forts in the mountains." After the submission of the Statellates Ligurians, "many thousands of them were restored to liberty by a decree of the Senate, and, being transplanted over the Po, had lands allotted to them."

But this strange and unprecedented cruelty towards the exiles was not more atrocious than their tyranny[o] towards those who remained at home, and who thought themselves happy in being able to save anything from the claws of those harpies[p]. All were outraged with the

"Auro qui fuerat permultis dives et agris,
Hic nunc mendicat, quem dabat ante, cibum.
O! quam sunt multi, mirabar quos modo Crœsos
Quos nunc mendicos cerno repentè Codros."—*Arch. Miscell.*, vol. i. p. 95.

[p] The Republican Commissioners enacted that no office be conferred on an Irishman if a fit Englishman be found; that the Irish be farmers and laborers, and have a price set on their labor which will barely supply them with food and clothes; that a heavy tribute be levied on them; that they supply the public granaries with corn at the lowest price, and pay the highest for the worst lands, far from garrison, seaport, and town; that they cultivate a certain quantity of flax, which was to be spun for the English fleet by the Irish in gaol; that, if an Englishman be killed, the Irish of his district forfeit their lives; if he lose his property, they must compensate his loss; that all Irish beyond fourteen years of age are the property of the Republic, to be employed on sea or land; that thirty pence be levied for absence from church, each Sunday; two-thirds of property forfeited for first refusal of oath of abjuration; two-thirds of the rest for second refusal. Any transplanted Irishman leaving his place, or any Irishman going without a passport one mile beyond the district in which his name was annually registered, or being in a meeting even of four persons, forfeited his life; death to all priests, and all who harboured or did not

omnibus maximo contemptui tanquam Mysorum ultimis habitis, potissimè magnatibus insultaverunt, quorum alios indignissimis opprobriis in os prosciderunt, et injuriis non ferendis cumulârunt; aliorum latera non secus ac mediastinorum isti terræ filii fuste tutuderunt, et in eos superbiâ, quæ "crudelitate gravior est bonis[123]," grassati sunt. Cùm tamen "extrema improbitatis linea sit, etiam illudere iis quos afflixeris[124]." Perspicuum igitur est nostrates "ludibria et verbera expertos; insuper et vincula et carceres[125]." Quòd si nostratium vultus indignitate rerum commotus dominatores istos eludentes offendisset, mox (ut Romanis ad Caudinas furcas contigit[126]) gladius aut fustis intentatus fuit.

Decretum profectò tuum, quo statuisti ut omnibus Hibernis graviorum homicidiorum minimè reis gratia delictorum fieret, et plures bellorum impetu prostrati in avitis sedibus postliminio collocarentur, cumulatè omnium animos explevit. Eo enim aliud indulgentiæ tuæ monumentum gratius esse non potuit. Tamen, ut ait Cicero, "parvi refert abs te jus dici equaliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet quibus tu ejus muneris aliquam partem concesseris[127]." Quæ autem a te beneficia nobis afferuntur eadem a tuis in Hiberniâ ministris mox auferuntur, qui verborum decreti tui sensa sic in alienos sensus torserunt, ut illud irritum fecerint, quò te ad indignationem proculdubio irritarent. Hæreditatis paternæ cernendæ potestatem a te consecutos illi vel a posses-

[123] Florus, lib. i. c. 7. [124] Plutar. in Lacon. [125] Hebr. c. 11. [126] Liv. Dec. i. lib. ix. [127] Lib. i. Ep. 1, ad Q. frat.

arrest them; no trial by jury, but a court of twenty-four in each province, any four of whom had power of life and death. For these and other edicts, see *Hib. Dom.*, p. 703, *et seq.*

[q] The Declaration, it was expected, would restore from 5000 to 8000; but of these not 1000 were ever heard, though 4000 claims of innocence were entered in the Court.—*Carte*, p. 298; *Appen.*, vol. ii. p. 75.

[r] "Innocents," viz., such as had never offended his Majesty or his royal father, were the only people to be restored without previous reprisals. The Conventionists made it their grand work so to qualify an innocent that it should be morally impossible to find any such "in rerum naturâ, virum innocentem quis inveniet." Eleven qualifications were ordered for their trial, and these so rigid and severe, that Clotworthy and his companions (who had the wording of them) did verily believe there could not be a man found in all Ireland that should pass, untouched, through so many pikes; for, not only the inoffensive persons who never took arms, who never entered into the confederacy with the rest of their countrymen, if they did but pay them the least contri-

most sovereign contempt, as if they were the most miserable of men, especially the nobles, some of whom were treated to their faces with the most opprobrious indignities and oppressed with intolerable injuries, while others were even subjected, like menial slaves, to corporal punishment by those vulgar upstarts, whose licentious insolence must have been to "good men more intolerable than cruelty itself," "for to add insult to injury is the last excess of human depravity." Too evident it is, that our nobles "have had trials of mockeries and stripes, moreover, also of bands and prisons;" and should even a look betray the indignant feelings of their souls at those contumelies of their insulting tyrants (like the Romans under the gibbet at Caudium), they had the sword or the bastinado brandished to their face.

Universal and unbounded satisfaction was given by your proclamation of pardon to all who had not been guilty of notorious murders, and also by your promise of restoration to many who had been driven from their paternal property by the tumults of war. No other monument of your clemency could be more acceptable[q]. But, to use the words of Cicero, "what avails it that the impartial administration of justice be strictly ordered by you, if those to whom you have delegated the function do not carry it into execution?" The very favours which you grant are instantly taken from us by your ministers in Ireland, who distort the words of your proclamation into interpretations so strange as to nullify it[r], with the design, no doubt, of provoking your indignation. The very men who were empowered by you to take possession of the property of their fathers have been either excluded from posses-

bution out of their estates, if they did but reside in the Irish quarters, although in their own houses, not only these, I say, were declared to be no innocents, but such as lived all the war-time in England, such as were with his Majesty at Oxford, and served in his army, if they received any rent from their tenants in Ireland, were, by virtue of one of the eleven qualifications, to be held for "nocents."—*French, Settlement and Sale*, p. 85. See *Carte*, p. 220, for other conditions of innocence, viz., all who joined the Catholic Confederates before 1646, and all who, at any time, adhered to the Nuncio against Ormonde, were declared "nocents," &c. Notwithstanding the strictness of these rules the number of innocents restored was so great that Sandford, Allen, and other Cromwellian officers, made a plot to seize the Castle of Dublin, and overturn the Government. The House of Commons proposed even stricter rules, Feb. 28, 1663, but without success.—*Carte*, pp. 261, 266.

sione adeundâ excluserunt, vel e jam aditâ extruserunt. Tua Majestas diplomatè cavit ut pristini quique cives in patriis urbibus mercaturam liberè facerent: verùm iis non modò id præstare, sed ne pernoctare quidem intra patrios muros, nisi facultate gubernatoris, in scriptis impetratâ, per eosdem ministros integrum est. Imò prioribus urbium indigenis eas denuo incolere per te licuit; sed earum incolatu ab istis

[s] Immediately after the Restoration the Irish were recovering their properties by common law, proving descent and title, but the Courts were closed by the Lords Justices on an Address of the Irish Parliament.—*Carte*, p. 222. "It is now more than two years since the Act (the Black Bill, 25th of July, 1665) went over to Ireland, and the fifty-four nominees who were to be restored (as they verily believed) to their chief houses and 2000 acres of land, have not yet got a cottage, or one acre of ground."—*Settlement*, &c. &c., p. 93.

[t] Under the Commonwealth, Catholics were prohibited, under penalty of death by martial law, to inhabit or be in any garrison, port, or town, even in Connaught or Clare. —*Scobell*, p. 258. Their exclusion was confirmed by an address of both houses of Parliament to the Lords Justices in 1661 (*Carte*, p. 238), and inserted in the Act of Settlement. Dublin and Drogheda were excepted, their "innocent" Catholic inhabitants, who had been expelled by Cromwell, being allowed to return to their homes. But the Catholics of other towns, whether innocent or not, were expelled, receiving, if innocent, a promise of compensation in some property near the town. Galway alone received the King's letters patent for the restoration of its old inhabitants, and to it, no doubt, Dr. Lynch alludes. For the obstruction of the King's intention see *Hardiman's* "History of Galway," pp. 141, 144, and "Irish Mintrelsy," vol. ii. p. 155. The following is the mode of filling the corporations of Munster observed by Orrery, Lord President of that province: "When your Grace was pleased to honour me with the trust of naming those in the corporations of this province, I did (I take God to witness) endeavour, to my best, to discharge that duty. I resolved they should consist only of conformable Protestants; and the way I took was, to order the present magistrates to return to me a list of such as were conformable, and were fittest to be inserted in the charters. Then I made it my rule that, before I did certify to your Grace who were fit to be inserted, to inquire of the Bishop there, if not of the Dean, whether those whom I knew not myself to be conformable, and were by the magistrates represented as conformable, were so? Nay, I did send for the magistrates thither, and examine the lists they brought one by one." Sept. 17, 24, 1667. Charleville, which was his own creation, admitted "neither Presbyter, Papist, nor Independent, but all good old Protestants." Yet a few Catholics were in all the corporations of the south. In 1661 he admitted eight into Waterford on the petition of Sir John Stephens. Others were also licensed in Limerick; but, on the least rumour of disturbance, the license was withdrawn. Thus, in 1663, "he purged Waterford of Papists, and disarmed all Papists of that city and Limerick in 1666," on the ru-

sion[s], or even expelled after they had obeyed you. Your Majesty's letters patent secured to the old citizens the right of free trade in their native towns: your ministers not only refuse that right, but will not allow them to sleep within their native walls without written permission from the governor. You even allowed the former inhabitants of the towns to inhabit them again[t], but your ministers forbid it. Alas! "they that

moured insurrection of the famous Tory, Miles O'Reilly. The King had reserved to himself the right of restoring Catholics to the towns by special favour, and Orrery appears to have incurred the displeasure of Ormonde, for the filling up of the Munster Corporations.—*Orr.*, Jan. 14, 1661; Feb. 26, 1661; May 4, 1663; Feb. 12, 1663; Dec. 11, 1663; June 2, 1666. The principle on which he and his associates acted was, that so long as the towns and garrisons were exclusively Protestant, Parliament would be Protestant, and there could be no rebellion.

The following extract from G. Boate, "Doctor of Physic to the State in Ireland," and brother to the Physician-General of Cromwell's forces, gives the relative importance of Irish towns and cities 200 years ago:

"This island hath in it several cities, among which Dublin is the principal, being the chief city of the whole commonwealth: its harbour is frequented with more ships, and hath greater importation of all things, than any other haven in the kingdom. In time of peace, almost all Leinster and Ulster were wont to furnish themselves from Dublin of all kinds of provisions and necessaries, such as were brought in and out of foreign countries.

"Next to Dublin is Galloway, the head city of the province of Connaught, to be reckoned, as well for bigness and fairness as for riches; for the streets are wide and handsomely ordered; the houses, for the most part, built of freestone; and the inhabitants, much addicted to traffick, do greatly trade into other countries, especially into Spain, whence they used to fetch great store of wine and other wares, every year.

"In the third place cometh Waterford, and in the fourth Limerick, the head city of the said province (Munster), both towns of traffick, situated on goodly havens, and of reasonable bigness and handsomeness.

"Cork and Londonderry are less than any of the forementioned, but otherwise handsome places, well built, and very fitly situated for traffick and navigation, as standing upon very good havens.

"As for the rest of the towns,—Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Bandonbridge, are passable, and worthy of some regard, both for bigness and handsomeness; but Colrain, Knockfergus [Carrickfergus], Belfast, Dundalk, Wexford, Youghal, and Kinsale, are of small moment; the best of all these being hardly comparable to any of those fair market-towns which are to be found in almost all parts of England. And, as for Cashel, Ross, Lismore, Clonmell, and Kilmallock, in Munster; Sligo and Athlone, in Connaught; Mullingar, Trim, Kells, Navan, Athboy, Naas, Carlow, Arklow, and Wicklow, in Leinster; Carlingford, Atherdee [Ardee], and Down, in Ulster,—all of them walled towns,—they are scarce worth the mentioning, because there are few mar-

interdicuntur. Nempe, "dominati sunt eorum qui oderunt eos, et tribulaverunt eos inimici eorum et humiliati sunt sub manibus eorum[128]." Itaque non solùm authoritatis tuæ aciem hebetare, obtundereque; sed et leges, quas tu figis, refigere contendunt. Ipsorum tyrannorum acta non nisi mortuorum rescinduntur; illi quod a te adhuc superstite decretum est conculcant, "tuam dominationem spernunt, majestatem blasphemant[129], et dissipaverunt legem tuam[130]." Nimirum "audaces sibi placentes[131]," non authoritati tuæ sunt.

Ut autem omnes discantur ab uno. Nuperrimè firmioris et infir-
[xviii.] mioris | sexus et ætatis multitudo ad fontem Galviæ vicinum lavanda confluxit, ut salubritatem, vel naturâ vel S. Augustini (cujus nomen gerit) deprecatione aquis ejus inditam hauriret. Ad innoxiam hanc turbam Gubernator Galviensis ducum suorum audaciæ satelles præsidiarios milites eduxit, qui jussu ejus plumbeæ grandinis nimbo insontes ex improviso perfuderunt; quorum aliqui gravioribus vulneribus affecti, cæteri veste, bonisque nudati, in carceres non ducti sed tracti sunt. Ita ut Gubernator iste reorum judex et tortor fuerit, cùm tamen per leges municipales capitale sit, pacatis temporibus, in non contumaces ferro grassari. Sed ille nullas tanti flagitii pœnas, imò forsan præmium tulit. Nam cultum sanctis exhiberi homo scilicèt religiosissimus non tulit. Leges tamen prima quæque religionis Catholicæ capita tam gravi supplicio non plectunt. Naturæ profecto lege procul ille recessit præcipiente ut, adsit

> "Regula peccatis, quæ pœnas irroget æquas
> Nec scuticâ dignum horribili sectere flagello[132]:"

et leges patriæ convulsit vetantes ut idem judicis et tortoris partes agat.

> "Scilicet is cujus pauló fuit antè farinæ
> Pelliculam veterem retinet[133]."

Nimirum rebellionis fæce nondum penitus elutâ, pacis legibus non adeo mansuefactus est, quin mentem adhuc et manum armatam gerat, supre-

[128] Ps. cv. [129] Judæ, v. 8. [130] Ps. cxviii. [131] 2 Pet. ii. [132] Hor. Ser. iii. [133] Pers. Sat. v.

ket-towns in England, even of the meanest, which are not as good or better than the best of them all."—*Natural History of Ireland*, chap. i. sec. vi. p. 5.

hated them had dominion over them, and their enemies afflicted them, and they were humbled under their hands." The force of your authority they not only nullify and contemn; your very laws are subjected to revision. The enactments of tyrants are not rescinded before their death: your laws are, in your own life-time, treated with derision, by men "who despise dominion and blaspheme majesty, and have made void thy law," "self-willed, audacious men," not submissive to your authority.

But let us take one characteristic example. Not long ago, a great multitude of persons, men, women, and children, assembled to bathe in a well near Galway, expecting to benefit their health by the salubrity which the waters have from nature or the prayers of St. Augustine, whose name it bears. The Governor of Galway, in compliance with the audacious tyranny of his officers, headed the soldiers of the garrison against that inoffensive crowd, and ordered them to discharge, without the slightest warning, a shower of bullets among the poor innocents; some were dangerously wounded, others were robbed of their clothes and all their property, and were dragged, not escorted, to prison. This Governor was thus constituted judge as well as torturer of the accused, though by the law of the land it is a capital offence to assail by force of arms, in times of peace, persons who offer no resistance to authority. But no penalty was inflicted on this man for his crime: perhaps he was rewarded; for, pious man that he was, he, forsooth, could not tolerate the worship of the saints. The laws of the land, however, do not punish all the leading points of Catholic faith with such a ferocious penalty. The law of nature most certainly lays down a far different principle, prescribing, that

> "A penal code with justice must not clash;
> Nor wield, for trivial faults, the torturing lash:"

he trampled on the laws of his country, which prohibit the same man to be both judge and executioner. Thus,

> "No doubt, retaining his old callous skin,
> His recent fury rankling still within."

But the foul stain of rebellion had not been yet purged away, nor had the gentle spirit of peace disarmed his hand or heart, ever steeled to

morum magistratuum nutibus extra dubium serviens. E gravissimis, quibus nos magistratus opprimit malis, illud non postremum est, quòd, ubi primùm gratiæ alicujus a vestrâ majestate nobis impendendæ timor mentes eorum subiit; illico, vel ipsis, vel ipsorum emissariis authoribus, rumor clam spargitur, clandestina molimina contra Rempub. ab Hibernis adornari. Eâque de causâ confestim satellites in eorum domos ex improviso irrumpunt, angulos quosque sollicitè rimantur, et omnia tela in procinctu ad familiam, remque familiarem a prædonum impetu tuendam posita exportant. Inde hominum latera latronum ferro; ædes expilationi furum indefensa patent. Marcus Furius Prætor insontibus Cenomannis, in pace speciem belli quærens, ademerat arma. Id Cenomanni conquesti Romæ apud Senatum, rejectique ad Consulem Æmilium, cui ut cognosceret statueretque Senatus permiserat, magno certamine cum Prætore habito, tenuerunt causam: arma reddita Cenomannis, decedere Provinciâ Prætor jussus[134]. Hinc nos in minimè dubiam spem venimus, quod beneficium Pagani barbaris impertierunt, illud fidissimos subditos ab æquissimo Rege, unicoque causæ nostræ perfugio relaturos; quem enixè rogamus, ut, quemadmodum Consul a Cenomannis, sic ille a nobis injurias et earum authores arceat.

Aliarum Europæ gentium felicitas nobis æmulationem non raro [xix.] movit, | quæ "habent pacem ex omni parte in circuitu;" sic metûs omnis expertes, sicut "habitabant Juda et Israel absque timore ullo, unusquisque sub vite suâ, et sub ficu suâ a Dan usque Bersabe, cunctis diebus Salomonis[135]." Nos verò a Profectis nostris, etiam Carolo pacis instauratore ac proinde Salomone nostro Rege, et penatibus et finibus patriis extrudimur. Aliæ gentes rerum omnium abundantiâ circumfluunt: nos earum inopiâ contabescimus. Illæ non tantùm civitatem non ammittunt, sed et advenas in cives novos asciscunt: apud nos ingenuitatem peregrini consequuntur, cives in peregrinitatem re-

[134] Liv. dec. iv. lib. ix. paulo post initium. [135] 3 Reg. iv.

[a] Under the Protectorate, Irish Catholics were prohibited, under pain of death, to have arms in their houses or premises. They were disarmed by proclamation, Dec. 1661,—*Carte*, p. 238; and, again, in 1663,—*Cox*, vol. ii. p. 6; see p. 46, *suprà*, *n.* "I humbly offer to your Grace, that a proclamation may issue, requiring all men who are not of the civil list of the Army, of Peers, who have seats in Parliament, or of the Militia, and who have horses above thirteen hands high, or any fire-arms, to bring them in by a certain day to a place and person appointed, under a severe pe-

execute what were, no doubt, the orders of his superiors. One of the most intolerable of our heavy grievances is, that as soon as they catch the slightest rumour of any graces intended for us by your Majesty, reports are instantly circulated, either by themselves or their emissaries, that the Irish are concocting treasonable machinations against the State. Our houses are suddenly burst open by their satellites, and every corner searched, and the arms, which are the sole protection of the family, and their property, are carried off[u]. The lives of the inhabitants are thus left defenceless to the steel of the assassin, and their houses lie exposed to the assaults of the robber. The unoffending Cenomanni, on the false grounds of their disaffection, being once robbed of their arms by the Prætor, Marcus Furius, they lodged a complaint before the Senate at Rome, and were referred to the Consul Æmilius, who was fully authorized to examine and decide on their cause. After a violent contest they succeeded; their arms were restored, and the Prætor was withdrawn from his Province. Surely we may well indulge a hope, that a benefit conferred by Pagans on barbarians will not be denied to us, the most loyal subjects of a most just King, who is now our only refuge. Most earnestly we implore him, that he may be to us as the Consul to the Cenomanni, a shield against injustice and its perpetrators.

The happiness of the other nations of Europe has often excited our envy; "they have peace on every side round about;" they know no fear, "but dwell, like Juda and Israel, without any fear, every one under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan to Bersaba, all the days of Solomon." But we are expelled from our home and country by our Governors, during the reign of Charles, our Solomon, the restorer of peace. Other nations overflow with abundance of all things: we are emaciated by want. They not only do not lose their civic rights, but make daily accessions to the roll of their citizens: the foreigner is naturalized amongst us[v]; the natives are made alien. In foreign cities majestic

nalty, under a promise of compensation in due time."—*Orrery*, Dec. 1666.

[v] "All aliens, merchants, traders, artizans, who, within seven years, settled in Ireland, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, were adjudged free and natural subjects,"—*Irish Stat.*, Car. II. vol. iii p. 499,—provided they took none but Protestant apprentices.—p. 502. A. D. 1662. By this measure it was proposed to fill up the void created by the exclusion of all Catholics from towns.—See p. 54, note [t], *suprà*.

diguntur. In urbibus exteris, aut in editam altitudinem ædificia recentia surgunt, aut vetera instaurantur: in nostris, nec unius domûs fundamenta jaciuntur, et veteres ruinosæ corruunt, tectis pluviæ perviis, et parietibus adamanti soliditate paribus vitium facientibus, ac in parietinas maceriasque mutatis. Qui nunc apud nos rerum summæ proficiuntur urbium ædes vacuas habitatoribus esse malunt, quàm priscis dominis tanquam inquilinis pretio locare. Aliæ domus vel illiberalium officinæ vel commessantium popinæ, vel insontium custodiæ factæ aut operarum strepitu, aut ebriorum vocibus, aut afflictorum gemitibus assiduè personant: in aliis antehac splendidâ suppellectili ornatis advenæ gratuitis lautisque conviviis excipiebantur: nunc diversoria, mensæque cauponum venales iis adeundæ sunt. Sicut in exteris urbibus, sic et in nostris negotiatio cumulatè floruit: in nostris nunc penitas emarcuit, mercaturæ faciendæ facultate civibus ademptâ, alienigenis quibusvis indultâ.

Extera rura priscos incolas sua negotia ministeriaque citra tumultum obeuntes continent: priscorum nostri ruris possessorum aures quotidianis vocibus obtunduntur aientium: "veteres migrate coloni." Peregrè templis ornandis strenuè incumbitur: apud nos templa vel solo æquata, vel imbribus pervia, vel tribunalibus homines morti adjudicantibus, vel illicitis aliis negotiis profanata sunt. Exteris vitæ

* Some attempted to build, Oct. 19, 1666. "They have lately set up in an island, called Brintine, in Clare, an abbey of Franciscans [the gift of Maurice O'Connell], where they wear their habits, and do all things else as openly as if they were in Rome. I was desired by some of the Justices of Peace, in the said county, to send to demolish that abbey, and to seize on the friars, but I would do nothing till I received your Grace's commands."—*Orr.* A few months later, Jan. 4, he writes: "I have, by an order of the new sheriff of Clare, seized on the friars who erected a formal monastery in Brentry (Brintine). There were then but four of the friars in the said monastery: Francis Broody, their guardian, was then absent. Their caps, vestments, chalices, &c., were also seized on, and they themselves sent to the gaol of that county: the gaol being ruinous, I let them out on bail. There was another monastery of the same order at Quin, in the same county; but those, being *subscribers*, I did not meddle with." He complains that the Clare Papists had grown so insolent that "one Mahony gave the High Sheriff a box on the ear, and Mac Namara ran a Justice of Peace through the arm." The *subscribers* were, probably, those who had given their names to the celebrated Remonstrance of Father Walsh. The total number of Catholic clergy in Ireland, at this period, was about 2000, including 400

piles of new buildings are every day towering to the skies, or old ones are repaired: with us the foundations of not a single house are laid[w], while the old are heaps of crumbling ruins, their roofs open to the rains, and their adamantine walls rent, or mere shells and shapeless masses. The men who are now at the head of our Government, rather than allow the former landlord to rent his own house in the town, leaves it uninhabited. Some mansions have been degraded into workshops of the mechanical arts, or taverns for the revellers, or prisons for the innocents, and daily resound to the noisy hum of the trades, or the yells of the drunkard, or the groans of the afflicted; in others, once adorned with costly furniture, the stranger was ever welcome to the hospitable and splendid board; now he must go to inns or taverns, where food is doled out for money. Commerce was not less busy or profitabie in our cities than in those of other countries, but now it has fallen to decay[x], all right of trading being taken from the natives, though allowed to foreigners of all sorts.

The old rural populations of other lands devote themselves to their peaceful labours and avocations in happy security, but the mournful doom, "old rural tenants away," grates daily on the ear of the old occupants of our soil. In other countries temples are zealously decorated; with us they are either levelled to the ground, or roofless, or desecrated by tribunals which condemn men to death, or similar sacrilegious uses. Foreigners enjoy security of life and liberty: we have neither. They

Franciscans, 200 Dominicans, 100 Augustinians, and 100 of other regulars.—*Walsh, Hist. of Remons.*, p. 575. The Catholic clergy at present, secular and regular, do not exceed 2800. The population is variously estimated. Orrery gives it as 4000 Protestants, capable of bearing arms, the army included. "I believe the Scotch Presbyters, &c., are double that number, and the Papists quadruple the number of both." Dec. 14, 1666.

[x] The Catholics were not the only sufferers from commercial restrictions. The policy recoiled on its authors. Orrery remarks on the prohibition of exporting Irish cattle to England: "Our usage in England amazes me. I wish they may not feel that, in wounding us, they wound themselves. And when England does feel the mischief, it will condemn the short-sightedness of this new policy, and look on Ireland through a truer optic. I will never so much doubt the King's care of any of his own prerogatives as to fancy an Act in England shall be admitted to bind Ireland in point of its own rates, and its particular trade. As they destroy our estates, they act wisely in endeavouring to suppress our titles; for nobility and beggary are not over consistent." December 14, 1666.

libertatisque securitas, neutra nobis in vado est. Illos sui cives, nos peregrini gubernant. Illorum filii litteris excoluntur, in quibus nostri hospites et peregrini sunt. Apud eos sacerdotes in honore; apud nos in ergastulis, silvis, uliginibus, aut latibulis sunt. In communi Regiæ inaugurationis lætitiâ, libertas aliis carcere detentis indicta solos sacerdotes sacerdotii solùm tanquam gravissimi flagitii reos e longo et lugubri custodiarum incolatu non eduxit. Per totum Christianum orbem lex dudùm et consuetudo tulit, ut una Christianæ religionis professio servituti quemque subduceret: tui tamen Hiberni ab uxorum liberorumque complexu abrepti ad Indias a togatis quibusdam vulturibus deportati sub hastâ veneunt.

Ita ingenui homines mancipii conditionem subire, et ministeria inusitatâ quædam vilitatis novitate abjecta obire coguntur. Isti enim
[xx.] institores | ad negotiationem Indicam designati publicanos per jocum rogare consueverunt ut, cùm ex Hibernis, post fortunas omnes publicis sumptibus exhaustas, succum omnem tanquam e malis aureis expresserint, tum eorum corpora tanquam malorum aureorum cortices ipsis largiantur, e quibus non mediocre compendium deinde perciperent. Quamobrem "dati sunt in prædam infantes" Hibernorum, "et uxores eorum in divisionem, et civitates eorum in exterminium, et sancta

y "Non hìc nos quartum tabulatum ascendimus ultra
Ut nobis fiat concio, sive sacrum
Grandibus in templis, palàm veneranda locatur
Non in despectis, hostia sacra, casis,
Cunctis Catholici fit aperta professio cultûs."—*Arch. Miscell.*, vol. i. p. 93.

These lines, written by the Author while an exile in France, suggest a correct picture of the state of the Catholics in Ireland. "The fourth story," "the lurking places," and "lowly hovels;" the uncertainty even of that indulgence, dependent as it was on the caprice of individual magistrates, who could punish the priest for celebrating mass, agree with contemporary authorities: "One priest had the insolency to say *public* mass within a carbine shot of this house [Charleville], with a great concourse of people to hear him; but I have sent him fair warning, if he relapses, I shall deal with him according to law."—*Orr.*, Oct. 19, 1666. Priest-hunting was, at this time, a very serious part of the duties of Orrery; thus, six priests having landed from France, near Dingle, in Kerry, in 1666, he complains there was no prohibition against them, nor power to secure their papers or persons. The same year four friars and a nun, the daughter of O'Connor Sligo, landed from France in Kerry: the nun went by Carrigafoyle to Clare; two of the friars to Clonmel, and two to Killarney, where they were secured. Jan. 4, 22, 1666. Yet Orrery's sister, Barrymore, was married to Jack Barry (*sic*), "a firm Papist," and his niece to the Earl of Clancarthy, who would not be married

are governed by fellow-citizens: we by aliens. Their children receive a learned education, which is contraband and penal for our's. With them the clergy are honoured, with us they are either in dungeons or forests, bogs, or caverns[y]. In the midst of the universal jubilee for the King's coronation, the grace which unbarred the dungeons for all other prisoners left the priests alone to expiate in their gloomy cells and rusty chains the execrable crime of priesthood[z]. The universal and long-established law and custom of the Christian world have exempted from slavery all who profess the Christian religion, but your Irish subjects are torn from the arms of their wives and children by civic vultures, and transported and sold as slaves in India[a].

Thus free-born citizens are robbed of their liberty, and condemned, by the most unheard-of degradation, to the vilest offices. Nay, those who were appointed factors for the Indian trade used to jocosely ask the collectors of the revenue, that when the entire property of the Irish was extracted by the public charges of the State, and the whole juice squeezed out of the golden apples, then the rind of those apples, the wretched bodies of the Irish, should be bestowed on them, to enable them to amass a fortune. Thus "were the children" of the Irish "made a prey[b], and their wives carried off, and their cities destroyed, and their holy things pro-

except by a priest, which caused some scruple. But Robin Fitzgerald wrote to his uncle Orrery: "My Lord Clancarthy will not be married but by a priest."—Jan. 22, 1666.

[z] Peter Walsh says he delivered 120 priests from prison, many of whom had been taken before the Restoration.—*Hist. of Remons.*, p. 9.

[a] "Ultra centum millia omnis sexus et ætatis, e quibus aliquot millia in diversas Americæ tabaccarias insulas religata sunt."—*Bruodin*, p. 693:

"Multa millia virum sunt ad Garamantas
et Indos
Amandata procul; quæ periere situ."

—*Poem, by the Author, suprà*, p. 3.

The Editor heard from a person who was in the West Indies in 1800, that the Irish language was then commonly spoken in the Island of Montserrat.

[b] Irish boys and girls were transported to Jamaica, and other islands. "Although we must use force in taking them (the girls) up, yet, it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit."—*Letter of Henry Cromwell;* who also proposed to transport 1500 or 2000 boys.—*Thurloe*, iv. 23, p. 40; apud *Lingard*. "By order of Parliament, 1657, all the children of the native Irish of Meath, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, beyond twelve years of age, were to be sent to England, and educated Protestants."—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 707.

eorum in pollutionem, et fierent opprobrium gentibus[136]." Quidam "Ligures sese M. Popilio Consuli dediderunt nihil quidem pacti; speraverunt tamen non atrociùs quàm Superiores Imperatores Consulem in se sæviturum. At ille arma omnibus ademit, ipsos, bonaque eorum vendidit. Atrox res visa Senatui, ideoque illi placuit M. Popilium Consulem, pretio emptoribus reddito, ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis reddantur curare, arma quoquo tempore fieri in eâ gente; Consulem de Provinciâ decedere cùm deditos in sedem suam Ligures restituisset[137]." Ultimæ crudelitatis exemplum a Popilio institores isti mutuati sunt, dum sicut ille Ligures, sic isti nostros bonis patritis et avitis spoliatos, nefariè vendiderunt. A quorum flagitio cum Majestas vestra plurimùm abhorreat, par est ut prudentissimi Senatus imitatione justitiam clementiamque tuam nobilitare constituas.

Quid multis moror? Nullæ sunt nocendi artes, quas in Hibercos inimici non exercuerunt, nullum virus quod non effuderunt nullum tormentum quod non intentârunt. Nec Juno aut Euristheus Herculem tot laboribus fatigâsse creduntur. Sed quicquid id est superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. "Si lex nocentem punit, cedendum est justitiæ; si innocentem, cedendum est fortunæ[138]." Tum dolor decrescit ubi quo crescat non habet. "Ea quæ acciderunt non ad interitum sed correptionem sunt generis nostri[139]." "Ad emendationem et non ad perditionem nostram evenisse credamus[140]." "Dominus non accendit omnem iram suam[141]." In hâc vitâ manus Dei percutiens, materna est et medica. "Propter peccata nostra hæc patimur, et si nobis propter increpationem et correptionem Dominus Deus noster modicum iratus est, sed iterum reconciliabitur servis suis[142]." Imò tandem aliquando "fidelis Deus qui non patitur nos tentari ultra id quod possumus[143]," nobis tempestivè subvenit. Videtur enim "misertus fuisse super magnitudine mali, et imperavisse Angelo, qui percutiebat, sufficit, jam cesset manus" tua[144]; dum summam in nos menti tuæ benignitatem immisit.

[136] Judith, iv. [137] Liv. dec. v. lib. ii. p. 45. [138] Seneca. [139] 2 Machab. vi. [140] Judith, viii. [141] Ps. lxxvii. [142] 2. Machab. vii. [143] 1 Cor. x. [144] 1. Paralip. xxi.

[c] "Integrâ jam subjugatâ Hiberniâ, peste, fame, et ferro a Deo ob ingratitudinem et incomparabiles dissensiones et tricas punitâ, profanatisque ubique locorum Ecclesiis, altaribus dejectis, sacris imaginibus confractis, crucibus conculcatis, sacerdotibus dissipatis, et supplicio affectis, sacris virginibus violatis, et denique omnibus,

faned, and themselves made a reproach to the Gentiles." "Some Ligurians surrendered without conditions to M. Popilius, Consul, but with the hope that the Consul would not be more rigorous in his punishments than former generals. But he deprived them all of their arms, and sold themselves and their property. The Senate judged the procedure too atrocious, and accordingly decreed that the Consul, M. Popilius, should return the price to the purchasers, restore the prisoners to liberty, see them re-established in their properties, and allow the manufacture of arms at all times among that people; finally, that the Consul should retire from his province when he had restored the surrendered Ligurians to their state." The profligate cruelty of this M. Popilius towards the Ligurians was the model of the Indian factors, who first plundered our countrymen of their paternal and hereditary property, and then nefariously sold them as slaves.

But why dwell on these facts? There is no species of injury which the enemies have not inflicted on the Irish; no virulence which they have not disgorged; no torture which they have not threatened. The labours of Hercules himself, imposed by Euristheus or Juno, were not more numerous. But, whatever they be, patience can triumph over every fortune. "If the law punish the guilty, we must bow to justice; if the innocent, we must bow to fate." Affairs must mend when they have come to the worst. "The things that happened are not for the destruction, but for the correction of our nation[e];" "let us believe that they have happened for our amendment, not for our destruction." "The Lord did not kindle all his wrath." When the hand of God strikes in this life, it is like the mother and the physician. "For we suffer thus for our sins, and though the Lord our God is angry with us a little while for our chastisement and correction, yet he will be reconciled again to his servants." Most certainly, in his own good time, God will come to our assistance, for he is faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able. "He seems to have taken pity for the greatness of the evil, and said to the angel who destroyed: It is enough, now stop thy hand." Therefore doth our whole nation earnestly im-

susque deque juxta libidinem quatuor depotatorum a Parliamento assignatorum positis—scribi non potest quæ et quanta mala passi sunt, reliqui Catholici qui in Insulâ remanserunt."—*Bruodin*, p. 693. But, as Mc Firbis said, "*God is wide in a strait.*"

Quare te gens universa poetæ verbis enixiùs obsecrat: "eripe me his invicte malis, et redde quieti:" "de necessitatibus meis erue me[145]." [xxi.] Malorum hanc molem ab Hibernis tuis | amoliri, et eos a servitute in libertatem, ab exilio in patriam, a vagis sedibus in certas et fixas, ab alienis finibus ad avitos educere nitaris, et "fac judicium et justitiam, et libera vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris[146]."

Sicut ad patrem filiorum; sic ad principem subditorum gloria dedecusque redundat. Proinde qui nobis exitium, iidem honoris tibi dispendium proculdubio moliuntur. Exorere igitur sol noster, et eadem operâ nebulas dignitatis tuæ splendorem obscurantes, et jacturæ infamiæque caliginem nobis ocyùs inducentes fulgoris tui radiis tempestivè dissipa. Et æqui bonique consule quod rerum nostrarum veritatem vel adversariorum commentis adulterari, vel fuco illini solitam, non cerussatam aut adulationis calamistiis inustam, sed simplicem, apertam, et suâ nuditate splendentem hactenus protulerim, non in illos, quibus optimè cupio, invehendi, sed civibus consulendi studio. Quorum linguis dominantium in patriâ metus silentii frænum injecit; nostri enim verentur ut ab iis ipsæ lachrymæ pro contumaciâ habeantur. Ac propterea dissimulatione ipsâ dolor hoc altiùs demissus, quò minùs profiteri licet. Ego verò extra patriam et gubernatorum ejus potestatem positus malo rupti silentii periculum, quàm servati crimen subire. Quia, si officio ritè fungimur, "non possumus quæ vidimus et audivimus non loqui[147]." Præterea ne tot miseriæ gentis nostræ visceribus altiùs insiderent, earum aliquibus, non omnibus, in lucem educendis et ad vos deferendis officium orationis offuciarum expertis non invitus impendi; ut illis, si non penitus liberetur, saltem levetur. Integrum mihi persuadens S. Ambrosii verbis ad Theodosium Imperato-

[145] Ps. xxiv. [146] Jerem. xxii. [147] Act. iv. 20.

[d] The Author assigns, in the following lines, one of the reasons why he would not return to Ireland:

"Mens avet ad patrios rursum remeare penates,
Multa iter at sistunt impedimenta meum.
"Edideram libros, et in his ego culpo ministros
Regis supremos, nil nisi vera loquens.
Non dubito, me quin odiis sectentur iniquis,
Et timeo frangant ne mihi reste gulam."

[e] "Libertate fruor, quâ me spoliare laboras;
Libertas vitâ est plus adamata mihi

plore you in the words of the poet: "Save us, O! unconquered hero, from those evils, and grant us peace." "Deliver me from my necessities." May you endeavour to raise this weight of affliction from your Irish subjects; to bring them from slavery to liberty; from exile to their country; from the outcast's roamings to a fixed and certain home; from a stranger land to the land of their fathers; "and do justice and judgment, and deliver him that is oppressed by violence out of the hands of the oppressor."

As the glory or infamy of a father is inseparable from that of his children, so it is with the prince and his subjects. The men who are plotting our destruction are the mortal enemies of your name. Arise, then, sun of our fortune, and scatter, with the benign beams of thy splendour, the clouds that obscure the brilliancy of your own name, and are rapidly consigning us to the dark night of ruin and infamy. Do not be offended if I present to you the naked truth on the state of our affairs, which has so often been disguised, or dressed in false colours, by the prejudiced accounts of our enemies, but which you behold here, simple, candid, and in her own naked majesty, without the false complexion or artificial curls of deception, recording plain facts, not from malevolence towards our enemies, to whom I wish well, but for the good of my countrymen, who are deterred by their tyrants at home from raising their voices[d]. Their very tears, they know, would be punished as rebellious, and, therefore, their grief is the more deeply seated, as it is more violently repressed. I, however, being far from my native land, and out of the power of her governors, prefer the danger of public remonstrance to criminal silence[e]. Duty imperatively requires "that we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." I have zealously embraced the opportunity of laying before you an unvarnished statement of some only of the miseries of my countrymen, in the hope that some of them at least may be redressed, and may not strike their inveterate roots into the heart of my country. The address of St. Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, I feel assured, has taught you, that

"Libertas etenim quovis non venditur auro.
Hic, mihi dicendi quicquid libet ampla potestas
Fit, voces ardet carpere nemo meas.
At quando nostro quid acerbius excidit ori
In patriis oris, carptor iniquus adest."

rem prolatis Majestati tuæ indicare non regium esse libertatem dicendi negare, nec sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere[148].

Humanitatis igitur vestræ fiduciâ fretus affirmare non dubitabo, post tot molestiarum vacuitatem, aut ad minus levationem tuo nobis beneficio collatam, nos ad felicitatis exoptatæ culmen á te citra dubium evectum iri: si quam subditorum conditionem Angli Scotique nacti sunt nos tuo munere impetremus. Ac primùm, si libertatis integritatem, quâ illi in patriâ gaudent, nos in Hiberniâ consequamur. Summo enim libertatis fruendæ studio tenemur, quam "nemo bonus nisi simul cum animâ amittit[149]." In Angliâ et Scotiâ ad Regem omnium potestas, ad singulos proprietas pertinet. Omnia Rex imperio possidet; singuli dominio. In imperio Cæsaris omnia sunt, in patrimonio propria[150]. Hiberni nihil magis in optatis habent quàm hujusmodi libertatis gradu honestari, quo non suâ, sed adversariorum culpâ dudum exciderunt; potiori tamen ad eum locum sibi vendicandum jure nulli genti sceptro tuo subjectæ quàm Hibernis suppetente. Quare, ut proverbio dicimus
[xxii.] "Rex Jupiter omnibus idem:" sic non dubitamus quin tu | nos in eâdem cum tuis aliis subditis justitiæ gratiæque trutinâ positurus sis.

Reges pluribus regnis imperantes e quoque regno selectos in concilium suum adsciscunt, ut, iis consultis, singulorum regnorum commodis securiùs prospicerent. Cives enim patriæ res exploratiùs norunt, et ardentiori studio ad eas expediendas feruntur, quàm alienigenæ, qui quàm in alienâ regione, tam in ejus negotiis hospites et peregrini, vel ignoratione rerum laborantes, vel privatis aut amicorum commodis servientes, suis consiliis ei non consulunt, sed eam evertunt. Imò peregrini eminentiorem aliquam in Repub. potestatem nacti suspicionem indigenis movent. Quæ si justa est, amoveri debet; si injusta, indigenarum voluntas magis est explenda quàm alienigenarum. Sic David quamvis "bonus fuerit sicut Angelus Dei[151]" tamen Achis Rex Geth, satrapis poscentibus, cum utpote peregrinum suo contubernio excedere et in patriam concedere jussit. Ea fuit gentis nostræ calamitas ut, anteactis temporibus, apud decessores vestros non Hiberni ad consilium

[148] Ep. xxix. [149] Salust in Catalin. [150] Seneca apud Bodin in Method. p. 205.
[151] 1 Reg. xxix.

[f] Giraldhus Cambrensis complained that the first adventurers were robbed by King John's followers. Hib. Exp. p. 812. The like complaint was made in every age to 1688.

a king should not refuse liberty of speech, nor a priest speak otherwise than he thinks.

Relying, then, with the firmest confidence, on your clemency, which has already procured for us the cessation, or, at least, the alleviation of so many grievances, I do not hesitate to assert that you will have crowned our most sanguine hopes of happiness, if you graciously extend to us the privileges and rights of your English and Scotch subjects. And first, that we shall enjoy that full liberty, in Ireland, which they have in their country. Liberty is the dearest object of our aspirations, that liberty "which no good man resigns except with his life-blood." In England and Scotland, power belongs to the King,—property to individuals. The King holds all by his regal power,—individuals by private title. In the empire, all things are Cæsar's; in private property, the subject's. The possession of this individual liberty is the greatest happiness the Irish desire; they have been long since deprived of it, not through any fault of their own, but by the malice of their enemies, and they now demand its restoration, with as good a title as any nation under your Majesty's sceptre. As the common proverb makes "Jove the impartial King of all," we are confident that you will place us in the same scale of justice and favour as your other subjects.

When Kings hold several kingdoms under their sceptre, their council is composed of men selected from each, that the interests of all may be secured by their combined deliberations. A native is always better acquainted with the state of his country, and more zealous for her interests, than a foreigner, who is usually not less a stranger to her interests than he is by birth, being either profoundly ignorant of her affairs, or seeking only to serve his friends or other individuals, and thus destroying, instead of promoting, her happiness. Nay, the natives of all countries invariably regard with suspicion foreigners who are raised to any distinguished place in the government. If the suspicion be just, why should not its grounds be removed; if unjust, are not the wishes of the native citizens entitled to more deference than those of foreigners. Thus, David, though "he was good as an Angel of God," was dismissed by Achis, King of Geth, at the request of the Satraps, and ordered to go forth from the palace, and return to his own country, because he was a stranger. This has been the crying grievance of Ireland in former times[f], that your predecessors governed her by the

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Extera rura priscos incolas sua negotia ministeriaque citra tumultum obeuntes continent: priscorum nostri ruris possessorum aures quotidianis vocibus obtunduntur aientium: "veteres migrate coloni." Peregrè templis ornandis strenuè incumbitur: apud nos templa vel solo æquata, vel imbribus pervia, vel tribunalibus homines morti adjudicantibus, vel illicitis aliis negotiis profanata sunt. Exteris vitæ

[w] Some attempted to build, Oct. 19, 1666. "They have lately set up in an island, called Brintine, in Clare, an abbey of Franciscans [the gift of Maurice O'Connell], where they wear their habits, and do all things else as openly as if they were in Rome. I was desired by some of the Justices of Peace, in the said county, to send to demolish that abbey, and to seize on the friars, but I would do nothing till I received your Grace's commands."—*Orr.* A few months later, Jan. 4, he writes: "I have, by an order of the new sheriff of Clare, seized on the friars who erected a formal monastery in Brentry (Brintine). There were then but four of the friars in the said monastery: Francis Broody, their guardian, was then absent. Their caps, vestments, chalices, &c., were also seized on, and they themselves sent to the gaol of that county: the gaol being ruinous, I let them out on bail. There was another monastery of the same order at Quin, in the same county; but those, being *subscribers*, I did not meddle with." He complains that the Clare Papists had grown so insolent that "one Mahony gave the High Sheriff a box on the ear, and Mac Namara ran a Justice of Peace through the arm." The *subscribers* were, probably, those who had given their names to the celebrated Remonstrance of Father Walsh. The total number of Catholic clergy in Ireland, at this period, was about 2000, including 400

piles of new buildings are every day towering to the skies, or old ones are repaired: with us the foundations of not a single house are laid[w], while the old are heaps of crumbling ruins, their roofs open to the rains, and their adamantine walls rent, or mere shells and shapeless masses. The men who are now at the head of our Government, rather than allow the former landlord to rent his own house in the town, leaves it uninhabited. Some mansions have been degraded into workshops of the mechanical arts, or taverns for the revellers, or prisons for the innocents, and daily resound to the noisy hum of the trades, or the yells of the drunkard, or the groans of the afflicted; in others, once adorned with costly furniture, the stranger was ever welcome to the hospitable and splendid board; now he must go to inns or taverns, where food is doled out for money. Commerce was not less busy or profitable in our cities than in those of other countries, but now it has fallen to decay[x], all right of trading being taken from the natives, though allowed to foreigners of all sorts.

The old rural populations of other lands devote themselves to their peaceful labours and avocations in happy security, but the mournful doom, "old rural tenants away," grates daily on the ear of the old occupants of our soil. In other countries temples are zealously decorated; with us they are either levelled to the ground, or roofless, or desecrated by tribunals which condemn men to death, or similar sacrilegious uses. Foreigners enjoy security of life and liberty: we have neither. They

Franciscans, 200 Dominicans, 100 Augustinians, and 100 of other regulars.—*Walsh, Hist. of Remons.*, p. 575. The Catholic clergy at present, secular and regular, do not exceed 2800. The population is variously estimated. Orrery gives it as 4000 Protestants, capable of bearing arms, the army included. "I believe the Scotch Presbyters, &c., are double that number, and the Papists quadruple the number of both." Dec. 14, 1666.

[x] The Catholics were not the only sufferers from commercial restrictions. The policy recoiled on its authors. Orrery remarks on the prohibition of exporting Irish cattle to England: "Our usage in England amazes me. I wish they may not feel that, in wounding us, they wound themselves. And when England does feel the mischief, it will condemn the short-sightedness of this new policy, and look on Ireland through a truer optic. I will never so much doubt the King's care of any of his own prerogatives as to fancy an Act in England shall be admitted to bind Ireland in point of its own rates, and its particular trade. As they destroy our estates, they act wisely in endeavouring to suppress our titles; for nobility and beggary are not over consistent." December 14, 1666.

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libertatisque securitas, neutra nobis in vado est. Illos sui cives, nos peregrini gubernant. Illorum filii litteris excoluntur, in quibus nostri hospites et peregrini sunt. Apud eos sacerdotes in honore; apud nos in ergastulis, silvis, uliginibus, aut latibulis sunt. In communi Regiæ inaugurationis lætitiâ, libertas aliis carcere detentis indicta solos sacerdotes sacerdotii solùm tanquam gravissimi flagitii reos e longo et lugubri custodiarum incolatu non eduxit. Per totum Christianum orbem lex dudùm et consuetudo tulit, ut una Christianæ religionis professio servituti quemque subduceret: tui tamen Hiberni ab uxorum liberorumque complexu abrepti ad Indias a togatis quibusdam vulturibus deportati sub hastâ veneunt.

Ita ingenui homines mancipii conditionem subire, et ministeria inusitatâ quædam vilitatis novitate abjecta obire coguntur. Isti enim
[xx.] institores | ad negotiationem Indicam designati publicanos per jocum rogare consueverunt ut, cùm ex Hibernis, post fortunas omnes publicis sumptibus exhaustas, succum omnem tanquam e malis aureis expresserint, tum eorum corpora tanquam malorum aureorum cortices ipsis largiantur, e quibus non mediocre compendium deinde perciperent. Quamobrem "dati sunt in prædam infantes" Hibernorum, "et uxores eorum in divisionem, et civitates eorum in exterminium, et sancta

y "Non hìc nos quartum tabulatum ascendimus ultra
Ut nobis fiat concio, sive sacrum
Grandibus in templis, palàm veneranda locatur
Non in despectis, hostia sacra, casis,
Cunctis Catholici fit aperta professio cultûs."—*Arch. Miscell.*, vol. i. p. 93.

These lines, written by the Author while an exile in France, suggest a correct picture of the state of the Catholics in Ireland. "The fourth story," "the lurking places," and "lowly hovels;" the uncertainty even of that indulgence, dependent as it was on the caprice of individual magistrates, who could punish the priest for celebrating mass, agree with contemporary authorities: "One priest had the insolency to say *public* mass within a carbine shot of this house [Charleville], with a great concourse of people to hear him; but I have sent him fair warning, if he relapses, I shall deal with him according to law."—*Orr.*, Oct. 19, 1666. Priest-hunting was, at this time, a very serious part of the duties of Orrery; thus, six priests having landed from France, near Dingle, in Kerry, in 1666, he complains there was no prohibition against them, nor power to secure their papers or persons. The same year four friars and a nun, the daughter of O'Connor Sligo, landed from France in Kerry: the nun went by Carrigafoyle to Clare; two of the friars to Clonmel, and two to Killarney, where they were secured. Jan. 4, 22, 1666. Yet Orrery's sister, Barrymore, was married to Jack Barry (*sic*), "a firm Papist," and his niece to the Earl of Clancarthy, who would not be married

are governed by fellow-citizens: we by aliens. Their children receive a learned education, which is contraband and penal for our's. With them the clergy are honoured, with us they are either in dungeons or forests, bogs, or caverns[y]. In the midst of the universal jubilee for the King's coronation, the grace which unbarred the dungeons for all other prisoners left the priests alone to expiate in their gloomy cells and rusty chains the execrable crime of priesthood[z]. The universal and long-established law and custom of the Christian world have exempted from slavery all who profess the Christian religion, but your Irish subjects are torn from the arms of their wives and children by civic vultures, and transported and sold as slaves in India[a].

Thus free-born citizens are robbed of their liberty, and condemned, by the most unheard-of degradation, to the vilest offices. Nay, those who were appointed factors for the Indian trade used to jocosely ask the collectors of the revenue, that when the entire property of the Irish was extracted by the public charges of the State, and the whole juice squeezed out of the golden apples, then the rind of those apples, the wretched bodies of the Irish, should be bestowed on them, to enable them to amass a fortune. Thus "were the children" of the Irish "made a prey[b], and their wives carried off, and their cities destroyed, and their holy things pro-

except by a priest, which caused some scruple. But Robin Fitzgerald wrote to his uncle Orrery: "My Lord Clancarthy will not be married but by a priest."—Jan. 22, 1666.

[z] Peter Walsh says he delivered 120 priests from prison, many of whom had been taken before the Restoration.—*Hist. of Remons.*, p. 9.

[a] "Ultra centum millia omnis sexus et ætatis, e quibus aliquot millia in diversas Americæ tabaccarias insulas religata sunt."—*Bruodin*, p. 693:

"Multa millia virum sunt ad Garamantas et Indos
Amandata procul; quæ periere situ."
—*Poem, by the Author, suprà*, p. 3.

The Editor heard from a person who was in the West Indies in 1800, that the Irish language was then commonly spoken in the Island of Montserrat.

[b] Irish boys and girls were transported to Jamaica, and other islands. "Although we must use force in taking them (the girls) up, yet, it being so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit."—*Letter of Henry Cromwell;* who also proposed to transport 1500 or 2000 boys.—*Thurloe*, iv. 23, p. 40; apud *Lingard*. "By order of Parliament, 1657, all the children of the native Irish of Meath, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, beyond twelve years of age, were to be sent to England, and educated Protestants."—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 707.

eorum in pollutionem, et fierent opprobrium gentibus[136]." Quidam "Ligures sese M. Popilio Consuli dediderunt nihil quidem pacti; speraverunt tamen non atrociùs quàm Superiores Imperatores Consulem in se sæviturum. At ille arma omnibus ademit, ipsos, bonaque eorum vendidit. Atrox res visa Senatui, ideoque illi placuit M. Popilium Consulem, pretio emptoribus reddito, ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis reddantur curare, arma quoquo tempore fieri in eâ gente; Consulem de Provinciâ decedere cùm deditos in sedem suam Ligures restituisset[137]." Ultimæ crudelitatis exemplum a Popilio institores isti mutuati sunt, dum sicut ille Ligures, sic isti nostros bonis patritis et avitis spoliatos, nefariè vendiderunt. A quorum flagitio cum Majestas vestra plurimùm abhorreat, par est ut prudentissimi Senatus imitatione justitiam clementiamque tuam nobilitare constituas.

Quid multis moror? Nullæ sunt nocendi artes, quas in Hibernos inimici non exercuerunt, nullum virus quod non effuderunt nullum tormentum quod non intentârunt. Nec Juno aut Euristheus Herculem tot laboribus fatigâsse creduntur. Sed quicquid id est superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. "Si lex nocentem punit, cedendum est justitiæ; si innocentem, cedendum est fortunæ[138]." Tum dolor decrescit ubi quo crescat non habet. "Ea quæ acciderunt non ad interitum sed correptionem sunt generis nostri[139]." "Ad emendationem et non ad perditionem nostram evenisse credamus[140]." "Dominus non accendit omnem iram suam[141]." In hâc vitâ manus Dei percutiens, materna est et medica. "Propter peccata nostra hæc patimur, et si nobis propter increpationem et correptionem Dominus Deus noster modicum iratus est, sed iterum reconciliabitur servis suis[142]." Imò tandem aliquando "fidelis Deus qui non patitur nos tentari ultra id quod possumus[143]." nobis tempestivè subvenit. Videtur enim "misertus fuisse super magnitudine mali, et imperavisse Angelo qui percutiebat, sufficit, jam cesset manus" tua[144]; dum summam in nos menti tuæ benignitatem immisit.

[136] Judith iv. [137] Liv. dec. v lib. ii p. 43. [138] Seneca. [139] 2 Machab. vi. [140] Judith. viii. [141] Ps. lxxvii. [142] 2. Machab. vii. [143] 1 Cor. x. [144] 1. Paralip. xxi.

* "Integrâ jam subjugatâ Hiberniâ peste, famo, et ferro a Deo ob ingratitudinem et incomparabiles dissensiones et crimina punitâ, profanatisque ubique locorum Ecclesiis, altaribus dejectis, sacris imaginibus confractis, crucibus conculcatis, sacerdotibus dissipatis, et suppliciis affectis, sacris virginibus violatis, et denique omnibus.

faned, and themselves made a reproach to the Gentiles." "Some Ligurians surrendered without conditions to M. Popilius, Consul, but with the hope that the Consul would not be more rigorous in his punishments than former generals. But he deprived them all of their arms, and sold themselves and their property. The Senate judged the procedure too atrocious, and accordingly decreed that the Consul, M. Popilius, should return the price to the purchasers, restore the prisoners to liberty, see them re-established in their properties, and allow the manufacture of arms at all times among that people; finally, that the Consul should retire from his province when he had restored the surrendered Ligurians to their state." The profligate cruelty of this M. Popilius towards the Ligurians was the model of the Indian factors, who first plundered our countrymen of their paternal and hereditary property, and then nefariously sold them as slaves.

But why dwell on these facts? There is no species of injury which the enemies have not inflicted on the Irish; no virulence which they have not disgorged; no torture which they have not threatened. The labours of Hercules himself, imposed by Euristheus or Juno, were not more numerous. But, whatever they be, patience can triumph over every fortune. "If the law punish the guilty, we must bow to justice; if the innocent, we must bow to fate." Affairs must mend when they have come to the worst. "The things that happened are not for the destruction, but for the correction of our nation[e];" "let us believe that they have happened for our amendment, not for our destruction." "The Lord did not kindle all his wrath." When the hand of God strikes in this life, it is like the mother and the physician. "For we suffer thus for our sins, and though the Lord our God is angry with us a little while for our chastisement and correction, yet he will be reconciled again to his servants." Most certainly, in his own good time, God will come to our assistance, for he is faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able. "He seems to have taken pity for the greatness of the evil, and said to the angel who destroyed: It is enough, now stop thy hand." Therefore doth our whole nation earnestly im-

susque deque juxta libidinem quatuor deputatorum a Parliamento assignatorum positis—scribi non potest quæ et quanta mala passi sunt, reliqui Catholici qui in Insulâ remanserunt."—*Bruodin*, p. 693. But, as Mc Firbis said, "*God is wide in a strait.*"

Quare te gens universa poetæ verbis enixiùs obsecrat: "eripe me his invicte malis, et redde quieti:" "de necessitatibus meis erue me[145]." [xxi.] Malorum hanc molem ab Hibernis tuis | amoliri, et eos a servitute in libertatem, ab exilio in patriam, a vagis sedibus in certas et fixas, ab alienis finibus ad avitos educere nitaris, et "fac judicium et justitiam, et libera vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris[146]."

Sicut ad patrem filiorum; sic ad principem subditorum gloria dedecusque redundat. Proinde qui nobis exitium, iidem honoris tibi dispendium proculdubio moliuntur. Exorere igitur sol noster, et eadem operâ nebulas dignitatis tuæ splendorem obscurantes, et jacturæ infamiæque caliginem nobis ocyùs inducentes fulgoris tui radiis tempestivè dissipa. Et æqui bonique consule quod rerum nostrarum veritatem vel adversariorum commentis adulterari, vel fuco illini solitam, non cerussatam aut adulationis calamistiis inustam, sed simplicem, apertam, et suâ nuditate splendentem hactenus protulerim, non in illos, quibus optimè cupio, invehendi, sed civibus consulendi studio. Quorum linguis dominantium in patriâ metus silentii frænum injecit; nostri enim verentur ut ab iis ipsæ lachrymæ pro contumaciâ habeantur. Ac propterea dissimulatione ipsâ dolor hoc altiùs demissus, quò minùs profiteri licet. Ego verò extra patriam et gubernatorum ejus potestatem positus malo rupti silentii periculum, quàm servati crimen subire. Quia, si officio ritè fungimur, "non possumus quæ vidimus et audivimus non loqui[147]." Præterea ne tot miseriæ gentis nostræ visceribus altiùs insiderent, earum aliquibus, non omnibus, in lucem educendis et ad vos deferendis officium orationis offuciarum expertis non invitus impendi; ut illis, si non penitus liberetur, saltem levetur. Integrum mihi persuadens S. Ambrosii verbis ad Theodosium Imperato-

[145] Ps. xxiv. [146] Jerem. xxii. [147] Act. iv. 20.

[d] The Author assigns, in the following lines, one of the reasons why he would not return to Ireland:

"Mens avet ad patrios rursum remeare penates,
Multa iter at sistunt impedimenta meum.
"Edideram libros, et in his ego culpo ministros
Regis supremos, nil nisi vera loquens.
Non dubito, me quin odiis sectentur iniquis,
Et timeo frangant ne mihi reste gulam."

[e] "Libertate fruor, quâ me spoliare laboras;
Libertas vitâ est plus adamata mihi

plore you in the words of the poet: "Save us, O! unconquered hero, from those evils, and grant us peace." "Deliver me from my necessities." May you endeavour to raise this weight of affliction from your Irish subjects; to bring them from slavery to liberty; from exile to their country; from the outcast's roamings to a fixed and certain home; from a stranger land to the land of their fathers; "and do justice and judgment, and deliver him that is oppressed by violence out of the hands of the oppressor."

As the glory or infamy of a father is inseparable from that of his children, so it is with the prince and his subjects. The men who are plotting our destruction are the mortal enemies of your name. Arise, then, sun of our fortune, and scatter, with the benign beams of thy splendour, the clouds that obscure the brilliancy of your own name, and are rapidly consigning us to the dark night of ruin and infamy. Do not be offended if I present to you the naked truth on the state of our affairs, which has so often been disguised, or dressed in false colours, by the prejudiced accounts of our enemies, but which you behold here, simple, candid, and in her own naked majesty, without the false complexion or artificial curls of deception, recording plain facts, not from malevolence towards our enemies, to whom I wish well, but for the good of my countrymen, who are deterred by their tyrants at home from raising their voices[d]. Their very tears, they know, would be punished as rebellious, and, therefore, their grief is the more deeply seated, as it is more violently repressed. I, however, being far from my native land, and out of the power of her governors, prefer the danger of public remonstrance to criminal silence[e]. Duty imperatively requires "that we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." I have zealously embraced the opportunity of laying before you an unvarnished statement of some only of the miseries of my countrymen, in the hope that some of them at least may be redressed, and may not strike their inveterate roots into the heart of my country. The address of St. Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, I feel assured, has taught you, that

" Libertas etenim quovis non venditur auro.
Hic, mihi dicendi quicquid libet ampla potestas
" Fit, voces ardet carpere nemo meas.
At quando nostro quid acerbius excidit ori
In patriis oris, carptor iniquus adest."

rem prolatis Majestati tuæ indicare non regium esse libertatem dicendi negare, nec sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere[148].

Humanitatis igitur vestræ fiduciâ fretus affirmare non dubitabo, post tot molestiarum vacuitatem, aut ad minus levationem tuo nobis beneficio collatam, nos ad felicitatis exoptatæ culmen á te citra dubium evectum iri: si quam subditorum conditionem Angli Scotique nacti sunt nos tuo munere impetremus. Ac primùm, si libertatis integritatem, quâ illi in patriâ gaudent, nos in Hiberniâ consequamur. Summo enim libertatis fruendæ studio tenemur, quam "nemo bonus nisi simul cum animâ amittit[149]." In Angliâ et Scotiâ ad Regem omnium potestas, ad singulos proprietas pertinet. Omnia Rex imperio possidet; singuli dominio. In imperio Cæsaris omnia sunt, in patrimonio propria[150]. Hiberni nihil magis in optatis habent quàm hujusmodi libertatis gradu honestari, quo non suâ, sed adversariorum culpâ dudum exciderunt; potiori tamen ad eum locum sibi vendicandum jure nulli genti sceptro tuo subjectæ quàm Hibernis suppetente. Quare, ut proverbio dicimus
[xxii.] "Rex Jupiter omnibus idem:" sic non dubitamus quin tu | nos in eâdem cum tuis aliis subditis justitiæ gratiæque trutinâ positurus sis.

Reges pluribus regnis imperantes e quoque regno selectos in concilium suum adsciscunt, ut, iis consultis, singulorum regnorum commodis securiùs prospicerent. Cives enim patriæ res exploratiùs norunt, et ardentiori studio ad eas expediendas feruntur, quàm alienigenæ, qui quàm in alienâ regione, tam in ejus negotiis hospites et peregrini, vel ignoratione rerum laborantes, vel privatis aut amicorum commodis servientes, suis consiliis ei non consulunt, sed eam evertunt. Imò peregrini eminentiorem aliquam in Repub. potestatem nacti suspicionem indigenis movent. Quæ si justa est, amoveri debet; si injusta, indigenarum voluntas magis est explenda quàm alienigenarum. Sic David quamvis "bonus fuerit sicut Angelus Dei[151]" tamen Achis Rex Geth, satrapis poscentibus, eum utpote peregrinum suo contubernio excedere et in patriam concedere jussit. Ea fuit gentis nostræ calamitas ut, anteactis temporibus, apud decessores vestros non Hiberni ad consilium

[148] Ep. xxix. [149] Salust in Catalin. [150] Seneca apud Bodin in Method. p. 205.
[151] 1 Reg. xxix.

[f] Giraldus Cambrensis complained that the first adventurers were robbed by King John's followers. Hib. Exp. p. 812. The like complaint was made in every age to 1688.

a king should not refuse liberty of speech, nor a priest speak otherwise than he thinks.

Relying, then, with the firmest confidence, on your clemency, which has already procured for us the cessation, or, at least, the alleviation of so many grievances, I do not hesitate to assert that you will have crowned our most sanguine hopes of happiness, if you graciously extend to us the privileges and rights of your English and Scotch subjects. And first, that we shall enjoy that full liberty, in Ireland, which they have in their country. Liberty is the dearest object of our aspirations, that liberty "which no good man resigns except with his life-blood." In England and Scotland, power belongs to the King,—property to individuals. The King holds all by his regal power,—individuals by private title. In the empire, all things are Cæsar's; in private property, the subject's. The possession of this individual liberty is the greatest happiness the Irish desire; they have been long since deprived of it, not through any fault of their own, but by the malice of their enemies, and they now demand its restoration, with as good a title as any nation under your Majesty's sceptre. As the common proverb makes "Jove the impartial King of all," we are confident that you will place us in the same scale of justice and favour as your other subjects.

When Kings hold several kingdoms under their sceptre, their council is composed of men selected from each, that the interests of all may be secured by their combined deliberations. A native is always better acquainted with the state of his country, and more zealous for her interests, than a foreigner, who is usually not less a stranger to her interests than he is by birth, being either profoundly ignorant of her affairs, or seeking only to serve his friends or other individuals, and thus destroying, instead of promoting, her happiness. Nay, the natives of all countries invariably regard with suspicion foreigners who are raised to any distinguished place in the government. If the suspicion be just, why should not its grounds be removed; if unjust, are not the wishes of the native citizens entitled to more deference than those of foreigners. Thus, David, though "he was good as an Angel of God," was dismissed by Achis, King of Geth, at the request of the Satraps, and ordered to go forth from the palace, and return to his own country, because he was a stranger. This has been the crying grievance of Ireland in former times[f], that your predecessors governed her by the

de rebus Hibernicis, sed peregrini adhiberentur. Ex quo fonte nostrum exitium fluxit. Peregrinorum enim examina in Hiberniam identidem confluxerunt, quæ Hibernis nullo commodo, sed quamplurimo dispendio afficiendis solerter incubuerunt, et opes iis assiduè abreptas sibi sedulò accumulàrunt. Quamobrem omnibus votis Hiberni nunc expetunt, ut, si non plures, saltem unus e proceribus nostris a latere nunquam discedat, sed tibi semper præstò sit, qui compertiores narrationes, salubriores monitiones, et ad Hiberniæ administrationem accommodatiores promet.

Adversarii quidem nostram Catholicæ religionis professionem securitatis publicæ scopulum, nodum, et moram esse pertimescunt: quia religionis nostræ scita non accuratè perpenderunt, quæ suos cultores ad obsequium Principibus, amorem civibus, et fidem sociis exhibendam sanctissimè vinciunt. Nec nobis vitio dandum quòd ei religioni potissimum adheremus, quam antiquitas certitudine, diuturnitas firmitate, et amplitudo soliditate munivit. Sacræ paginæ monita sunt; "Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi, majores tuos et dicent tibi[152]." Et "State super vias, et interrogate de semitis antiquis, quæ sit via bona, et ambulate in eâ[153]." Tertulliano authore, "Verum quodcunque primum, adulterum quodcunque posterius[154]." Sancti Hieronymi verba sunt: "Qui usque ad consummationem sæculi cum discipulis se futurum esse promittit, et illos ostendit semper esse victuros, et se nunquam a credentibus recessurum:" qui etiam docet "in illâ Ecclesiâ esse permanendum, quæ ab Apostolis fundata usque ad hunc diem durat[155]." Nos igitur Dei et sapientum monitis obsecuti ea nunc dogmata sectamur; quæ vel ipsi Magdeburgenses temporibus ab Apostolorum ævo recen-
[xxiii.] tibus usitata et pervulgata | sæculisque inde usque ad nostram me-

[152] Deut. xxxii. [153] Jerem. vi. [154] Lib. iv. Comment. in Matt. in fin. [155] Dial. Lucif. in fine.

[g] One of the Articles concluded with Lord Westmeath by Ludlow, exempted all Irish recusants from assisting at any religious service contrary to their conscience; yet the Commissioners imposed a fine, thirty pence, for absence each Sunday from the parish church. This edict was enforced under the Commonwealth. After the Restoration, Catholics and Dissenters were indicted, under the 2 Eliz., for absence from church; but the universal dissatisfaction compelled Orrery to order the judges, on all the circuits, to suspend that statute until further orders. The Irish bishops remonstrated against this indulgence; but as their request wonld dissatisfy ten parts in

counsels of strangers to the exclusion of her own sons. This has been the source of our ruin. Swarms of foreigners, swept into the country from time to time, who never did any service to the Irish, but devoted all their energies to ruin them without resource, and amassed enormous properties for themselves by the plunder of their fellow-subjects. Your Irish subjects now conjure you, most earnestly, to keep one Irish lord, at least, near you, from whom you may, at all times, receive more certain information and more prudent counsel for the better administration of Irish affairs.

But our profession of the Catholic faith is the great stumbling-block and difficulty of our adversaries,—their grand obstacle to the security of the State[g]. They have never carefully examined the principles of our religion, which inculcate, in the most solemn manner, allegiance to the King, love to our fellow-subjects, fidelity to our allies. Is it a crime to profess that religion, which securely appeals to antiquity for its truth, to long ages of existence for its permanence, and to its wide diffusion for its strength? The sacred Scriptures admonish us: "Ask thy father, and he will declare to thee: thy elders, and they will tell thee;" and "Stand ye on the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, which is the good way, and walk ye in it." Tertullian also says: "Whatever is prior in time, is truth; what is later, is adulterated;" and St. Jerome: "He that promised to be with his disciples until the consummation of the world, shews that they would always be victorious, and that he would never depart from the faithful;" and, again, he teaches "that we must remain in that Church, which was founded by the Apostles, and lasts unto this day." Obeying these injunctions of God and of wise men, we now profess those articles of faith which the Magdeburg historians themselves admit were known and professed in ages immediately subsequent to the days of the Apostles, and

eleven of the population, Orrery, until further orders from Ormonde, resolved to connive at their not doing what "they were bound to do, but would not connive at their doing what they were bound not to do," that is, that no conventicle or unlawful assembly (the mass) should be tolerated. But, on the latter point, see note, *suprà*, p. 62. *Orrery*, April 16, 1662. Bramhall was, at this time, Speaker of the Lords. In the Convocation of 1634 he had opposed Bedel's proposal for the use of Common Prayer in Irish, where Irish alone was understood.

moriam continenter secutis, Christianorum frequentiæ familiaria fuisse testantur.

Ipsi Paganismo permissionem et impunitatem antiquitas vendicavit. Nam primi illi Christiani Imperatores, qui in purâ defæcatâque Catholicâ fide ritè colendâ, latèque propagandâ ferverunt, Ethnicos in pristinæ superstitionis luto hærere facilè passi sunt, quoniam publica Paganismi professio temporis primas a communi nostræ fidei agnitione retulit. Constantinus Magnus quamvis religiosus Princeps, ut publica in Ethnicismo perseverantia omnibus libera et licita foret, edicto indulsit[156]. Valentinianus, qui privatus probrosam a militiâ missionem, et exilium Catholicæ religionis ergo passus est, legem Imperator tulit ut quisque quam vellet religionem coleret[157], qui et eo nomine laudatur ab Amiano quòd nunquam aliquem ob religionis diversitatem infestaverit. Gratianus lege latâ omnibus concessit quamcunque religionem sectari[158]. Anastasius Imperator potestatem cuique fecit quam vellet religionem profitendi[159]. Justinianus quoque legem edidit in hæc verba: "Placet quemque religiosum esse more patriæ suæ[160]." Quid multis? vulgus hominum non solùm in Ethnicismo impunè, sed et Senatus citra noxam, et dignitatis imminutionem, Christianis Imperatoribus annuentibus, diu permansit. Imò Gentiles supremis Reipub. militiæque Præfecturis insigniti fuerunt[161]. Nam Simmachus paganismi cæno adhuc immersus ad Consulatum emersit[162]. Gildonem Africæ Theodosius, Cyrum quendam Imperator[163], Saulum Stilico[164] homines gentilismi sordibus adhuc oblitos exercitibus præfecit.

Quòd si Paganis libero deorum inanium cultu, et summis Reipub. militiæque muneribus Imperatores Christiani non interdixerint; Catholica religio, quæ vetustate venerabilis, duratione memorabilis, et propagatione illustris est, eam saltem gratiam a Majestate vestrâ feret, ut ejus professio cuiquam fraudi non sit: quâ perpetuum dissidium in

[156] Euseb. lib. ii. Vitæ, xlvii. [157] Epit. Bar. an. 361, n. 7; 364, n. 8. [158] Ibid. 378, n. 19. [159] Ratio-temp. lib. vii. c. 5. [160] Lib. i. de § Ect. [161] Epit. Bar. an. 389, n. 7. [162] Rat. temp. lib. vi. c. 10. [163] Epit. Bar. an. 398, n. 9; 439, n. 4. [164] Ibid. 403, n. 9.

[h] Under the Protectorate it was death to harbour or protect a priest; death not to disclose their hiding-places "in the caverns of the mountain, the chasms of the quarry, and the dark recesses of the forest." And "any person accidentally meeting and recognising a priest was subject to have his ears cut off, and to be flogged naked through

were, in all succeeding ages, down to our own time, familiar dogmas of the Christian world.

In ancient times, paganism itself was permitted, and entailed no legal penalty. The first Christian Emperors, who laboured strenuously for the propagation of the faith of Christ, pure and undefiled, allowed the heathens to wallow in their old superstitions, because the public profession of paganism had priority, in point of time, of the general reception of our faith. Constantine the Great, though a religious Prince, issued an edict, securing for all his subjects full liberty and impunity in the public profession of paganism. Valentinian, also, who had been ignominiously expelled from the army, and afterwards, when a private man, banished for the Catholic faith, issued after his elevation an imperial edict, which gave full liberty of religion; and he is extolled by Amianus for never having persecuted any persons on account of their religion. Gratian, too, passed a law securing universal toleration. The Emperor Anastasius gave permission to every person to profess what religion he pleased. Justinian also enacted a law to the following effect: "Be it enacted that every person may follow the creed of his country." What need of more? Not only were the populace allowed to profess paganism with impunity, but even the Roman Senate itself, without any penalty or loss of its privileges, or prohibition of the Christian Emperor, long continued to profess it. Pagans were even raised to the highest posts in peace and war. Thus Simmachus, while yet a slave to heathenism, rose to the consulship. Gildo was appointed count of Africa by the Emperor Theodosius; Saul and one Cyrus were made generals of the army, the former by Stilico, the latter by the Emperor, though, at the time of their promotion, both were immersed in the errors of paganism.

If pagans were neither prohibited to profess the worship of their false gods, nor excluded from the highest civil and military offices by the Christian Emperors, shall not the Catholic religion, so venerable by its antiquity, so wonderful in its permanence, so majestic by its universality, obtain from your Majesty even the poor favour, that its profession shall not be a crime[h]? Some persons erroneously believe that it

the town, if he did not inform." "Many a time," says Bruodin, "were these iniquitous laws enforced in Ireland. Father Maurice Conry gives an account of two noblemen, cousins of mine, from Thomond, who were savagely executed by the barba-

vestro regno non posse non creari falsò quidem autumant, Jacobi Regis oraculo refragante, dicentis: "Historias abundare exemplis florentissimarum ecclesiarum sub contrariæ religionis principe[165]." Cui vester felicissimæ memoriæ pater Carolus Rex in egregiis suis meditationibus suffragatur, affirmans molestè se ferre quòd Papistæ ad obsequii fidem adimplendam accuratiori curâ incumbant, quàm multi Protestantismum professi, qui pessima dogmata a pessimo Papistarum genere hausisse videntur. Quòd ad fidem Principibus a Catholicis Hibernicis præstitam attinet jam ante ostendi quòd

> "Semper Hibernorum Reges permanserat erga,
> Temporibus duris, inviolata fides."

Et ipse Catholicos Hibernos fidos fuisse tum proculdubio animum induxisti, cùm in "Declaratione" et variis aliis diplomatibus "Papis-
[xxiv.] tis | innocentibus," id est, nullo alio quàm religionis crimine reis priorem conditionem elargitus es. Quid quòd sicut fidem erga Principem Catholica religio, sic nec salutem animæ sempiternam, adversariis etiam fatentibus, non aufert. Henricus Magnus Galliæ Rex, ut fertur[166] ministrum quendam sciscitatus, num via Papistis in cœlum pateat, responsum tulit Papistas per longos flexus, reformatos rectâ in cœlum tendere: Ergo, subdit Rex, certior est Papisticæ religionis securitas, a cujus professoribus cœlum adiri posse utraque pars assentitur, quàm nostræ, cujus professores una pars cœlis excipi, alia excludi contendit. In Apologiâ Protestantium[167] plures Protestantes doctores proferuntur sentientes Papisticam religionem cœlo neminem excludere. In quorum sententiam Georgius Abbotus Willelmi Laudi in Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi decessor concessit: in responsione ad Hill, ad rationem primam § primo. Pervagatus etiam in ore vulgi sermo est se tantâ charitate in Catholicos ferri, ut eos æternâ felicitate donari posse non denegent, et charitatis inopiæ Catholicis dant, quòd similem opinionem de religionis reformatæ professoribus non imbibant. Quare, cùm Catholica religio nec administrationi Reipub., nec saluti animarum officiat, enixè Majes-

[165] Defen. jur. reg. p. 178. [166] Spondan in contin. Bar. Veron. in probat. veritatum Catholic. p. 97. [167] Part. i. c. ii. sect. 14.

rians for violating the last edict."—p. 694.

[i] Anglo-Irish Ireland, i. e. towns and pale.

[j] Charles II. had restored many Catholics, by Royal letters, without any previous trial of innocence before the Court of Claims. See close of note [k], p. 78.

would be a source of endless discord in your dominions; but the wisdom of King James gives a different decision. "History," he says, "is full of examples of churches flourishing under a king of a different creed;" an opinion confirmed by your father, King Charles, of blessed memory, who asserts, in his admirable meditations, that he was annoyed on finding that the Papists were more zealous in their allegiance than many professing Protestants, who appeared to have imbibed the worst principles of the worst class of Papists. But, with regard to the loyalty of the Irish Catholics to their Kings, I have already demonstrated, that

> "Ireland[i] in trying times has ever shown,
> Inviolable fealty to the throne."

Your Majesty must have been persuaded of the loyalty of Irish Catholics, when, both in your "Declaration," and in various other public documents[j], you restored to their former estate all "innocent Papists," that is, those who were guilty of no other crime but their creed. Nay, the Catholic religion is not only consistent with loyalty to our King, but, moreover, with the eternal salvation of our souls, even according to our adversaries themselves. Henry IV., King of France, is said to have asked a certain minister, whether the way to heaven was open to a Papist? "Yes," was the reply; "the Papists take a circuitous path, but the Reformists the straight road to heaven." "Then," said the King, "the religion of the Papists is more safe, as both parties agree that its professors can go to heaven, while only one party asserts, and the other denies, that the professors of our's can go to heaven." Many Protestant doctors are quoted in the Apology of the Protestants, as teaching that the profession of the Catholic faith is not an obstacle to any man's salvation; and this opinion is maintained by George Abbot, predecessor of William Laud in the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the first argument, first section, of his Answer to Hill. There is also a common saying of the people, that they could not be so uncharitable to the Catholics as to deny the possibility of their eternal salvation, and that on this very point the Catholics show their uncharitableness, by not holding a similar opinion of the professors of the reformed religion. Since, then, the Catholic faith is no obstacle to the peace of the Commonwealth, nor to the salvation of souls, we earnestly implore your Majesty that men shall not be punished for professing it:

tatem vestram obsecramus ut ejus professio nemini detrimentum pariat. Et more veteris Ecclesiæ[168], Agathensis, ac Toletani Concilii[169], majorumque nostrorum[170], omnes Hiberni votis cœlum fatigabimus ut inde Deus animam tuam gratiæ copiâ, corpus assiduâ sospitate, consilia continuâ felicitate, negotia prospero eventu cumulet.

Postquam autem quæ in patrito avitoque tuo Hiberniæ regno perculsa belli impetu prostrataque jacent erexeris; e longinquo exilio viros ad uxores, parentes ad liberos revocaveris; justis dominis propria patrimonia, urbium incolis priora domicilia restitueris; belli mala pacis adulterinæ velo prætenta sustuleris; imperia tua detrectantium auda-

[168] Tert. Apolog. [169] Epit. Bar. an. 506, n. I. [170] Infrà, p. 261.

[k] This was a vain hope. The King's Declaration, which Dr. Lynch must have seen, expressly enacts, that whereas the Corporations of Ireland are now planted with English Protestants, who have considerably improved at their own charges, and brought trade and manufacture into that our kingdom, and by their settlement there do not a little contribute to the peace of the country, the disturbing of which English would, in many respects, be very prejudicial; that all such of the Popish religion, of any Corporation in Ireland, who have been for public security dispossessed of their estates within any Corporation, shall be (not restored) but forthwith reprized in forfeited lands near the said Corporation,—except the Papists of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, who were to have the lands already adjudged to them in the baronies of Barrimore and Muskerry.—*Irish Stat.*, Car. II. vol. ii. p. 253. The King had, no doubt, reserved to himself the right of restoring Catholics to their properties in cities. But their exclusion was the rule. Three years later it was enacted, "to the end that all and every the houses in Corporations may always continue in the hands of English and Protestant subjects, no Papist shall be admitted to purchase any of the houses in Corporations; and any of the officers commissioned before 1649, or other persons, setting, leasing, &c. &c., or disposing of any such house to a Papist without license, shall forfeit double the value of said house, one-half to the King, the other to the prosecutor. It is also earnestly urged, that said houses be distributed, according to this act, with all possible expedition, that so the daily ruin and decay of said houses may be prevented as soon as possible."—*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 27. If, as stated in the Declaration, the English had established flourishing trade and manufactures in the Irish cities, it is strange that the houses were daily falling into ruin and decay; but see Dr. Lynch, *suprà*, p. 60. An Act of Car. II. vol. ii. p. 501, 1662, besides giving all the rights of natural freeborn subjects to all foreign Protestants who settled in Ireland before 1669, also enacted, "that all such persons, strangers as well as aliens, Protestants, who shall at any time hereafter come into any city or borough with intent to reside and dwell there, shall, on paying 20*s.* to the chief magistrate, be admitted and made a freeman of such city, and enjoy all the priviliges of the same, and

thus shall all the Irish, after the manner of the ancient Church, the Councils of Agatha and Toledo, and of their own ancestors, send up their unceasing prayers to heaven, that God may bless your soul with abundant grace, your body with uninterrupted health, your councils with permanent success, and all your enterprises with triumph.

But when you shall have repaired the havoc and the ruins which the tempest of war has strewn over your paternal and hereditary kingdom of Ireland; when husbands are recalled from distant exile to their wives, and parents to their children; when rightful lords are re-established in their estates, and the inhabitants of cities in their former dwellings[k]; when you have removed those evils of war which oppress

be esteemed denizens." The magistrate refusing to admit them forfeited £100; and, in case of such refusal, any neighbouring justice was empowered to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and make them freemen. They were exempted, during seven years, from excise for household expenses and provisions; and all persons "disturbing them in trade" forfeited £20. It is often difficult to decide whether the penal laws and persecutions mentioned in this Dedication are those of Cromwell or of Charles II., the latter having, in many points, adopted the Cromwellian policy. Compare the two following extracts from Scobell's Acts with the preceding:

"And be it enacted by this present Parliament, 1653, that it shall be lawful for all persons, of what nation soever, professing the Protestant religion, to purchase or take to farm any of the aforesaid forfeited houses and lands in Ireland, or any other the forfeited lands in Ireland not hereby disposed of, and to inhabit, dwell, and plant in and upon them, in any of the counties, cities, or towns mentioned in this act; and that all such persons shall enjoy all rights, privileges, freedoms and immunities, which belong unto or may lawfully be claimed by Protestants natives of this Commonwealth, both in England and Ireland." — *Scobell*, pp. 247–8.

"Be it enacted, that no adventurer, soldier, or purchaser, who shall be possessed of any forfeited houses or lands, by virtue of this act, or any other person buying, purchasing, or holding houses or lands from or under any of them, shall sell or alien any part or parcel of such houses or lands unto any person, and comprehended in the qualifications of the act of Parliament, intituled 'An Act for the Settling of Ireland,' under the penalty of forfeiture of so much of the said houses and lands as they shall so sell and alien, any person setting or leasing such houses or lands to said persons shall pay towards the pay of the army there and other public charges one-half of the yearly revenue or value of the said houses or lands so set or let, or granted by lease." — *Ibid.*, p. 248.

Charles, however, had, on the 22nd May, 1661, ordered the inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, and other cities and towns, to be restored to their freedoms and privileges, and right of free trade. But July 18, 1661, the Irish Council forwarded to him a remonstrance against the impolitic con-

ciam compresseris; decretis tuis obsequium comparaveris; gravissimas dominantium injurias a subditis tuis averteris; intolerabilem militum insolentiam compescueris; verâ pace revocatâ, furorem armorum ubique sopiveris; vim legibus, judiciis authoritatem addideris; cultum agris, securitatem hominibus, certam cuique rerum suarum possessionem reddideris; alienigenis Senatu motis, indigenas in eum retuleris; in eo, tuis auspiciis, leges utiliter emendatæ, salubriter latæ fuerint; omnibus salutem, quietem, tranquillitatemque pepereris; seditionem e foro, ambitionem e castris, discordiam e curiâ summoveris, fidem, justitiam et æquitatem pridem sepultas ac situ obsitas, per tribunalia constitueris; postquam denique Rempublicam nostram sic institueris ut omnibus rectè faciendi aut incussa voluntas, aut imposita necessitas fuerit; honorem probi, scelerati pœnas retulerint; humilis potentem suspexe-
[xxv.] rit | non timuerit; potens humilem antecesserit; non contempserit; tum demum, ubi vivendi satietate naturam expleveris, ut te meritis, annisque gravem cœlo Deus excipiat assiduè precari, cum suis omnibus popularibus, non desistet

Obsequiosissimus Majestatis vestræ Subditus

GRATIANUS LUCIUS.

cessions. An answer was returned Aug. 12, 1661, that some clauses of his Majesty's letter "might have been more warily expressed;" that he intended to grant freedom of trade only, and even that to none but "innocents," in the sense of the Declaration. — *Gale's Corporate System in Ireland, Append.*, p. cxxxii., *et seq.* The Editor had not seen the Royal letter of May 22, 1661, when he was compiling the note; *suprà*, p. 54. That letter is the document there referred to by Dr. Lynch.

[1] The following were some of the duties of Cromwell's soldiers:

"Whatsoever person or persons so transplanted to Connaught shall, after the 1st May, 1654, be found in any part of the provinces of Leinster, Munster, or Ulster (except the county Clare), or any way, without such pass as aforesaid, travelling in any of the said provinces, or inhabiting or being in any port, town, or garrison, within the said province of Connaught or county Clare, without such license as aforesaid, or having any arms used in war, all such persons shall be tried by martial law, and shall suffer death; and you are hereby authorized, from time to time, to issue out commissions for the speedy execution of such offenders. 27 Sept., 1653."—*Scobell's Stat.*, p. 258. Again:

"Whereas the children, grandchildren, &c., of persons attainted (by the Act for the Settling of Ireland), do remain in the

us under the mask of peace; when you have curbed the audacity of those who counteract your orders; when your commands are obeyed; the atrocious injustice of the tyrants of your subjects arrested; the intolerable insolence of the military repressed[1]; when, by the restoration of a real peace, you shall have calmed the fury of war, given effect to your laws, and authority to your courts; restored the lands to cultivation, security to man, and to all the certain possession of their property; when foreigners are expelled from our Parliament, and natives reseated; when laws are there prudently amended, and wisely enacted under your auspices; when you have secured to all peace and tranquillity; banished sedition from the meetings, ambition from the army, and discord from the Court; when faith, and justice, and equity, are once more enthroned on the judgment-seat, whence they have been ignominiously hurled down, and consigned to oblivion; when, in a word, you shall have reorganized the kingdom, so that all must be virtuous by choice or necessity; when the good are honoured, and the wicked punished; when the lowly respect, but do not fear the powerful; and the powerful takes precedence, but does not despise the lowly; then, indeed, when nature has satisfied your fondest yearnings after life, may God receive you into heaven, full of years and merit, is the earnest and constant prayer, in union with all his countrymen, of

Your Majesty's most loyal Subject,

JOHN LYNCH.

provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, having little or no visible estates or subsistence, but living idly and coshering upon the common sort of people, who were late tenants to or followers of the respective ancestors of such idle and coshering persons, waiting an opportunity (as may justly be supposed) to massacre and destroy the English, who, as adventurers and soldiers, or their tenants, are set down to plant upon the several lands and estates of the said persons so attainted; be it further enacted that all and every the said children, grandchildren, &c. &c., except such as were Protestants on Oct. 23, 1641, and have since so continued, or Papists who have made proof of their constant good affection, shall, within six months after the publication of this act in Ireland, remove and transplant themselves and families into Connaught and the county of Clare, and not return without license from the Chief Governor; and if any such persons shall after the said six months be found in any of the three provinces, they shall be banished to America for life." A.D. 1656.—*Ib.*, p. 505.

APPENDIX TO DEDICATION.

THE following is a description, by an eye-witness, of the state of Ireland under Cromwell, to which the preceding Dedication so frequently alludes. The original Latin document is deposited in the Archives of St. Isidore, Rome. A copy was made for Dr. Lingard, through whose kindness the Editor learned that it is now in possession of Rev. A. M. Tierney, D. D., who transcribed with his own hand the document from which the following extracts are now, for the first time, published. The translation is literal.—M. K.

STATE AND CONDITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND,

FROM THE YEAR 1652 TO 1656.

WRITTEN BY

FATHER QUIN, SOC. JESU. SUPER. MISSIONAR.

"The Catholic armies having been lately defeated in Leinster and Munster, the English Parliamentarians consummated their triumph in Ireland: in the year 1653 the cities, and almost all the strong places, had fallen into the hands of Cromwell; but, though he was victorious in every quarter, his followers did not yet dare to throw off the mask, and manifest their malicious design of extirpating the Catholic religion, because they were exposed to the desultory attacks of bodies of the Catholic troops which infested them on every side. The Cromwellians, therefore, connived for a time at the liberty of the priests and the exercise of the Catholic worship, until a favourable opportunity presented itself of giving full vent to their malice. In this deplorable state of affairs, the Irish troops, which yet survived in scattered bodies throughout the country, were invited by his Catholic Majesty to embark for Spain, a measure which was strongly urged by the Spanish Ambassador in London; almost every month they were, accordingly, shipped off in thousands to Spain or Belgium, the communication with France being at that time entirely cut off. The power of the Catholics in Ireland being gradually broken by these successive drains, the English Parliamentarians had nothing to fear, and began to threaten, publicly, the extermination of the Irish 'Papists.'

"Accordingly, on the 6th of January, 1653, there issued against the Catholics an edict of Cromwell, commanding all priests, under pain of death, to depart from Ireland within twenty days; and the same penalty, together with the forfeiture of all their property, was denounced against all laymen who should dare to harbour or protect any ecclesiastic in any way or for any pretext whatsoever. . . . . .

"In that year the last Superior of our Society in Ireland, who was then lying in fever in the house of a certain Catholic citizen, was reduced so much that he could neither move nor ride on horseback, nor by any other conveyance. An humble petition was presented to the governor of the place, begging him to connive for a time until the sick man had, in some degree, recovered his strength; but the Governor answered, 'that if one finger of a Jesuit remained alive, though the rest of the body were dead, both should be cast out of the kingdom.' In the depth of a very severe winter, amid storms of wind and snow, the sick man was carried forty leagues to a seaport, where he met ten others of the society and forty secular priests; he embraced his fellow prisoners, with whom he was thrown into the ships, and sent off to Spain. But, wonderful is the mercy of God, in the hour of distress, 'His yoke is sweet, and his burthen is light,' 'He permitteth none to be tempted beyond what they are able,'—such is his providence over our countrymen, that no sooner are some priests banished, than their places are immediately, and contrary to all expectation, supplied by others.

"The clergy suffered many and grievous persecutions under former English Governors; but, before this present time, they were never reduced to the lowest extreme of misery. How severe soever the persecution might be in former times, the nobles and other Catholics (who formed the great majority of the nation) were allowed to retain possession of their lands and houses, which offered a secure and easy retreat for the clergy; but now the whole face of things is changed, since the nobles and almost all the Catholics are ejected from their properties. What one soldier spares to-day, is devoured by another soldier to-morrow...... So thickly do miseries crowd around us every day, that there remains for us now no human resource,—nothing but our confidence in the Providence of God alone.

"After the general banishment of the Catholics, another edict was issued, commanding all nuns, of whatsoever rank or condition, to marry or quit the kingdom: there was no resource against this edict: some were seized, others imprisoned, and all reduced to the greatest misery; until at last, by the vigilance of their friends and superiors, they were gradually drafted away in companies, and shipped, under the guidance of Providence, for the Catholic kingdoms of Spain, France, or Belgium. To this day a few remain amongst us, who were detained by their infirmity; but their life is, indeed, a martyrdom.

"In this abandoned state of our country, deserted by her sons, all the cities and towns are in the hands of the Cromwellians: every castle and house has been changed by them into a military post: all public places are exposed to their excursions: no person can pass any of the public roads without being searched and examined at every milestone. All must be provided with letters or patents of the Governors, through whose districts they travel: the letter contains not only the name of the traveller, but an accurate description of his age, stature, person, beard, and hair; and if the slightest error be detected in any of these points, the bearer may be thrown into prison as a spy or priest, or even hanged on the spot, according to the caprice of his captor. English martial law empowers every common soldier to punish all suspected persons, if they cannot produce their licenses: at any hour of day or night the soldier may visit the houses of all the Catholics, and search every hole or corner under pretext of hunting for priests......

Our life is, therefore, a daily warfare and a living martyrdom on this earth, where we have to encounter so many leopards. We never venture to approach any of the houses of the Catholics: we live generally in the mountains, forests, and inaccessible bogs, where the Cromwellian trooper, at least, cannot reach us. Thither crowds of the poor Catholics flock to us, whom we refresh by the Word of God and the consolation of the Sacraments: here, in those wild and mountain tracts, we preach to them constancy in faith, and the mystery of the cross of our Lord: here we find true worshippers of God, and champions of Christ. In spite of all the precautions used to exercise our evangelical ministry in secret, the Cromwellians often discover it; and then the wild beast was never hunted with more fury, nor tracked with more pertinacity, through mountains, woods and bogs, than the priest: at present, it is a common saying among the misbelievers, 'I am going to hunt the priests.'"

The writer then proceeds to describe "a hunt" after John Carolan, a Jesuit; the labors of Christopher Neterville, a Jesuit, who lay hidden during a whole year in his family tomb; and also of James Forde, of whom he says:

"On a spot of firm ground, in the middle of an immense bog, he constructed for himself a little hut, whither the boys and youths of the neighbourhood came, and still come, to be instructed in the rudiments of learning, and of virtue and faith: would that all could adopt the conduct of these boys as their model and example; like their master, they subject themselves to constant fasting and mortification; they go from house to house, and teach their parents and neighbours at home what they have learned in the bogs." . . . . .

"As we cannot always celebrate mass in those caverns and wild retreats, we carry with us the consecrated hosts in sufficient number for the spiritual comfort of ourselves, and of the sick to whom we may be called..

"To crown our other miseries, the plague is raging in all quarters; but the more frightful its ravages, the more prompt and zealous is the vigilance of the missionaries. We lately ordered prayers to be offered up in all the provinces to appease the anger of heaven, and every Catholic in the whole kingdom fasted three days on bread and water,—even the children, babes of three years old, fasted as well as the others; and all not disqualified by years received with great devotion the sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance." . . . .

The author next describes the sufferings and death of some nuns, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians. Of the transplantation to Connaught he says:

"Wound follows wound, that nothing should be wanting to fill up the cup of our sufferings. The few Catholic families that remained were lately deprived, by Cromwell, of all their immoveable property, and are all compelled to abandon their native estates, and retire into the province of Connaught. Your Reverence is aware that that province is one scene of desolation, and has been reduced to a desert by the ravages of war. There is scarcely a single house standing to give shelter to the Catholics: there remain but two towns, Galway and Loughrea, both of which have been delivered up to the English Anabaptists. Into that desert all our Catholics are huddled together, to perish there, or erect for themselves new houses of woe; yet, though their only property now are the cattle on their pastures, they are compelled to pay taxes, and to support all the neighbouring Protestant garrisons to the number of seventy. The design, obviously, is to extirpate gra-

dually the whole nation, since no possible plan can succeed in shaking its attachment to the Roman Catholic faith. Some of our Protestant garrisons lately told the Catholics that nothing could stay these persecutions, save the abjuration of the Pope's authority and mass; but vain was their labor, their labor now is vain. My countrymen, like the Macchabees, are most constant in the tradition of their fathers and in fidelity to their faith; death they prefer to dishonor, firmly resolved, by the grace of God, that neither the sword, nor danger, nor persecution, nor life, nor death, can separate them from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

"This fidelity it is which has lately excited the Protestants: whole cargoes of poor Catholics are shipped to Barbadoes and the islands of America, that thus those, whom shame prevents from being murdered by the sword, may fall under the doom of perpetual banishment. Sixty thousand, I think, have been already shipped off; the wives and children of those who were banished in the beginning to Spain and Belgium are now sentenced to be transported to America. . . . . .

"I cannot omit a lamentable event which lately occurred. Three hundred Catholics were bound in chains, and carried off to a desolate island near the coast, where death by cold and famine was inevitable. Abandoned and penned up there, all were starved to death except two, who ventured to trust themselves to the mercy of the sea; one of them sank to rise no more; the other, by his superior strength, gained the mainland, and told the tragic story of his associates' fate.

"Such is the brief report I have to make to you, that you may pray to the Lord God for us and for our country. Perhaps He may deign to look down on our miseries; but, if not, the suffering is brief,—the glory infinite,—a calling to many,—salvation for a few,—retribution for all. Amen."

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[1] # CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS;

SEU POTIÙS

HISTORICA FIDES

IN

REBUS HIBERNICIS GIRALDO CAMBRENSI

ABROGATA;

IN QUO

PLERASQUE JUSTI HISTORICI DOTES DESIDERARI, PLEROSQUE NÆVOS INESSE

OSTENDIT

GRATIANUS LUCIUS, HIBERNUS.

"Posuit mendacium spem suam, et mendacio protectus est."—*Isaiæ*, xxviii. 15.

CAPUT I.

OPERIS INTRODUCTIO, CONSILIUM AUTHORIS APERIENS.

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Giraldus Cambrensis, anno post Christum natum 1185, Joannem Henrici Secundi Regis filium in Hiberniam comitatus, tres deinde annos in Topographiâ, duos proximè secutos in Hiberniæ Expugnatæ historiâ

CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS;

OR,

REFUTATION

OF

THE AUTHORITY OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

ON

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND;

BEING

A DEMONSTRATION THAT GIRALDUS, WITH MOST OF THE DEFECTS, HAD FEW OF THE GOOD QUALITIES OF A HISTORIAN;

BY

JOHN LYNCH, AN IRISHMAN.

"He placed his hope in lies, and was protected by falsehood."—*Isaiah*, xxviii. 15.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, EXPLAINING THE AUTHOR'S DESIGN.

[1] At what time the works of Giraldus were written.—They were censured.—Were long unknown. When printed.—White against Cambrensis.—O'Sullivan against Cambrensis. [2] Author's design. Truth, however long suppressed, reveals itself at last.—Error not confirmed by length of time.—The story of Pope Joan false.—The common story of the conversion of St. Bruno false.—The story of St. Marcellinus sacrificing to idols false. [3] The dying swan does not sing.—Character of truth. The assent of others no corroboration for Cambrensis.—Malignity of heretical writers against the Irish. [4] The testimony of mere numbers of no authority.—Against those who, in their search after truth, rely solely on the testimony of a great number.—This work suggested not from hatred to Cambrensis, but by his calumnies against Ireland.—Wide circulation of the calumnies of Cambrensis.—Patriotism.—The links that bind us to fatherland. [5] The eagle, when building its nest, aided by other birds.—All men bound, according to their abilities, to aid their country.—The truth of history restored by refuting calumnies.—Motives for castigating Cambrensis.—This work not a source of scandal.—Plan of the work.—Causes of the digressions.

Giraldus Cambrensis, having visited Ireland in the year 1185, in the train of John, son of King Henry II., composed, during the three fol-

elucubrandâ posuit[1], ut anno Partûs Virginei 1190, aut paulò secus, opera ista in lucem emisisse videatur. Ut primùm autem calumniarum virus istis libellis inclusum in Hibernos evomuit, carptores illico se nactum graviter conqueritur. Sed isto e vivis sublato, isti libelli calamo tantùm exarati, hominum oculis subducti, tineas in pluteis et blattas pascentes, ampliùs vulgo non prostabant, antequam malis avibus in lucem typosque Francfortenses, anno a Christi natalibus 1602, Camdeni operâ eruperint.

Hinc Lombardus paulo ante tempus istud scribens dixit; "Topographia ista," scilicet Cambrensis, "non est excussa typis[2]." Pater Stephanus Vitus e societate Jesu, sacræ theologiæ doctor, et professor emeritus, lucubrationem elaboravit accuratissimam, quæ infamiam Hiberniæ a Giraldo impactam luculenter amovit. Ejus operis exiguum fragmentum penes me habeo, quod reliquæ partis præstantiam, tanquam unguis leonem, indicat; sed integrum alicui mutuo pridem traditum, proh dolor, in latebras aliquas adeo reconditas abditum est, ut ex iis erui, ac in lucem hominumque conspectum proferri exinde non po-

[1] Præf. i. Expug. [2] Commentarium de Regno Hiberniæ, p. 9.

[a] Giraldus, in several passages of his other writings, alludes to his two works on Ireland. Thus, in his dedication of the Description of Wales to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he writes: "I am he who formerly ('ille ego qui quondam') devoted three years' labor to the composition of a 'Topography of Ireland in three distinctions,' with all its mysteries and secrets of nature, and afterwards I completed, in two years' study, my 'prophetic History of the Conquest of Ireland,' in two distinctions."—p. 880. Again, in his preface to the Itinerary of Wales, p. 819, he says "that he had dedicated the 'Topography' to king Henry II., and the 'Conquest' to his son Richard, Count of Poitou; but the latter had all the vices of his father, and both were illiterate ('parum literati'), or too much occupied with other matters, to think of giving him any remuneration: 'vacuo quondam quoad accessorium illud et infructuoso labore peregi.'" It is needless to remind the reader that Henry and Richard were both dead before this complaint was penned. He repeats it in the Dedication of the second edition of the "Conquest" to King John: "Sed nec isto nec illo (quia probitas laudatur et alget) remunerato librum emisi."—p. 811. This neglect he attributed not to his own want of merit, for he believed himself superior to most of his contemporaries ("supra coëtaneos multos projeci,"—p. 880), but to a conspiracy of all the magnates of the day against authors: "nisi a magnatibus hodie quasi conjuratio in authores facta fuisset."—p. 881; *Camden's Edition*, A. D. 1602.

[b] Giraldus attributes to malignant jea-

lowing years, a "Topography," and, before the year 1190, a "History of the Conquest of Ireland;" so that both works were probably given to the public in or near the latter year[a]. The virulent calumnies levelled against the Irish, in these productions, drew down some censure on the author immediately after their publication, as himself bitterly complains[b]. But, after his death, the works, being only in manuscript, lay mouldering in obscurity, the food of moths and worms, and were not in circulation, until, in an evil hour, they were published by Camden, in the Frankfort press, in the year 1602.

Thus Lombard, who wrote shortly before that year, says: "This Topography (of Cambrensis) is not yet printed." Father Stephen White[c], a Jesuit, doctor of divinity, and professor emeritus, compiled a very elaborate dissertation, which vindicates triumphantly the fame of Ireland against the slanders of Giraldus. A small fragment of that work is now in my possession; and from it we may as surely infer the excellence of the rest, as we know the lion by his claw; but, unfortunately, I lent the work itself some time ago to a person, and it has now passed into some unknown hands or obscure corner, from which there is no

lousy the attacks made on his work: "opus non ignobile nostrum Topographiam livor laniat et detrectat."—*Preface to the Conquest*, p. 755. We reserve for their proper place the contemporary criticisms on his work and his defence.

[c] Fortunately, this work of Stephen White's, though supposed to have been lost, has been lately discovered by S. H. Bindon, esq., Secr. Celt. Soc., in the Bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne, Brussells. It is entitled "Apologia pro Hiberniâ adversus Cambri calumnias, sive fabularum et famosorum libellorum Silvestri Giraldi Cambrensis, sub vocabulis Topographia sive De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ, et Historia Vaticinalis sive Expugnationis ejusdem insulæ refutatio." White wrote other works, for which see Mr. Bindon's valuable "Notices of Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library," p. 21. The Catholic Bishops and Supreme Council of the Confederates very earnestly insisted that a certain work of White's, "de Sanctis et Antiquitate Hiberniæ," be instantly sent to press. It had been perused by many persons, and pronounced not only worthy of being printed, but highly necessary for the credit and advantage of the kingdom.—*Letter of Robert Nugent, Superior of Irish Jesuits, Jan.* 10, 1646, *Kilkenny, to F. Charles Sangri; Rev. Dr. Oliver's Collections, &c. &c.*, p. 269. The work was not published, though the bishops were ready to defray the expenses of printing. A fragment of White's Cambrensis Eversus is preserved in the Ussher collection, E. 3. 19, Trinity College, and a copy of the greater part of the work has been lately received by the Editor from Belgium. Ussher corresponded with White, and gives him a very high character.—*Primordia*, p. 400.

tuerit. Præterea virum nobilem, et in patriâ scriptis exornandâ memorabilem, Philippum O'Sullevanum pugillares in Giraldum viriliter exercuisse, e carminibus Patricianæ Decadi præfixis elicio. Illa vero sic se habent dum Philippi scripta recensent;

> "Invidiæ partus, mendacia magna Giraldi
> Rejicit."

Ut actum agere videar, et operam ludere, si maculas, a Cambrensi patriæ meæ aspersas, post operam ab illo præclarissimo pari rerum Hibernorum scientissimo in impugnando Giraldo positam, eluere contendero, cum præsertim partum utriusque ita numeris omnibus absolutum esse censeam (quamquam neutrum oculis unquam usurpaverim) ut piacu-
[2] lum sit | eum ingenii mei culpâ deterere. Id sanè me pungit, quòd, in propatulum educti, eruditorum manibus non terantur, quò fons ille obturetur e quo cæteri scriptores, Hibernorum odio imbuti, maledicentiæ suæ fel hauserunt.

Neque tamen consilii mei est, nec ingenii, nec etiam otii, singula, quæ in populares meos Giraldus effutivit convellere; id a præclaris illis patriæ suæ columinibus cumulatè præstitum esse non ambigo. Illi messem antè fecerunt, ego spicas lego, et cursim tantùm ad Giraldi nævos fidem dictis ejus abrogantes digitum intendo, eò duntaxat spectans, ut nostratium silentio authoritas illi non accrescat, ne in veritatem non impegisse censeatur, quam vetustatis erugine pridem obsitam nemo graviter feret disceptationis igne, tanquam aurum dubium tandem aliquando explorari, ut erasâ scoriâ splendidiùs enitescat. Talis enim est veritatis indoles, ut nunquam adeò debilitetur, quòd aliquandiu hominum cognitioni subducta fuerit; nullum dedecus contrahet, quòd illi vis ab adversariis inferatur; non minimam dignitatis jacturam patiatur, quòd fulgur ejus fabulis tanquam eclipsi tantisper obducatur. Nunquam tamdiu delitescit, quin aliquando erumpat, et palam se videndam exhibeat. Eam, ait Livius, laborare sæpe, nunquam extingui. Illâ nimirum proditâ, mendacia, quantumlibet artificiosè, quantumlibet ope-

[d] This work of O'Sullivan's, if extant, is not known to the Editor.

[e] White, in his preface, which was written shortly after 1602, complains that Leland, Lhuyd, and especially Camden, extolled the authority of Giraldus, and copied his calumnies: "Hujus Silvestri Giraldi, auctoritatem, fidem, scripta, suspiciunt et amplissimis verbis deprædicant, non modò nominati hæretici, sed et alii ejusdem ordi-

hope of recovering it, and giving it to the public. Philip O'Sullivan[d] also, a man of noble birth, and justly celebrated for his literary services to Ireland, entered the lists chivalrously against Giraldus, as we learn from the following lines of a poem prefixed to the Decades of St. Patrick. Enumerating the works of Philip, it states:

> "The spawn of jealousy, the enormous lies,
> Of Gerald, he refutes."

After the labors of these two illustrious men, in refuting Giraldus, men so profoundly versed in the history of Ireland, I fear it may appear like a work of supererogation, on my part, to go over the same ground in vindicating my country against the aspersions of her slanderer; especially as I am confident (though I never inspected their works) that their task must have been executed in so masterly and perfect a style, as to make it a crime in me to apply my inferior abilities to their theme. But it afflicts me that their works are not published and studied by the learned, in order to block up that poisoned spring whence all other writers, who hate Ireland, imbibe their envenomed calumnies[e].

Yet, I do not intend, nor, in truth, have I either the ability or the leisure to refute, in detail, the calumnies of Cambrensis against my countrymen; that, I have no doubt, has been ably done by these two great pillars of their country. They reaped the harvest; I glean the scattered ear: and if I single out some only of those errors of Giraldus which totally destroy his authority, it is with the view that our silence should not be taken as an acknowledgment that he had not violated that truth, which, however tarnished with the rust of ages, must now, to the delight of all, come forth from the ordeal of discussion more pure and brilliant, like tried gold from the furnace. For such is the nature of truth, that it cannot be so weakened as to disappear for a considerable time from the eyes of men; it cannot be sullied by the assaults of its adversaries; nor can its majesty be, in the slightest degree, impaired by those fables which, like an eclipse, sometimes cloud its splendor. It cannot be so hidden as not to shine out at length, and exhibit itself to the world. It may be often endangered, says Livy; it cannot

nis atque tribûs quorum inter præcipuos, primas habet popularis et admirator Gyraldi, Gulielmus Camdenus, Calvinista, qui, cùm mordere et maledicere cupit, ut frequenter facit in suis libris, phrases et longas periodos mutuatur a Gyraldo magistro."

rosè structa, quasi matutinam pruinam adulti jam solis radio dissolvi, ac diffluere necesse est. Ut enim quæ falsa sunt, vel nullo plerumque curante delentur aliquo tractu temporis, sic vera, et justa quamquam cedant interdum violentis hominum injuriis, tandem tamen emergunt. Sic Achillis arma iniquo Græcorum judicio Ulissi adjudicata tandem, post ejus naufragium, ad Ajacis tumulum vi fluctuum pervenisse dicuntur: quasi sic volente numine, ut verus possessor jus vel post mortem obtineret. "Non enim," ut ait Apostolus, "possumus aliquid adversus veritatem, sed pro veritate[3]."

Errorem certè diuturnitas non corroborat, nec ullam ei authoritatem comparat, cui licet per aliquot sæcula veritati tenebras offundenti, non tamen adeo adblandiri debemus, ut ejus grandævitas credulitatem a nobis veritati exitiosam extorqueat. Ita hominum consuetudo fert ut fabula in vulgus semel emissa tot narrantium figmentis excolatur, ut omnium tandem fide, et applausu excepta, vera tandiu habeatur, quamdiu larvam illi hominum desidia non detrahat. Sic persuasio Joannam fœminam Romæ pridem summum Pontificem egisse, scriptorum superioris memoriæ animos et monumenta pervasit, et ad Christiani orbis regiones pervagata, obicemque vix ullibi nacta, nimis diu hominum mentibus firmiter insedit; sed huic commento ante annos sexcentos conflato sufflamen tandem subduxerunt, et illud penitus everterunt præstantissimi scriptores, Cardinalis Baronius[4] et Bellarminus[5] Robertus Personius societatis Jesu[6], Florimundus Reimundus[7], et David Blondellus, multæ vir literaturæ, si hæresis non obstaret, ut veritatem hanc Ecclesiæ patronis asserentibus, et adversariis eandem agnoscentibus, nullus jam illius dubitandi locus relictus fuerit; vix alia fuit in officio ecclesiastico celebrior historia, quàm S. Brunonem Carthusiani ordinis authorem austeram illam vivendi rationem ideo amplexam fuisse, quòd doctorem quendam Parisiensem vitâ functum, primo die se accusatum, secundo judicatum, tertio condemnatum exclamantem audierit. Verùm ubi hujus historiæ fucum eruditorum sagacitas post quingentos annos detexit, nostrâ memoriâ e libris sublata est. An non Baronius monu-

[3] Ad Corinthios. Ep. ii. c. 13. [4] In Annalium. [5] In controver. [6] In 3. controver. [7] In Errore prop. et in familiari elucidatione.

[f] According to the legend, the dead man spoke in his coffin, on three successive days, while the clergy were chanting his requiem in the church.—See *Alban Butler*, Oct. 6.

be extinguished. The moment it appears, falsehoods, no matter with what skill and labor they may have been concocted, melt and disappear, like the morning frost under the beams of the noonday sun. For, as time alone, without the aid of argument, often refutes and annihilates the lie, so truth and justice, though they may be crushed for a time by the violent injustice of men, must triumph in the end. The armour of Achilles, adjudicated to Ulysses by the unjust decision of the Greeks, is said to have floated, after his shipwreck, to the tomb of Ajax, as if heaven itself decreed that the rightful claimant should get justice even in his grave. "For we can do nothing," says the Apostle, "against the truth, but for the truth."

Time neither corroborates error nor invests it with the slightest authority, and even though it should have supplanted and obscured the truth during several centuries, its old age must not impose on us, nor extort an obsequious and credulous assent derogatory to truth. We know, from experience, that a fable once circulated among the vulgar, and adorned with several additions as it passes from mouth to mouth, is often so well received and acquires such authority that it passes for fact, as long as the negligence of an undiscerning public allows it to wear its mask. Thus, it was believed and chronicled by ancient writers, that the chair of St. Peter was once filled by a woman, Pope Joan; and this belief, spreading to every quarter of the Christian world, took firm and undisputed hold of the minds of men during 600 years, until it was at length refuted and exposed by most eminent writers,—Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine; Robert Parsons, the Jesuit; Florimond Raimond; and David Blondell, a man of varied erudition, as far as heresy allows him: so that, both by the arguments of the defenders of the Church, and the admission of her adversaries, that question has been set for ever at rest. No historical fact in the Office of the Church, was more celebrated than that which, it was said, induced the founder of the Carthusian Order, St. Bruno, to prescribe so austere a rule for his monks. It was said that he heard a Doctor of the Paris University exclaiming, after his death, on the first day, "I am accused;" on the next, "I am judged;" on the third, "I am damned[f]." Yet this story, after having been currently received during 500 years, was at length refuted by learned authorities, and within our days has been expunged from the Office. Was not Cardinal Baronius the first to discover, after the lapse

mentorum veterum S. Marcellini Pontificis cultum idolis exhibitum referentium errorem, post mille trecentos annos, primus deprehendit? Et illi narrationi licèt antiquorum scriptis confirmatæ, tabulis ecclesiasticis insertæ, pluriumque testimoniis corroboratæ larvam, et fidem primus detraxit[8]? Ita ut admirationem nemini movere debeat, si quæ Cambrensis ante quadringentos annos, non e tabularum monumentis,
[3] aut scriptorum testimoniis | sed vel e suo cerebro, vel e vulgi rumusculis, nullo veritatis firmamento nixa hausit, convellere aggrediar.

"Fama vetus est olores morituros suaviter næniam canere. Id quod omnes non modò poetæ ac pictores inde usque ab Æschylo, sed etiam principes ipsi philosophorum Plato, Aristoteles, Chrysippus, Philostratus, Cicero, et Seneca testantur. Illud tamen Plinius primùm, deinde Athenæus fabulosum esse diuturnâ experientiâ tradiderunt, idque compertum habemus. Multi Carolum Ducem Aureliorum, ob læsæ majestatis crimen supplicio affectum, idque Lutetiæ scripserunt, neque unus tantùm aut alter, sed triginta prope historici; quem tamen anno post trigesimo quàm ab Anglis captus fuisset, in Galliam rediisse, ac feliciter obiisse constat. Est enim veritatis ea vis et natura, ut non nisi longo, ac diuturno tempore in lucem eruatur, cùm scilicet vulgi errores, adulationes, et odia planè conquierunt[9]." Non ineptè Gellius admonet quendam veterum poetarum, veritatem temporis filiam appellâsse, quòd licèt aliquando lateat, tamen temporis progressu in lucem emergat. Non enim rerum aut evoluta satis aut prompta veritas est, sed obscuro, et inexplicabili quodam quasi involucro implicata, et ut nobiles quidam philosophi tradiderunt, in profundo, ita demersa, ut non unius ætate, sed plurium sæculorum spatio videatur eruenda. Tertullianus ait neminem posse præscribere contra veritatem, non spatium temporis, non favorem hominum, non privilegium regionum[10]. Nemini antiquorum vitio datum est, anterioris ævi scriptores responso impugnare. Nec Origenem ullus objurgavit, quòd contra Celsum centum annos ante mortuum scripserit. Apollinaris Laodicæus Episcopus, Porphyrii ante annos sexaginta extincti scripta convulsit. S. Augustinus centum et

[8] Epitome Spondani in annum 302, n. 2. [9] Bodinus in Method. historiæ, c. 4. [10] De velandis virginibus.

[g] Especially if national prejudices be concerned. The Welsh described Lewellyn as "laus, lux, lex populorum;" the English as "trux dux, homicida piorum."

of 1300 years, the spuriousness of those old documents which stated that Pope Marcellinus had sacrificed to idols?—a story which rested on the authority of ancient writers, was inserted in the ecclesiastical registers, and had other collateral evidences, but which was at last unmasked and exposed. Let it not, therefore, be matter of surprise, if I undertake to refute statements made by Cambrensis 400 years ago, which are unsupported by our records, or the testimony of authors, or any other solid ground of truth, and have no other source than his own fancy or the rumors of the vulgar.

"We know that of old the funeral notes of the dying swan were proverbial for sweetness. The opinion was sanctioned not only by all the poets and painters from Æschylus downwards, but also by the most eminent philosophers,—Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Philostratus, Cicero, and Seneca. But Pliny, and after him Athæneus, ascertained, by repeated experiments, that such was not the fact, and at the present day there is no doubt on the matter. It was asserted, not by one or two, but by thirty historians, that Charles, Duke of Orleans, was executed for treason at Paris; and yet it is now a well ascertained fact, that, having returned to France about thirty years after he had been taken by the English, he died a natural death. For such is the nature and power of truth, that it cannot be brought to light until after a long lapse of time, when the errors, the prejudices, and prepossessions of the vulgar, are extinguished." Gellius very justly approves the sentiment of an ancient poet, who called truth the daughter of time, because, though she may lie hidden for a period, time will at last reveal her. For the truth of facts does not present of itself a sufficiently obvious and developed tissue, but is rather wrapped in an intricate and impenetrable fold, and, as some of the great philosophers remarked, is so deeply buried, that not the life of one man, scarcely even the labor of successive centuries, can extricate it[g]. "There is no prescription against truth," says Tertullian, "neither lapse of time, nor favor of man, nor privilege of country." Who has ever found fault with the ancients for undertaking to refute the errors of preceding writers? One hundred years after the death of Celsus, Origen refutes his writings, and no man censures him for doing so. Sixty years after the death of Porphyrius, his works were refuted by Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea. St. Augustine, who flourished 120 years after Manes, has

viginti annos Mane posterior discussionem Epistolæ, quam Manes iste fundamentum inscripsit, ad posteritatem transmisit. S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus ad Episcopatum anno Domini 413 evectus, Julianum Apostatam anno Domini 363 cæsum, styli mucrone impetiit. Eulogius unus e Cyrilli successoribus, Nestorianorum narrationes (Nestorio ante trecentos e vivis ablato), falsi redarguit. Quid multis? per omnem præteriti temporis memoriam, cuivis licuit cum quocunque vivo vel vitâ functo scriptore, in disputationis arenam citra reprehensionem descendere, ac de provectis jam ad multam temporis diuturnitatem erroribus comprimendis contendere. Nulla enim (ut ait August.) arrogantia est vel indagare vel tueri veritatem. Quare non erit a ratione, vel a consuetudine alienum, errores, in scriptoribus nos per multas annorum centurias antegressis, deprehensos propalari et ex hominum animis evelli[11].

Non me fugit deliria Giraldi a scripturentium turbis excepta, et non modicâ narrationum ejusdem farinæ accessione cumulata fuisse. Minùs igitur consultè facere nonnullis videbor, si solus in disceptationis arenam cum multis descendero, et solus contra tot scriptorum torrentem, adverso flumine, et averso numine, navigare contendero. Verùm ista multitudo se instar unius habet, quæ Ducis unius authoritatem sequitur, rationes verò ejusdem non excutit et comites ideo se ducenti præbent, vel quòd præeuntium integritatem in suspicionem non vocent, vel quòd eodem maledicendi studio in Hibernos ferantur, et tanquam aspides (ut proverbio dicitur) a viperâ venenum mutuentur. Nemo enim Anglorum scriptorum, eorum dico, qui a Catholicâ fide abhorrent, de Hibernis aliquid memoriæ tradidit, quem veritas in rerum Hibernicarum narrationibus plerumque non defecit. Plurimos, imò, ni fallor, omnes

[11] Contra Celsum, lib. iv. c. 65.

[h] It would require too much space to confirm the general truth of this assertion by extracts from different English and Irish writers. When influential men proposed the extirpation of the Irish, as the sole means of settling Ireland, the historians could not be entirely free from the same sanguinary spirit. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland expostulated with King Henry VIII., A. D. 1540, against extirpation; "but to enterprise the *hole extirpation* and totall destruction of all the Irishmen of the land, it would be a mervallous sumptious charge and great difficulty."—*State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 176; *Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 91. In 1585, Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, writing to the House of Commons in Eng-

bequeathed to us a critical dissection of that epistle, which Manes entitled "the Foundation." St. Cyril of Alexandria, raised to the episcopacy in the year of our Lord 413, wrote against Julian the Apostate, who was slain in the year of our Lord 363. Eulogius, one of the successors of Cyril, exposed the falsehoods in the histories of the Nestorians 300 years after the grave had closed over Nestorius himself. But why more? The unanimous consent of all ages has acknowledged and approved the right of every man to descend into the arena of discussion against any writer, living or dead, and to overthrow errors, however old or generally received. For it is not arrogance, says St. Augustine, to seek or defend the truth. Authority and reason, therefore, justify us in detecting and eradicating from the minds of men the errors which we find in the writings of authors who died several centuries before us.

I know that the wild dreams of Giraldus have been taken up by a herd of scribblers, and embellished by the accession of many stories of similar stamp. It may, therefore, appear imprudent for me to enter the lists, alone, against so many; alone to contend against a torrent of writers, against wind and tide, and without a fair omen of success. But these writers are like a troop which blindly obeys the general, without questioning his authority; they follow him, either because they have no doubt of his integrity, or because they are animated by the same fell spirit of calumniating the Irish, and, like asps (as the proverb goes), imbibe poison from the viper. Not one of the English writers,—those, I mean, who reject the Catholic faith,—not one of those who have written on Irish affairs can be taken as a faithful guide on Irish history[h]. I have read many, I may say all of them, and

land, remonstrates against the same project. "I am farre from the opinion of those that would have the Irish *extirped*."—*Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrott*, p. 50. The Earl of Cork, writing in 1641, February 25, to the Earl of Warwick, says: "But to return to Ireland, wherein my fortune lies and wherein I have eaten the most part of my bread for these last 54 years, and have made it a great part of my study to understand this kingdom and people, I do beseech your Lordship believe this great truth from me that there is not many (nay I may more truly say) very few or none that is a native of Ireland and of the Romish religion, but is not an assistant or well-wisher to this rebellion: his majesty and the parliament have a fit opportunity for this treason to roote the popish party of the natives out of the kingdom and to plant it with English Protestants, that measure could alone secure this kingdom to the

percurri, et neminem deprehendi, qui non vel falsa narrat, vel vera celat, vel mala exaggerat, vel bona extenuat. Id certè familiare omnibus est, ut singulis penè lineis contumelias in Hibernos intexant, ac tanquam abjectissimis mediastinis petulanter insultent; ut non historiam, sed nostræ gentis vituperia, et elogia suæ texere videantur: cujus rei luculenta documenta pro re natâ infrà dabo, et quicunque partium studio vacuus non ægrè feret eosdem libros legendo percurrere, a me [4] veritatem stare experimento deprehendet. Itaque si fons | unde istorum rivuli emanârunt semel exhauriatur, scaturigine calumniarum exarescente, ad conticentiam adigentur. Nec enim tanta vis est in multitudinis assensu, quæ unius errore ducatur, legibus asserentibus "consensionem errantis nullam esse[12]:" et Scripturâ consulente, "Ut non sequamur turbam ad faciendum malum: nec in judicio plurimorum acquiescamus sententiæ, ut a vero deviemus[13]." Nam multitudo errantium, nullum præbet errori patrocinium. Audi S. Athanasium: "Semper," inquit, "vincit veritas quantumvis apud paucos inveniatur. Qui quæstionem propositam concedere non audet, quia demonstrationibus instructus non est atque idcirco ad multitudinis confugit præsidium, is hoc ipso se victum profitetur, ut qui nullum aliud confidentiæ suæ habeat adminiculum. Quid multitudinem nobis ingeris, quasi alteram turris Babylonicæ extructionem Deo minitas, ad insanæ illius multitudinis exemplum? Major honos" (addo, fides) "habendus est vel uni probatæ fidei viro, quàm decem aliorum millibus, qui se insolentiùs jactant. Si multitudine mendacia roboras, mali vehementiam innuis: hoc enim major est miseria, quò plures malo sunt implicati[14]." Quare suffragatores illi pedarii nullum causæ robur addunt: cùm nihil nisi verborum acervum afferant

[12] Cod. lib. i. tit. 18, c. 19. [13] Exod. xxiii. 2. [14] Tom. ii. p. 246.

crown of England, which it will never be so long as these Irish papists have any land here or *are suffered to live therein*." He admits, at the same time, that "three-fourths of the Irish were not in rebellion." —*Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 165, 166. This was "the great Earl of Cork." Sir William Petty, after the Restoration, 1672, states, "that some furious spirits have wished that the Irish would rebel again, that they might be put to the sword. But I declare that motion to be not only impious and inhuman, but pernicious even to them who wished for it." His own project was to transport all the Irish to England in the course of four or five years, at the expense of £20,000 per annum. — *Pol. Anatomy*, pp. 318, 321. When such projects could be seriously broached during more than a century, no

not one have I found who does not either suppress truth or state falsehood, exaggerate whatever is bad, or extenuate the glory of whatever is good. Their common practice is, to indite, in every line, such calumnies against the Irish, to treat them with such insolent arrogance, as if they were the most degraded slaves, that their works are rather a libel on our country and a panegyric on their own, than a true history. In the course of my labors I shall produce, as occasion requires, abundant proofs of this charge; and if any unprejudiced man take the trouble of inspecting the originals themselves, he must acknowledge that my accusation is an incontestable fact. If, therefore, the source whence these writers have drawn be dried up, their works are refuted. For the mere assent of a number of men, adopting the error of another, has no weight, the laws themselves expressly deciding that "consent, founded on error, is null and void;" and Scripture declaring, "Thou shalt not follow the multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou yield in judgment to the opinion of the most part to stray from the truth." Error derives no recommendation from the great number of its abettors. Hear St. Athanasius: "Truth," he says, "always prevails, however few its supporters. The man who dares not accept a challenge to discussion, because he feels himself weak in argument, and, therefore, rests his support on the multitude, does, by the very fact, proclaim his defeat, since he cannot produce any other argument for his opinion. Why urge the number of your abettors, as if, like that mad multitude, you would raise against God another tower of Babel? More honor" (I will add, credit) "is due to one man of tried integrity, than to ten thousand vain-glorious boasters. When you plead the number of liars, you do but declare the extent of the evil; for the greater the number involved, the greater the evil itself." These silent voters are, therefore, of no weight, because they bring to the cause nothing but an unsubstantial heap of verbiage,

calumny against the Irish is surprising in such writers. The *extirpation* project was the natural consequence of the endless war between the two countries, and the logical deduction from the Statute of Kilkenny, A. D. 1367, and other Statutes, which enacted, "that the native Irish were natural enemies of the English. An Irishman both by father and mother would by nature discover the secrets of the English."—*Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 83. As occasion requires, the influence on English literature of this hostile feeling against Ireland shall be illustrated by extracts from different writers, amongst whom are included Spenser and Milton.

arenaceo fulcro nixum, cui cùm minùs sanum fundamentum subducitur, mox prolapsus corruit.

Si verò aliqui mihi obmurmuraverint, quòd, ut proverbio dicitur, cum Protegene mortuo bellum geram, addantque, nihil esse faciliùs quàm mortuis insultare (nam audet et exanimum lepus infestare leonem) ab eâ sum cogitatione remotissimus, ut cum larvis luctari aggrediar, aut vel minimo Cambrensis odio teneri me sentiam, cujus manibus sempiternam fælicitatem non invitus exopto. Si qui tumulus ejus corpus texit, idem contumelias ab illo civibus meis, ac patriæ factas texisset, hoc scribendi tædium ultro mihi non accerserem sed cùm ejus culpâ fabulam vulgi nos fieri videam, congerronum sermonibus, in triniis, circulis, et popinis traduci, ut Hibernia cum Psalmistâ conqueri possit, "Adversum me loquebantur qui sedebant in portâ, et in me psallebant qui bibebant vinum[15]:" obtrectationes a Giraldo primùm excogitatas omnium gentium linguis, et libris promi, nec ullam novam Geographiam aut Cosmographiam, nullum librum, mores gentium, ac ritus enarrantem cudi, qui fæditates Hibernis a Giraldo affictas lectoribus pro indubitatâ veritate non obtrudat, nullas ut vocant mappas exsculpi, quarum oris sexcentæ de Hibernis affaniæ non adscribantur, et crambes hæc ad nauseam non excoquatur: id me adeo agrè tulisse fateor, ut quodam amoris impetu erga patriam raptus, huic opellæ manum admoverim, et omnes ingenii nervos intenderim ad subveniendum patriæ, et ad illam pro viribus a quadruplatorum maledictis vendicandam.

Natura patriæ studium adeo vehemens hominum animis insevit, ut illi, quos sua sors, aut aliena vis in regionibus a patriâ remotissimis collocavit, cohibere se non possint, quin animus in rebus patriis cogitatione percurrendis assiduè versetur. Nam sicut heliotropium abeun-

[15] Psal. lxviii.

[1] White, in his preface, mentions Abraham Ortelius, the Ptolemy of the sixteenth century, as one of those who had been incautiously misled by the calumnies of Cambrensis. Picard, in his notes to William of Newbridge, and R. Stanihurst, are also charged with abetting him: "Ceterum legendo variorum auctorum historicos et alterius argumenti libros tum hæreticorum tum Catholicorum, deprehendi, præter opinionem viros bonæ mentis alioquin, ac piæ(os) Catholicos nostræ ætatis, etsi numero perpaucos, erga Gyraldi scripta (quæ fortassis non inspexerunt ipsi oculis suis sed alienis) nimium quantum affici, ejusque in rebus non spernendis, auctoritate, fide, judicio niti, et ipsum non modicis extollere laudibus." The Editor hopes to be able to trace, before the close of this work, the full extent of the evil influence of Giraldus on

which must fall to the ground when the foundation on which it rests is taken away.

Should it be said that, like the man in the proverb, I wage war against a dead Protegenes, or, that nothing is easier than to attack the dead (for even the hare can insult the dead lion), I declare that nothing can be farther from my thoughts than to contend merely with shadows, and that towards Cambrensis, personally, I have not the slightest ill will, nay, that I cordially pray for the everlasting repose of his soul. Had the calumnies which he has poured out on my country and her sons been buried in the same tomb with himself, I would never have engaged in the laborious task of refuting them. But, when I find that he has made our name a byword of reproach, in the mouths of mountebanks, in taverns, in club-meetings, in private societies, so as to make the complaint of the Psalmist but too appropriate for Ireland: "They that sat in the gate spoke against me; and they that drank wine, made me their song;" when I find the calumnies, of which he is the author, published in the language and writings of every nation, no new geography[1], no history of the world, no work on the manners and customs of different nations, appearing, in which his calumnious charges against the Irish are not chronicled as undoubted facts; no map engraved, whose margins are not defiled with a thousand silly blunders on Ireland; and all these repeated again and again, till the heart sickens at the sight, when I saw all this, inspired with a most ardent love of my country, I vowed to devote, in the composition of this little work, all the energies of my soul to her defence, to vindicate her, to the best of my abilities, against the contumelies of interested slanderers.

Nature has implanted so deeply the love of country in the hearts of men, that, howsoever distant the foreign shore on which destiny or persecution may have thrown us, we cannot restrain our thoughts from fondly and continually turning to the concerns of fatherland. Like the

English writers, from the twelfth century to the present day. There is no indication of his spirit in Sir Thomas More's "Life of Edward II.;" nor in the "Ypodigma Neustriæ;" or the "Historia Anglicana" of T de Walsingham. Giraldus expressly states that, in his own day, he was generally neglected: "My buoyant years and vigorous health have passed away, and left no remuneration of my literary labors."—p. 813. "Great men now a days lock up in their desks the noble works presented to them, and condemn them to perpetual imprisonment."—p. 881.

tem solem semper intuetur, omnibusque horis cum eo vertitur, vel nubilo obumbrante: sic naturæ quodam impetu ferimur omnes, ut omni caritatis inclinatione mens nostra in patriam propendeat. Siquidem soli cogitationes omnes in eâ defigimus, et in hominum consortio constituti de illâ sermonem, instituimus; nec possumus ab eâ, quamvis ærumnarum nube obtectâ, cogitationes avertere. "Chari sunt," inquit Cicero, "parentes, chari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium charitates patria una complexa est." Jubemur summâ pietate parentes, amore fratres, et sorores, charitate conjuges, studio propinquos, cultu amicos prosequi[16]. Hæc autem officia cumulatè præstabimus, si quæ possumus beneficia in unam patriam congeramus. Ex his enim tanquam artubus patriæ corpus conflatur, ac ita beneficium patriæ impensum ad singulos redundabit. Itaque de solâ patriâ benè meritus, pium erga parentes, fratrum amatorem, conjugis studiosum, propinquorum cultorem, et in amicos benevolum se præbebit. Ita ut qui patriæ in discrimen adductæ subvenire pro viribus non contendit, eum impie-
[5] tatis in parentes, | perfidiæ in fratres, et reliquorum necessariorum ruinæ reum se agnoscere oporteat.

Ferunt aquilæ nidum struenti alias aves opem ferre, et hanc odorifera ligna, illam lauri frondes, unam pini ramos, aliam molles plumas nido fabricando subministrare: singulis pro suâ facultate studium suum et obsequium avium principi testari connitentibus. Animalculis scilicet istis nos informantibus, ut dotem, quâ quemque nostrum vel natura imbuit vel industria excoluit, ad patriæ laborantis opitulationem conferamus; et ut hic manu, ille consilio, unus consolatione, alius precibus ad Deum fusis, eam ab interitu revocare nitatur. "Nec eam" (ut ait Cicero) "diligere minùs debemus quòd calamitatibus deformior est, sed misereri potiùs[17]." Ista mecum animo volvens cum convitiatorum patriæ meæ duce et antesignano in certamen descendere constitui, et si non oratione, saltem oratione armatus, calumniarum ictus, quibus eam ferociter proscindere certat, amovere. Alius etiam præterea mihi

[16] Primo offic. [17] Epis. fam. lib. iv. ep. 9.

[k] This complaint is expressed not inelegantly by Sir William O'Kelly of Aughrim, Professor of Heraldry in the College of the Nobles, Vienna, Aulic Counsellor and Poet Laureate to the Emperor of Germany, 1703:

"In somnis me nuper Hibernia noctu
Defloratæ instar Deæ virginis, ora, genasque
Fœda, sinu lacero, sparsis sine lege capillis,

sunflower, which constantly looks towards the sun, turning with him every hour of the day, even when the cloud obscures his rays, so are we all impelled, by an instinct of nature, to centre all the affections of our souls on the land that gave us birth. In solitude, it engrosses all our thoughts; in society, it is our favorite topic; and even when the clouds of woe have closed over it, it still commands our sympathies. "We love our parents," says Cicero, "we love our children, relations, and friends; but the love of country includes, in itself, the universal love of all." We are bound to honor our parents, to be affectionate to our brothers and sisters, to love our wives, to wish well to our relations, and to serve our friends; all which duties are more than discharged when we do for our country all the good in our power. For every benefit conferred upon our country must redound to the advantage of those individuals, who are, as it were, the members composing the body of the country. The person, then, who loves his country, does, by the very fact, honor his parents, love his brethren and wife, wish well to his friend, and do good to his relatives; but he who, when his country is in danger, does not strive with all his might to save her from impending danger, dishonours his parents, betrays his brethren, and must plead guilty to the ruin of all his connexions.

When the eagle builds her nest, they say she is aided by the other birds; one offering sweet-scented wood, another laurel leaves, a third branches of pine, and others soft feathers, all contributing, according to their abilities, to testify their devotion and homage to the king of birds; as if these little creatures would teach us that whatever gifts nature may have implanted, or art developed in each of us, should be devoted to the service of our suffering country; that one should give his sword, another his advice, a third his condolence, and others fervent prayers to the Almighty to preserve her from ruin. "Nor should we love her the less," says Cicero, "because she is deformed with calamities; we should rather pity her." Influenced by these considerations, I resolved to enter the lists with the great leader and standard-bearer of my country's revilers, and to repel with arms, if not of eloquence at least of reason, the shafts of calumny with which she is so ferociously assailed[k].

Vix ægris ducens suspiria lenta medullis, ut ægrè
Aggressa est, crebris singultibus obruta, Vix ea verba dedit——

stimulus ad operosum hunc laborem subeundum fuit, ut sicut ex areâ in magnam longitudinem porrectâ offendicula quæque solicitè amoventur, ut currui per eam processuro expeditior pateat excursus: sic omnibus altercationis obicibus hìc ablatis, historiæ Hibernicæ, cujus jam messis in herbâ est, ad liberiorem incessum via sternatur et in ejus narrationibus, nullus dubitandi locus relinquatur.

Cæterùm aculeos ad Giraldum subinde perstringendum non secùs adhibeo quàm apibus a naturâ comparatum est, ut suis stimulis ad se tuendas utantur; adversus autem illos qui telo e sacrâ paginâ deprompto me pungere putarent, dicentes "Væ illi per quem scandalum venit[18];" mihi divi Bernardi patrocinium obtendo dicentis: "Cùm carpuntur vitia, et inde scandalum oritur, ipse sibi scandali causa est qui fecit quod argui debeat non ille qui arguit[19]."

Libri hujus ordinem sic habe: post pauca paralygomina, Giraldus conditionum, quæ in justo historico exiguntur expers esse demonstratur. Deinde cœli, solique Hibernici vitia ab illo in medium producta e medio tolluntur: tum opprobria, quibus vulgus Hibernicum, proceres, et ipsos reges impetit retunduntur. Postea quæ in clerum, et præsules convitia pleno cornu effundit, amoventur. Denique illum cœlos ipsos adorientem, et Hibernos in eo indigites contumeliis proscindentem prosequor. Sed huic ordini non tam accuratè semper insisto, quin orationem sæpiùs evagari patiar et eò abripi, quò ille præit per alienissimas digressiones, tamquam per saltus ac tesqua; prudentem nauclerum imitari contendens, qui non semper illò clavum dirigit, quò recto cursu tendit, sed frequenter obsecundat æstui, frequenter ventis, ac velis flexis eum portum petit, non ad quem cursum instituerat, sed quem præsens tempestas concedit, ut vel tandem inde portum expetitum teneat. Itaque si alieno loco quidpiam collocatum deprehenderis, id inde manâsse cogita, quòd æmulum per invia et avia præcurrentem sequi contenderim.

[18] S. Matth. xviii. [19] Epis. 78.

Non periisse satis ferro: minùs opprimor armis
Quàm calamis: vitam tantùm cum sanguine miles
Sed decus et famam, nomenque et quidquid honesti
Gessimus, hoc adimit scriptor. Cum nomine Scotus
Gesta sibi attribuit, Sanctorumque examina: famam
Denigrare Anglus non sistit."

—p. 3.

David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, in his notes on Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick, *Messingham*, p. 120, also complains that Botero, secretary of St. Charles Borromeo, and

Another motive, too, I had in undertaking this laborious task. When the chariot is to run with greater celerity, every obstacle that might encumber or obstruct its passage is cautiously removed from the course; so, by disposing here of all contested points, the path may be cleared for treading with more secure step the almost trackless field of Irish history, and following without hesitation the course of its narrative.

If, in censuring Giraldus, I appear too severe, it is from that instinct of nature which compels the bee to use its sting in self-defence[1]; and if any person should confront me with the argument from Scripture, "Woe to him through whom scandal cometh:" I appeal securely to the words of St. Bernard: "When vices are censured, and scandal thence arises, the man who committed the censurable acts is the cause of the scandal, and not he who condemns them."

The following is the plan of this work. After a few preliminary observations, I prove that Giraldus has not the qualities of a good historian; then I dispose of the faults which he finds in the Irish soil and climate; next, I rebut his calumnious charges against the Irish people, princes, and kings; afterwards, I answer his licentious invective against our prelates and clergy; finally, since heaven itself was no asylum against his tongue, I follow him, and examine his blasphemous assaults on our Irish saints. This order, however, is not invariably observed. Into whatever wilds or thickets his rambling and repeated digressions stray, thither my pen turns and pursues him. The pilot does not always keep the helm straight for the intended track, but often humors the tide, and often bends his sails for whatever port wind and weather may permit, in the hope of thence making the destined port. I must endeavour to imitate the prudent helmsman; and should you find anything out of its place, remember that I am in pursuit of an antagonist through trackless wilds and byways.

other continental writers, had copied the calumnies of Giraldus, "that the Irish were unhospitable; that there were no bees, and few birds, in Ireland," &c. &c.

[1] White also disclaims all bad feelings: "Let it not be supposed that, in my censures on Giraldus and his kindred, I am urged by bad feeling towards them or their descendants, or the other English, who, by order of the Kings of England, occupied, during nearly 440 years, the towns and chief ports, and the richest and larger portion of Ireland, for, though I am Irish, I am descended not from the old Irish, but from the English who accompanied Henry II."—*Chap. V.*

CAPUT II.

QUÒD GIRALDUS INEPTÈ PRIMAM SUAM LUCUBRATIONEM TOPOGRAPHIAM INSCRIPSERIT.

[5] Grandis titulus operi tenui præfixus. [6] Quid chorographia, quid topographia?—Giraldus ignoravit rudimenta Geographiæ.—Insigniora loca non nominavit.—Incolas regionum non nominavit.—Ejus de Sinnæo amne errores.—Sinnæi amnis descriptio. [7] Rerum conversio.—Sinnæus nunquam decursit in borealem oceanum.—Cambrensis errores de aliis fluviis.—Falsa Giraldus narrat de Insulâ Viventium.—De S. Beani avibus et ovis quid sentiendum?—Multa Giraldus Areniis insulis affingit. [8] In Arenia cadavera putrescunt.—Copia multa ibi sanctorum sepulta.—Mures ibi vivunt.—In Inisgluariâ cadavera non corrumpunt.—Virtutes variis fontibus falsò adscriptæ.—Fontes istæ non apparent hodie.—Quare de fabulosis fontibus Giraldus scripsit?—Omisit loqui de fontibus Lageniæ et Mediæ.—Fons de Timoling. [9] Barba bicolor.—Visus vel tactus non excitat tempestatem.—Maleficium maleficio non debet abigi.—Nobilem historiam purgatorii S. Patricii fœdis narrationibus fœdat. [10] Rumores collegit.—Errata Giraldi circa Purgatorium S. Patricii ex Salteriensi.—A Salteriensi dissentit.—Meritum intrantium Purgatorium S. Patricii.—Nullis pœna imposita est ineundi Purgatorium. [11] Licentiam iniquam egressis Purgatorium concedit.—Purgatorium ingressos vocat temerarios.—Salteriensis præmissâ deliberatione Purgatorium aditum narrat.—Summis viris contrarius.—Sibi contrarius.—Manniam Britanniæ adjudicat.—Ad eam Hiberniæ adjudicandam multa suadent. [12] Hiberni primi Manniam incoluerunt.—Linguæ communio indicium ejusdem originis.—Situs multum facit ad cognoscendas origines.—Impugnatur Jocelinus. [13] Aliquot errata Jocelini.—Quando Dani aggressi sunt Hiberniam?—Saxones Britanniam infestabant.—Episcopi Manniæ. [14] Anglesia non Mannia Anglis paruit.—Menavia, Hispania.—Giraldus similis rudibus pictoribus.

Solemne thrasonibus est opusculo suo quantumvis exili tumentes titulos præfigere, et nugas suas vel cymbalum mundi appellare, vel alterius inflati nominis velo vestire, ut laureolam e mustacæo quærere, ac brevi inscriptionis præfatione montes aureos polliceri videantur, et nihil interim in medium nisi tricas producant: quibus appositè Horatius illusit his versibus:

"Quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor hiatu:
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus[1]."

[6] | In hanc classem Giraldum referrendum esse censeo, qui lucubrationibus suis speciosa nomina tanquam vino non vendibili hæderam appendit, ut fucum incauto lectori faciat, et e tenui labore non tenuis ipsi gloria exoriatur: in ipso enim limine, in scopulum erroris impingit, qui descriptionem totius Hiberniæ moliturus, operi suo Topographiæ non Chorographiæ nomen indidit. In quâ re, vel malevolentiam suam, vel

[1] Ars poetica.

CHAPTER II.

"TOPOGRAPHY" AN IMPROPER TITLE FOR GIRALDUS'S FIRST WORK.

[5] Pompous title prefixed to a contemptible book. [6] Difference between chorography and topography.—Giraldus ignorant of the rudiments of geography.—Does not mention the more celebrated places.—Nor the inhabitants of the country.—His errors regarding the river Shannon.—Description of that river. [7] Changes in the natural features of the globe.—The Shannon never fell into the Northern Ocean.—Errors of Giraldus regarding other rivers.—His false stories of the Isle of the Living.—Our opinion regarding the birds and eggs of St. Bean.—Numerous errors of Giraldus on the Isles of Aran. [8] Dead bodies decomposed in Aran.—Great number of saints buried there.—Aran not free from rats.—Dead bodies not decomposed in Inisgluair.—Effects falsely attributed to several wells.—No trace of those wells at present.—Object of Giraldus in describing those fabulous wells.—His suppression of the wells in Leinster and Meath.—St. Moling's well. [9] The beard of two colors.—Tempests not raised by sight or by touch.—Unlawful to use witchcraft against witchcraft.—Giraldus degrades, by filthy fables, the famous history of St. Patrick's Purgatory. [10] Collected mere popular rumors.—His errors on St. Patrick's Purgatory exposed from Henry of Saltery.—He contradicts Henry.—Merit of those who enter the Purgatory.—None compelled to enter it. [11] The wicked liberty which he allows to all who came out of the Purgatory.—Stigmatizes the rashness of those who entered it.—According to Henry it was not entered without previous deliberation.—Giraldus opposes the greatest men.—Contradicts himself.—Adjudges Man to Britain.—Many reasons to prove that it belonged to Ireland. [12] First inhabited by Irish.—Identity of language, a proof of kindred origin.—A people's origin probably ascertained from the position of their country.—Jocelyn refuted. [13] Some of his errors.—When did the Danes invade Ireland?—Saxon invasions of Britain.—Bishops of Man. [14] Anglesey, not Man, subject to England.—Menavia and Spain.—Giraldus not unlike ignorant painters.

BRAGGARTS are always sure to find some sounding title for their works: their squibs, however contemptible, are styled the cymbal of the world, or disguised with some such other pompous title, as if glory could be won by such pitiful devices. Golden mountains greet our eyes in their title-page; but, as they proceed, they give nothing but trifles, realizing to the letter the verses of Horace:

> "What will these vain, prodigious throes produce?
> The mountains labor, and bring forth—a mouse!"

Giraldus belongs to that class. Like the merchant who fraudulently forces the sale of unvendible articles, he gives imposing titles to his books, deceiving the simple reader, and winning, without any trouble, no inconsiderable fame; for here, in the very title-page, he falls into a gross blunder, when he calls a book, purporting to be a description of all Ireland, a Topography, and not a Chorography. This proves his ignorance or his malice; ignorance, if he did not know that choro-

ignorantiam prodidit; ignorationem, quòd chorographia cujusvis *amplæ regionis; topographia* loci cujuscunque descriptionem denotari nesciverit; *malevolentiam*, si ditiunculæ cujuspiam vocabulo Hiberniam ideo exprimere statuerit, quòd vel appellationis proprietate, Hiberniæ descriptionem honestare dedignatus fuerit, sed ut magis obscuraretur, in pratorum, hortorum, viridariorum, portuum, aut ejusmodi arctioris spatii locorum classem indignabundus rejecerit. Cæterùm quamvis topographiæ nomen scriptis Giraldus apposuerit, notionem tamen ac rem, topographiæ vel chorographiæ subjectam, in illis nequaquam expressit: et cùm geographicæ disciplinæ rudimenta illum fugerint, quis eam ignorationem infelicem ejus operi progressum portendere non judicabit? Prima verò geographiæ præceptio cùm sit, "ut ab Occiduis ad Borealia, a Borealibus ad Australia procedatur, et hanc Ptolomæus ad ipsam veritatem veluti directricem regulam sibi præscripserit[a];" et nullum sitûs aut locorum ordinem datâ operâ Giraldus adhibuerit, quis eum toto cœlo in itinere non erraturum existimabit, qui, viam ingrediens, rectam itineris semitam non captavit. Cui amabo usui Topographia illa deserviet, in quâ, insigniora descriptæ regionis loca nusquam occurrent? Venare quàm poteris sagaciter per totam Giraldi Topogra-

[a] Possevin. tom. ii. lib. v. c. 20.

[b] Hoffman, Lexicon (in voce Geographia), the Dictionnaire de Trevoux, de l'Academie, and Johnson, define topography as the description of a particular place, a house or castle, &c. &c.; and chorography as the description of a region, province, or bishopric. But Strabo uses both words as synonimous (Stephani Thesaurus in voce). Quintilian, iv. 3, defines topographia as "Loci alicujus vel locorum aliquorum descriptio." Dr. Lynch's definition is precisely the same as that in the Dictionnaire de Trevoux and de l'Academie, and was, no doubt, the meaning of the French word topographie, when he was writing in France. But French usage in the seventeenth century is not conclusive proof of the ignorance of Giraldus in his use of the Latin word, *topographia*, in the twelfth century. The great difficulty is to ascertain from the writings of Giraldus what was the precise meaning he attached to the word *topographia*: but from his first preface to the Description of Wales, p. 880, where he promises a "*Topographia Brytannica*," it is evident he must be acquitted of the malicious intention of classing Ireland among mere parks or gardens. In truth there is very little difference in the substance of his three works,—the Description of Wales, the Topography of Ireland, and the Itinerarium of Cambria,—save the form of the last. All are topographical, though in different forms. He probably adopted the different titles, not for propriety's sake, but for sound, as which his writings prove he was mis-

graphy is a description of an extensive region, while topography may describe any place whatsoever; but malice, if he knowingly abstained from using the proper term, because he disdained applying it to a description of Ireland, and designed to throw her into the shade, by classing her contemptuously among gardens, meadows, parks or preserves, or other places of confined dimensions[a]. But though the work of Giraldus is styled a topography, it does not realize the idea and substance of either chorography or topography; for if he be ignorant of the rudiments of geography, what fatal blunders must not such ignorance portend in the progress of his work? The first rule of geography is, "to proceed from West to North, and from North to South; and this rule Ptolemy prescribed for himself as the best safeguard against error." How is it possible, then, that Giraldus should not hopelessly stray in his travels, when starting without any knowledge of the right road, he laid down no certain order of site or places?—what good can that Topography be in which the most remarkable places of the country described are totally omitted[b]? Search Giraldus's Topography

lously fond. But, in any case, his work is more and less than what was ever understood by a "Topography," and it certainly does not realize his own notion: "My Topography describes the events and places (*loca*) of past ages"—p. 755; as far the greater part of the Topography describes what, he says, was existing in his own age. In that definition, however, he was making an antithesis between topography and history; and when a sounding antithesis could be rounded, common sense and truth were with him generally secondary considerations.

[b] The Topography consists of three parts, or "distinctions," a term borrowed from the Scholastics: 1. Size, situation, soil, and natural history of Ireland; 2. De Mirabilibus Hiberniæ, i. e. its prodigies and wonders in the natural and supernatural order, compared with those of other lands; 3. Its first inhabitants and successive colonies and history. On the two first parts he obtained no evidence or help from any Irish authority.—p. 693. His own word is the only security he gives; but, for the third part, he states his obligations to old Irish chronicles. To comprehend the force of Dr. Lynch's argument here, it may be useful to know that the Topography extends to fifty-four folio pages, of which fourteen are devoted to the first part. Of these, three only are on the size, boundaries, rivers, and lakes of Ireland, while nearly eleven are occupied with a mere catalogue of the birds and fishes, &c., accompanied with discursive moral and mystical reflections, in the fashion of the writers on natural history during the middle ages. The second distinction is twenty pages, of which far the greater part purports to be a narrative of wonderful things, which Giraldus says he saw, or heard were in Ireland; but his notices are thrown together without any order of time

phiam in Conaciâ, agrum Galviensem, Mayoensem, Roscommonensem, Sligoensem, et Letrimensem. In Momoniâ Kierrensem, aut Tipperariensem; in Lageniâ Kilkeniensem, Catharlochensem, Lisachensem, Ibhfaliensem; in Ultoniâ, Louthensem, Cavanensem, Fermanachensem, Manachanensem, Antrimmensem et Tironensem: et frustra tandem indagando fatigaberis, quia nullibi offendes. Quod si majores hasce cujusque Provinciæ regiones prætericrit, quis in opere illo minoris notæ loca scrutari conabitur?

Quid quod ne nomina quidèm incolarum, singulas Hiberniæ provincias, insedentium scriptis suis inseruerit, quæ proclive illi tamen fuit, vel e Ptolomæo excerpere præstantissimo geographiæ magistro, qui tabulas etiam Giraldo suppeditare potuit locorum in Hiberniæ collocationem non ineptè designantes, ut modico ille labore adhibito, accuratissimam Hiberniæ delineationem ad posteritatem transmittere potuerit: si ad Hiberniæ notitiam lectori potiùs aperiendam, quàm ad incolarum ejus contemptum illi movendum Giraldi conatus eniteretur.

Mirari satis non possum cur Sinnæum amnem e " lacu quodam maximo, et pulcherrimo oriri, et uno brachio in Occidentale se mare transfundere [altero verò nec minore Mediam et] ulteriores Ultoniæ partes a Connaciâ dividentem in oceanum tandem Borealem mergi, et lacum illum, e quo Sinnæus manat Connaciam Momoniamque disterminare asserat[d],"

[d] Topog. Dist. i. c. 6.

or place. Of the third part, which covers twenty pages, nearly six are historical; four and a half a panegyric on Henry II., having no connexion with Ireland; two and a half a dissertation on music; and seven, a general attack on every thing Irish. From this analysis it appears that one-third of this Topography does not relate to Ireland, and that it is deficient in most of those qualities which a reader expects from its title. Even of the division of the island into five provinces, there is only a passing notice, pp. 701, 736. Their limits are not given, nor are the minor principalities or the cantreds enumerated. The "Conquest of Ireland" is a work of a different order, and of far superior merit. In chapters i. ii. iv. v. of the Description of Wales, there is a more comprehensive and satisfactory topography than in the entire "Topographia" of Ireland. Its more striking deficiencies shall be pointed out under the proper heads. Perhaps they arose as much from the circumstance of the Topography being his first essay, as from those other causes which so frequently destroy the utility of the works of English writers on Ireland.

[c] Dr. Lynch does not mean the modern counties of those names. He knew that Ireland was not divided into counties before 1210 (see p. 13, [illegible]), and that of the seventeen counties here mentioned, the

of Connaught, and you will search in vain for Galway, or Mayo, or Roscommon, or Sligo, or Leitrim? Look in Munster for Kerry or Tipperary; in Leinster, for Carlow or Kilkenny, Offaly or Leix; in Ulster, for Louth, Monaghan, or Cavan, Antrim, Fermanagh, or Tyrone[c]:—search until you are tired, but you will search in vain. Now, if he has omitted these larger divisions of each province, who can think of recurring to him for places of lesser note?

Even the names of the inhabitants who occupied the several provinces of Ireland he has neglected to mention, though he could have easily copied them from Ptolemy, the prince of geographers, who has even marked, with considerable accuracy, the different places on his map[d]; so that, with very little trouble, Giraldus could have transmitted to posterity a most accurate description of Ireland, had his object been to make that country known to his reader, and not to expose her inhabitants to contempt[e].

It appears to me most extraordinary how he could describe the Shannon as rising in a very large and most beautiful lake, and discharging itself into the Western Ocean through one channel, but into the Northern Ocean through another, which divides Connaught from Meath and the remote parts of Ulster; and also asserting that the lake in which the Shannon rises divides Connaught from Munster[f]. For,

five Connaught and five Ulster counties, together with Leix, Louth, and Offaly, in Leinster, were not any of the twelve created by King John. Our author cannot be understood as censuring Giraldus for omitting counties which did not exist. He means to say that, of the old territories, as Ui-Maine, Ui-Fiachrach, Breifne, &c., then constituting the counties of Galway, Leitrim, &c., mentioned in the text, you find no trace in the Topography of Ireland.

[d] Which marks ten chief cities in Ireland, seven promontories, two islands, fifteen rivers, harbours, and lakes, and seventeen districts, inhabited by as many different tribes.

[e] Giraldus consulted no Irish authority on the divisions of Irish territory; but had he had before him even the Book of Rights, which was certainly extant in his time, he could have compiled an accurate and comprehensive Topography of Ireland.

[f] The original Latin text is corrupt here. It is "ad ulteriores Ultoniæ partes a Connaciâ dividentem," &c. &c. The words between brackets have been introduced, and *ad* changed into *et*, on the authority of the passage in Cambrensis, which Dr. Lynch contracts: "Altero verò nec minore Mediam et ulteriores Ultoniæ partes a Conalciâ dividens—in Oceanum vergitur tandem Borealem." The whole passage is: "The Shannon rises in a very large and most

cùm nullus alius in toto illo amne lacus inter Connaciam Momoniamque stagnet, præter lacum Dergderg, qui supra Killaloam in ampla se spatia diffundit unde Sinnæum scaturire tam est falsum quàm quod falsissimum. Multò rectiùs Camdenus, et res ipsa loquitur[4]. "Sinnæus," inquit, "flumen totius Hiberniæ nobilissimum, quod inter Mediam et Connaciam interlabitur Ptolomæo 'Senus,' Orosio 'Sena,' et nonnullis exemplaribus 'Sæcana,' Giraldo flumen 'Senense,' accolis verò 'Shannon' dicitur, id est ut aliqui interpretantur, 'flumen antiquum;' e Therne montibus in comitatu Læthrim effunditur, continuoque secans in meridiem agros, modò se in stagna refundit, modòque in angustias se resorbet, cumque lacum unum et alterum diffuderit, intra margines se colligens, Macolicum, nunc (ut eruditissimus geographus G. Mercator observavit) Male, cujus meminit Ptolomæus, invisit, statimque ab altero spatioso lacu excipitur (Loch Regith appellant), cujus nomen et situs Rigiam urbem, quam Ptolomæus eo loci statuit, non procul abfuisse quodammodo subinnuit. Ubi verò lacum hunc prætervectus angus-
[7] tiori alveo | intra ripas se colligit, Athlon oppidum illi insidet. Inde verò Sinnæus, superatâ ad Killaloam cataractâ, maximarum navium capax diducto alveo Limiricum urbem amplectitur: hinc per sexaginta plus minùs milliaria Senus rectus, grandis, et insulosus in Occasum

[4] Pag. 745, in Comitatu Longford.

beautiful lake, which divides Munster from Connaught, and which stretches forth its two arms to the opposite ends of the world. One flows towards the south, rolling beside the city of Killaloe, and encircling Limerick, and from that point, during a course of more than 100 miles, it divides the two Munsters, until it falls into the sea of St. Brendan. The other arm, which is equally large, divides Connaught from Meath and the ulterior parts of Ulster, and, after many and various windings, falls into the Northern Ocean. The Shannon, therefore, like a *mediterranean* river, separates and cuts off, from sea to sea, the fourth, or western, from the other three divisions of the island." There is no written evidence or tradition that the Shannon ever had an outlet into the Northern Ocean. Mr. O'Donovan, whose valuable aid shall be always acknowledged in these pages, in the subjoined form, "is of opinion Giraldus thought it possible that a branch of the Shannon discharged itself into the sea at Ballyshannon. The moment you ascend the hill over the Shannon *pot* (loᵹ na Sionna), you see the waters all *making for* Ballyshannon. All the streams north of the loᵹ flow into Lough Macnean, which discharges itself into the upper and that into the lower Lough Erne, which sends its superabundant waters into the sea through Ballyshannon. Hence some persons have supposed that Shannon (Shanny) was the name of the north-western chain

in the entire course of that river between Connaught and Munster, there is but one lake, Loch Derg, a large sheet of water above Killaloe, and nothing can be further from the truth than that that lake is the source of the Shannon. Camden is much more correct, and the thing itself is evident: "The Shannon," he says, "the king of Irish rivers, which divides Meath from Connaught, was called by Ptolemy 'Senus,' by Orosius 'Sena,' and, in some copies, 'Sæcana,' by Giraldus 'Senense,' but by the natives 'Shannon,' which some interpret 'the old river.' It rises in the mountain of Therne, in the county of Leitrim, and, flowing southwards, sometimes expands into lakes, sometimes contracts its bed, till, having thus formed one or two lakes, it becomes narrow at the point where it washes Macolicum (the Male of Ptolemy, as G. Mercator, the learned geographer, observes); and immediately afterwards forms a spacious lake, called Loch Regith, near which, as the name and geographical position appear to indicate, stood Ptolemy's city of Rigia. Issuing from that lake, it flows through a narrow channel, where it waters Athlone. Having passed the falls of Killaloe, it is navigable for ships of the largest burden at Limerick, where its waters divide and surround the city. Thence, rolling its broad and rapid waters westward, through a channel studded with islands, it falls

of lakes; and that Ballyshannon, *Beal-atha Seanaigh*, received its name from being their outlet to the sea. This, however, is not the case; for the oldest name of the river Erne was Saṁaiɲ, and béal aṫa Seanaiᵹ (Os Vadi Senachi) was merely the name of the ford opposite which the castle Ballyshannon was built."—*J. O'D.* Possibly Giraldus may have heard of Lough Hoyle [Loch Uair] in Westmeath, from which two rivers issue in opposite directions, the Brosna, which flows southward into the King's County, and "a short and rapid stream which runs westward into Lough Iron, which discharges its waters by the Inny into the Shannon" (*Beaufort's Memoir*, p. 64), and, combining that fact with another, "that Lough Clean [Allen], the source of the Shannon, is within four miles of the river Bennet [Buanait], "which carries boats into Lough Gilly, and thence to Sligo Bay" (*idem.*, p. 70), he may have metamorphosed the Shannon into a mediterranean river. But great as this error of Giraldus is, the reader must bear in mind that, even in Camden's Map of Ireland, the northern coast, from the extreme points of Antrim and Donegal, is a straight line; that the western shore, from Tory Island to Clare, is, with the exception of a very slight projection (for Connaught), a straight line; that the north-western corner of Donegal is a rectangle; and that the present Donegal is as large as all Connaught. The progress of English knowledge on Irish affairs is always slow.

properat; demum in Oceanum Occidentalem vasto ostio ultra Knocpatric id est Patricii collis evolvitur[a]." De cataractâ vero istâ: "Aquæ," inquit, "magno cum strepitu dejectæ ruunt et cataracta ipsa suo abjectu impedit quò minùs ulteriùs amnis navigia deferat."

Hinc Giraldum delirâsse quis inficiabitur Sinnæo amni alveum inter Connaciam et Ultoniam patuisse, ac eum in Borealem se Oceanum exonerâsse somniantem: sed quispiam erroris hujus a Giraldo propulsandi causâ mihi forsan obloquetur, dicens, flumen illud eum cursum tum fortasse tenuisse, cùm ista Giraldus scriberet: nemo, inquiet, dubitat quin multæ rerum factæ sint ab orbe condito conversiones? Quis scit an illius fluvii fluctus terris quas tunc operuerant se subtraxerint, et eas mortalibus incolendas reliquerint? Fateor equidem montium juga crebrò subsidisse, ac oceanum aliquando procul amovisse. Nonnunquam ignis fœcundos agros sic arefecit, ut in iis colendis, inanis omnis opera foret. Terræ motu plures urbes et mortales frequenter absorpti sunt. Regiones multæ, quæ montibus attollebantur, nunc in humilem planitiem expanduntur: sed a nullâ re magis quàm ab undis mutatio telluri provenerat, quæ illam plurimis in locis ita corroserant, ut, ubi olim arabatur, nunc navigetur: hujusmodi rerum documenta historici plurima exhibent. Verùm quòd Sinnæus amnis a pristino cursu adeo resilierit, nec in terris vestigium ullum, nec in libris memoria deprehenditur. Itaque illum, qui in re tam obviâ et mutationis expertâ, a veri-

[s] Pag. 746, in Comitatu Twomond.

[a] The following spirited translation of this passage may amuse the reader: "Shannon springeth out of Ihern hils" [Sliabh an Iarainn] "in the county of Le Trim, and fortwith cutting through the lands southward, one while overfloweth the bankes and enlargeth himself into open pooles, and other whiles drawes back againe into narrow straights; and after he hath run abroad into one or two lakes, gathering himself within his bankes, he taketh course to Maccheam, now called Mala, and then by and by another broade meere (they call it Lough Regith). But when he hath once gotten beyond this poole, and draweth himself into a narrow channell within his bankes, there standeth hard upon him the towne of Athlone. From thence Shannon having gotten over the water fall at Killalo, being now able to bear the biggest ships that are, in a divided channel, as it were with two arms, claspeth about the city of Limerick: and so at length he runneth and voideth out into the West ocean beyond the hill of St. Patrick."—Camden, p. 97, ed. 1637. If Philemon Holland, M. D., hazards such lively figures in humble prose, we must not be surprised at the sublime prayer and bold apostrophes of Griffin in his Hymn on the Shannon. Before we leave this subject we must

through a vast estuary into the Western Ocean, below Cnoc Patruic, or St. Patrick's Hill." Of the falls he says: "The waters sweep over them with tremendous noise, and the cataracts obstruct the navigation of the river[g]."

Giraldus, it is evident, must have been raving or dreaming when he states that the Shannon divides Ulster from Connaught, and discharges itself into the Northern Ocean, unless it may be urged in defence of his false account, that, when he wrote, the river held that course! Who can deny, it may be said, the extraordinary changes which have occurred from the beginning of the world? Who will say the waters of that river have not retired from their former bed, and abandoned it to the occupation of man? Mountains, I admit, have sometimes sunk down, and driven off the waves of the ocean. Fertile plains have been so blasted by fire that they afterwards defied all attempts at cultivation. Earthquakes have often engulphed whole cities and their inhabitants. Many tracts, once covered with mountains, are now level plains, and among all the agents of those revolutions of our earth, the most powerful is water, which now floats the keel over many places once furrowed by the plough. Many similar changes are attested by the evidence of history. But that the Shannon ever changed its course, you have neither a hint from history, nor a sign on the surface of the land. Can

correct a poetic license of Mr. Moore. In his well-known song of "St. Senanus and the Lady," he makes "legends hint" that if the fair intruder had delayed until morning, she never would have left Iniscattery. The legend really says she never did leave it. She was a cousin of St. Senanus, and a nun named Cannera (Cunnera), who wished to receive before her death the holy Communion from his hands, and to leave her bones in his island. After some remonstrance he consented, but she died immediately. Colgan will tell the rest: "She is buried, as she wished (in the island), on the bank of the Shannon; and her tomb, as she foretold, has not only been respected by the waves of the river, but it has been remarked, that all who piously make a pilgrimage to that tomb, when they are going on a voyage, return home safe and sound from the dangers of the deep."—*Acta SS.*, p. 536, xl. Even at the present day all the trading boats in the river sail round the island on the day they are launched. The fishing boats observe the same ceremony on the first day of the fishing season. They lower the sails at five stations, but cast anchor opposite the nun's tomb. All boats passing up or down the Shannon, at all times, lower the sails at the nun's tomb only. The Very Rev. J. Kenny, V. G., Killaloe, to whom I am indebted for those facts, states that the *name* of the nun is not preserved by tradition.

tate tam turpiter aberravit, quis in factorum narratione veritatis viam retenturum sperabit, ac topographiæ, chorographiæve integritatem in illo non desiderabit, qui in re tam liquidâ cespitavit.

Neque Giraldus in Sinnæi amnis, fonte, cursuque indicando magis infaustus quàm in Surii, Feorique origine aperiendâ allucinatus erat. "De sub pede montis Bladinæ," inquit, "tres nobiles fluvii nascuntur, qui et tres sorores dicuntur, quia trium sororum nomina sunt sortiti; Berija scilicet, Eyrus, et Surius[6]." Ketingus tamen Berbham quidem e monte Bladhmio, quem ille Bladinam vocat, sed Surium et Feorium e monte Aildumio sito in ditione de Ibhgirin manare asserit, ut vel hodiè cernentibus perpicuum est. Giraldum Erno lacui falsum fluendi principium assignâsse, commodiori loco infrà constabit.

Hujusmodi errata impunè per me ferret, nisi plurimorum errorum, qui e re natâ passim infrà proferentur, se reum præbuisset; ac aliis præterea hìc non tacendis se contaminâsset. Multa ille de insulâ viventium inepta commemorat, quæ Stanihurstus Giraldi maximus alioqui fautor eludit, et elidit his verbis[7]: "Plurimos accuratè de hâc insulâ sciscitatus sum, sed miras dotes ei a Giraldo ascriptas a nemine fide digno in totâ regione assertas audivi, nec author ulli ero adeo se levem præbere, ut commentariis tam commentitiis fidem accommodet, quæ nec experientia corroborat, nec ratio fulcit."

[6] Top. d. i. c. 6. [7] In Anglicâ Descriptione Hiberniæ.

[h] For many of those great changes in Ireland, and other countries, see *Ogygia*, pars. 111, c. iv. p. 166; *Haliday's Keating*, pp. 169, 177; *Grace's Annals*, p. 116, *n. v.* Our historians fix the date at which many of the Irish lakes and rivers sprung from the earth. A vivid tradition is still preserved in the barony of Leyney, county Sligo, of the origin of Meemlough, or "the erupted lake," which is thus recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1490: "There was an earthquake at Sliabh Gamh, by which one hundred persons were destroyed, among whom was the son of Magnus Crossagh O'Hara. Many horses and cows were also killed by it, and much putrid fish was thrown up, and a lake in which fish is caught was thrown up in the place."—*Four Mast.*, vol. ii. p. 1185.

[i] This is a very pardonable error of Giraldus, as Sliabh Ailduin may be considered a part of the range of the Sliabh Bladhma (Slieve Bloom).—*J. O'D.* Spenser has allegorized this passage in the Faery Queen, book iv. cant. xi. 42. The nine rivers which were in Ireland before the first colony after the Deluge, are the Liffey, Bann, Moy, in Ulster; the Sligeach, in Connaught; and Samar, in Tyrconnell; Morne and Finn, in Tyrone; the Bandon and Lee, in Cork. These, with the Slaney, Avonmore, Boyne, and those already mentioned,

you rely, with any confidence, on a narrative of passing events by a man who errs so egregiously in a palpable matter, an unchanged feature of nature? Or what claims can he have to accuracy in topography or chorography, who blunders against transparent truth[h]?

His account of the rise of the Suir and Nore is as visionary as his unfortunate account of the rise and course of the Shannon. "From the foot of Mount Bladina," he says, "spring the three noble rivers, called the Three Sisters, from the persons whose names they bear, namely, Berija, Eyrus, and Surius[i]." Keating, it is true, says the Barrow rises in Sliabh Bladhma, which Gerald calls Bladina; but he also asserts truly, as all may see to-day, that the Nore and Suir descend from Sliabh Ailduin, in the district of Ibhgirin. At a more convenient place I will expose Gerald's false account of the source of Lough Erne.

If these had been solitary errors, I would pardon them, but they are constantly occurring, as I shall prove when occasion requires. But I cannot pass over at present some of his disgraceful blunders. He has collected many foolish stories regarding the isle of the living, on which Stanihurst, though one of his most ardent admirers, passes this severe censure: "For my part I have been very inquisitive of this island, but I could never find this strange property soothed by any man of credit in the whole country. Neither, truly, would I wish any to be so light, as to lend his credit to any such feigned glosses as are neither verified by experience nor warranted by any colorable reason[k]."

are the only rivers in the Topography.

[k] The isle of the living was situated three miles from Roscrea, parish of Corbally, in a lake called Loch Cre, which is dried up; but the surrounding bog is still called Monaincha, i. e. bog of the island. The passage of Giraldus is: "In North Munster there is a lake in which are two islands, one larger, the other small. In the former there is a church of ancient veneration; in the latter a chapel, which is devoutly served by a few unmarried persons, called Cœlicoli or Colidei. If a woman, or any animals of the female sex, ever enter the larger island, they die instantly. But no person ever dies or died, or can die a natural death, in the smaller isle,—and hence it is called the Isle of the Living. Sometimes, however, they are grievously afflicted, and brought to the last gasp by a mortal distemper, and when all hope is gone, and they feel that nothing of *living* life remains, and that they have been reduced to such extremities, by the progress of the disease, that they prefer death to a dying life, they get themselves carried in a boat to the larger island, where they yield up the ghost the moment they touch the shore." The Wonders of Ireland (*Irish Nennius*, p. 217) state that "no female, of any species, could enter the island

Narrat Cambrensis "S. Beanum miro et inaudito more non tantùm aves, sed et avium ova tueri. Si enim ut ova rapias, manum admoveas, videas protinùs pullos marcidos et rubros, et tamquam eâdam horâ iam exclusos. Sin autem manum retrahas, videas iterum, seu miraculosè seu fantasticè, contra naturæ cursum pullos in ova conversos vel reversos. Accedant duo, impostor simul, et raptor, hic pullos ille ova videbit[8]." Hanc narrationem Stanihurstus[9] censurâ excipit, dicens hanc conversionem, oculorum fascinatione fieri.

"Est" (inquit Giraldus) "insula quædam in Occidentali Connaciæ solo posita, cui nomen Aren. a S. Brandano ut aiunt consecrata. In hâc hominum corpora nec humantur, nec putrescunt, sed sub dio posita, et exposita, permanent incorrupta. Hìc homines avos, atavos, et tritavos, longamque stirpis suæ retro seriem mirando conspiciunt, et cognoscunt. Est et aliud ibi notabile: quia cùm per totam Hiberniam copiosè nimis mures abundent, hæc tamen insula mure caret. Mus enim nec nascitur hìc, nec vivit invectus, sed si fortè allatus fuerit, statim præcipiti cursu in proximum mare se præcipitat; sin autem impeditur, statim
[8] emoritur[10]." In | totâ narrationis hujusce serie Giraldus vehementer

[8] Top. dist. ii. c. 40. [9] Ubi suprà. [10] Top. dist. ii. c. 6.

of Loch Cre, and that no sinner could die or be buried on it,"—a version which differs materially from Giraldus's. The place was formerly frequented by pilgrims, and five of the *stations* are yet remembered. About 100 years ago, the proprietor of the place drained the lake, forbade all access to the church, either for burial or pilgrimage, destroyed tomb-stones, and erected around the church a circular mound, composed, the people say, of the mortal remains of the hundred generations deposited in that favorite churchyard. Tradition says that the author did not long survive this improvement. "According to an inquisition taken at the suppression of the monasteries in 1588 ('the island' of this place, Loch-Cre), contained three acres of moor, whereon were two chapels. Whether this island formed two islands in the time of Giraldus or not, it is impossible now to decide which of them was the Inis-Locha-Cre of the Irish authorities (*Four Mast., Ann.* 921, 1119, 1143). Móin na h-innse denotes 'bog of the island,' i. e. bog of the island of Inis na m-beo. The patron saint was Helair.—Sep. 7, *O'Clery's Calendar; J. O'D.*" Within the last century there were two islands here, one called "Monks' Island," on which were Michael's Abbey and the present church: another, the "Women's Island," on which, within the last forty years, there was at least one church. The exclusion of the women from one of the islands (a rule of several Irish monasteries) is still traditionally remembered. — *Rev. Mr. Egan, P. P., Dunkerrin.* The people regard St. Columba as the founder of the church. The MS. cited p. 81, *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, purporting to be a transla-

Giraldus asserts "that St. Beanus protects not only birds, but their eggs also, in a wonderful and most singular way. For if you stretch out your hand to seize the eggs, you will immediately see chickens bare and red, as if just issuing from the shell; if you withdraw your hand, you see again the chickens, either by a miracle or magic, contrary to the course of nature, returning to or changed into eggs; but let two approach together, one to look on, suppose, and another to seize them, the former will see eggs, the latter chickens[1]." Stanihurst censures this story, and observes that the change must have been effected by bewitching the eyes.

"In the western part of Connaught," says Giraldus, "there is an Island called Aran, which they say was blessed by St. Brendan. There human bodies are never buried and never rot, but lie exposed under the air, proof against corruption. There the wondering mortal can see and recognise his grandfather, and great-grandfather, and his grandfather's grandfather, and the long line of his progenitors. Another very remarkable thing is, that no rat is found in that island, though Ireland is very much infested with rats. But a rat neither breeds nor lives in Aran, and should one by any chance be imported there, it gallops away instantly to the nearest shore, and casts itself headlong into the sea, or dies on the spot if it happen to be stopped." Now this

tion of Giraldus's account of Monaincha, adds a circumstance not found in the original, namely, "that the treas of that isle kepe there leaves green, and verdure all times of the year winter and summer."

[1] The church of St. Bean "was situated in the remote parts of Ulster, in the mountains where cranes, grouse (*gruta*), and other birds, in great numbers, built their nests in the proper season, in consequence of the security and peace extended by the inhabitants there, not only to man, but even to beasts and birds, in reverence for St. Bean." This church of St. Bean (if it ever existed) cannot be identified. Stephen White states that St. Bean is the saint of that name in the Roman Martyrology at December 16; but he gives no proof of his assertion. According to Colgan (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 369), there were two churches in Tyrconnell, founded, one by Baithen, son of Brendan; another by Baithen, son of Cuanach. The names of these saints would sound to the ear of Giraldus like Bean; but there are no means of identifying the church to which he refers, nor of discovering the fact that may be enveloped in his legend. There was a tame falcon at Kildare, tame birds in other churches of the saints; and in the lonely mountains of the north, hallowed by the church of a patron saint, the wild birds could enjoy a repose which fame might magnify into the extraordinary appearances recorded by Giraldus.

claudicat: nam Areniæ insula non a S. Brendano, sed a S. Endæo consecrata est, ut illam inde Hiberni Einne Airne vocent. Hanc ille septennem navigationem auspicaturus invisisse dicitur. Cæterum hodierna rerum in eâ insulâ conditio penitus alia est: nam cadavera inhumata non jacent, sed terræ mandata putrescunt. Imò superioris omnis memoriæ consuetudo tulisse videtur, vitâ ibi functos, sepulturæ traditos fuisse: cùm eam insulam, "sacris exuviis et sepulchris innumerorum sanctorum nostræ gentis nobilitatam esse," Colganus[11] et alii plures asserant; et in vitâ S. Albæi dicatur, "neminem scire numerum sanctorum qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solum Deum," ut proinde: "Ardnanæmh sive Arna sanctorum," vulgo nuncupetur[12]. Muribus autem

[11] Col. 21. Mar. Ussher. Prim., pp. 867, 962. [12] Apud Ussherum, ibid., p. 868.

[w] St. Brendan, of Clonfert, who died in the ninety-fourth year of his age, 577.—*Lanigan*, vol. ii. p. 38. His seven-years' voyage is that mysterious fact commemorated in the Irish Calendars as the "Egressio familiæ S. Brendani" on the 22nd of March: "Brendan, the man of God, departed with fourteen of his brethren towards the western country, to a certain island named Ara, where Enda and his brethren were then dwelling. St. Brendan, having remained three days and three nights, and received the blessing of St. Enda and his holy monks, returned to his native county, called Sedes Brendani, in Kerry. Embarking with his brethren, they sailed with a favorable wind, during fifteen days, towards the summer solstice" (the north-west, as Dr. Lanigan interprets it), "and, after rowing until they were tired, they were driven they knew not whither, and at last made the promised land, a spacious and beautiful country."—*Acta Sanctorum*, March 22. See, on this voyage, *Wright's Purgatory of St. Patrick*, p. 91; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, Bohn's edition, p. 266; and the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, by D. F. Mac Carthy. The original Latin legend, and two early French metrical versions, were published at Paris, 1836; but the Irish version, like other similar documents, is neglected and almost unknown.

[x] St. Enda, of the royal-house of Oriel, and brother-in-law to Ængus, King of Munster, of whom he obtained a grant of the Isle of Aran.—*Acta Sanct.*, March 20, p. 704. Enda, it is said, established ten communities on the island, appointing a superior and another with right of succession, over each. His own monastery was built at Killeany, near the east of the island. A book of the Gospels, and a chasuble, which was formerly covered with gold and silver, but in the fourteenth century only with brass, were preserved with great care in the island, as relics of St. Enda. His memory is still held in great veneration in Aran and the neighbouring shores.—*Ibid.* p. 707. See also *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 79.

[y] A poem attributed to St. Columba (*Transactions of the Gaelic Society*, p. 183) expresses the popular veneration for the isles of Aran: "Aran, thou sun. O! Aran, thou sun, my heart is with thee in

whole story of Giraldus is a tissue of flagrant blunders, for though Aran was visited (they say) by St. Brendan[m] before his seven-years' voyage, it was not blessed by him, but by St. Enda[n], whence it was called by the Irish Eınne Aıpne. Neither does the present state of the island agree with Giraldus's story; for human bodies do not lie exposed, but are buried and rot; and it appears highly probable that those who died there were, in all preceding ages of which we have any account, committed to the tomb. Colgan and many others assert that "Aran was honored with the sacred relics and tombs of innumerable saints of our country;" and in the Life of St. Ailbhe it is written: "God alone knoweth the number of saints buried there," whence the name by which it is generally known, Ara-na-næmh,—or "Ara of the Saints[o]."

the West; to sleep beneath thy pure earth is the same as to be under the earth of Peter and Paul; O! Aran, thou sun, my love lies in thee westward; to be within the sound of thy bells is the same as to be in happiness." Malachy O'Kealy, Archbishop of Tuam, one of the most efficient and zealous co-operators of Colgan, drew up a description of the ecclesiastical remains on the three islands of Aran about the year 1645, from which it appears that, on the largest island, there were thirteen churches, among which were Teghlach Enda, surrounded by the tomb of St. Enda, and 120 other sepulchres, "wherein none but saints were ever buried." There were two churches on the middle island, one dedicated to St. Mary, the other to St. Ceannanach; and, on the third island, three dedicated to St. Paul, St. Coeman, and St. Gobnata.—*Acta SS.*, p. 714. For the nine pagan fortresses on these islands, especially Dun Ængus, and scientific details on all architectural remains, see *Hardiman's West Connaught*, p. 76, and *Petrie's Evidence in the Report presented to Sir Robert Peel on the Inquiry.—Ordnance Memoir for Ireland*, p. 36, A. D. 1843, and *Petrie's Round Towers, passim*, p. 453. The isles of Aran are identified with most of the great epochs of our country's history. By a covenant between the Kings of Munster and Connaught in 546, they were declared exempt from the jurisdiction of both. They were plundered by the Danes in 1080; by Darcy, the Lord Deputy, in 1334; their ecclesiastical lands were secularized by Elizabeth; the confederate Irish maintained their ground there for a full year after the surrender of Galway to the Parliamentarians; the isles were garrisoned again after the surrender of Galway to William III. For many centuries, down to the year 1565, they had been in possession of a branch of the O'Briens, who were about that year dispossessed by the O'Flahertys. — *West Connaught*, p. 78. "St. Enda," it is said in his Life, "when walking on the sea-shore, burst into tears because it was made known to him that the day would come when those isles would not be tenanted by monks, but carnal and irreligious laics. He brightened up with joy, however, on being assured that, before the end of the world, thousands would once more flock to those islands, to escape the contagion of irreligion." Colgan remarks

hæc insula, non secùs ac alia Hiberniæ loca frequentatur. Sanè Camdenus hunc figmentorum in Araniâ et insulâ viventium cumulum uno impulsu evertit[13], dum dicit: insulæ Arran dictæ fabellis, quasi insulæ viventium famigerantur. Existimo quæ de Innisgluariâ Irrisiæ, in comitatu Mayoensi e regione positâ commemorantur, Areniæ Giraldum inversâ narratione adscripsisse. In illâ enim sepulti, cadavere incorrupto, ungue, capilloque crescente visuntur, ut avum quis cognoscere possit.

Plures ille fontes enumerat, quibus miras dotes a naturâ comparatas esse memorat. "Est," inquit, "fons in Momoniâ cujus aquis si quis abluitur, statim canus efficitur. Est contra fons in Ultoniâ, quo si quis abluitur, non canescit ampliùs. Est in Connaciâ fons quidam aquas habens solis hominibus acceptabiles jumentis verò et pecoribus, aliisque animalibus quibuscumque si gustatæ fuerint pestilentes. Item fontis hujus arenæ petrosæ sitibundis et aridis ori impositæ sitim extinguunt. Est fons in Momoniâ, qui si tactus ab homine, vel etiam visus fuerit, statim tota Provincia pluviis inundabit, quæ non cessabunt donec sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, qui et virgo fuerit a nativitate tam mente quàm corpore, Missæ celebratione in capellâ (quæ non procul a fonte ad hoc dignoscitur esse fundata) et aquæ benedictæ, lactisque vaccæ unius coloris aspersione (barbaro satis ritu et ratione carente) fontem reconciliaverit[14]."

[13] Comitatus Galviæ, p. 257. [14] Top. dist. ii. c. 7.

on this passage, with his characteristic Irish faith, "that these bad days had commenced already, and lasted to his own time, for the islands were tenanted by a colony of uncivilized laymen, and invaded by the ministers of a new creed; but heaven grant that the incense of divine praise, and the odor of primitive sanctity, may once more ascend to God from the isles of Aran."—*Acta SS.*, pp. 710, 711.

[p] O'Flaherty (*West Connaught*, p. 82) translates "mus" a rat, that is, according to Mr. Hardiman (*ibid.*, p. 10), the small black Irish rat, to distinguish it from the "mus major," commonly called "ratus," which, according to Giraldus (dist. viii. cap. 32), was banished by Bishop Ibar from the territory of Ferns, north-east of the Slaney. The Irish name of the rats is luċa Ꞃꞃancaċa, "French mice." In O'Flaherty's time (*ibid.*, p. 10), rats were not found in any part of West Connaught, *except* the isles of Aran, and the district of the west liberties of Galway; but, at present, no part of that territory is exempt from them. For an account of a tract of land around the town of Donegal, in which no rat was found in the commencement of the last century, see a letter to Dr. Molyneux, *West Connaught*, p. 263.

[q] Inisgluair was doubtless the island of which Giraldus had heard the stories by him attributed to Aran. Dr. Pococke, in his "Tour through Ireland, A. D. 1752,"

Neither is Aran more free from rats[p] than any other part of Ireland. Camden thus demolishes, with a single stroke, this fabric of fiction regarding Aran and the Isle of the Living: "The Isles of Aran, fabulously styled the Isles of the Living." My own opinion is, that Giraldus bungled his narrative by applying to Aran what is told of Inisgluair, an island off the coast of Erris, in the county of Mayo. For the bodies buried in that island do not decay; but even the hair and nails grow, so that one could recognise his grandfather[q].

He gives a long list of wells, to which nature had imparted, he says, very wonderful properties: "There is a well in Munster, and whoever is washed with its water becomes instantly grey. There is another well in Ulster, and whoever bathes in it never becomes grey. In Connaught there is a well, whose waters are salubrious for human uses, but whose very taste poisons flocks and herds, and beasts of burden, and all sorts of animals. The pebbly sand of this well, if only applied to the mouth, at once assuages the cravings of thirst. There is a well in Munster, and if any man touch or even look at it, the whole province is instantly deluged with rain, which never ceases, until a priest, appointed for the purpose, and who has been a virgin in soul as in body from his infancy, celebrates mass in a little chapel (founded near the well for the purpose), and appeases the well by an aspersion of holy water, and the barbarous and unmeaning rite of sprinkling the milk of a heifer of one color."

(MSS. Trinity College, Dublin, I. 4. 15), states it was then believed that no rat or mouse could live in Inisgluair.—*West Connaught*, p. 82. It was also believed that no bodies rotted there, and "the tradition is still vividly remembered by the inhabitants of Erris and Inis Seidhe." —*J. O'D.* In O'Flaherty's time, the tradition was proved by experience to be false.—*West Connaught*, p. 82. The island was sacred to St. Brendan. It is now uninhabited, but contains the ruins of a church and other buildings, which, together with the leeks and other garden herbs still growing wild, are the sole monuments of ancient monastic civilization. Inisgluair lies in the ocean, about a mile west of the village of Cross, parish of Kilmore, Erris. For several particulars of its history, see *West Connaught*, p. 81; *Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 492; *Petrie's Round Towers*, pp. 124, 125; and the Irish version of *Nennius*, p. 192, by Dr. Todd, who has kindly favored me with the sheets of that work before it was published. The rat is classed among the venomous animals from which Ireland *was* free. —*Nennius*, p. 219. There are no toads nor serpents in all Eri; except the mouse (luċa fael), the wolf, and the fox, there has not been, and there shall not be, any noxious animal in it. Even mice are excluded. —*Ibid.*

De his fontibus id universim dico cùm nec hodie, nec memoriâ majorum fontes ejusmodi dotibus imbuti esse deprehendantur, nullam suppetere rationem, cur affectiones illis a naturâ insitæ temporis diuturnitate evanescerent. Ac insuper addo, cùm indefinitè fontium loca designet, eum in non modicam erroris suspicionem venire. Nam in totâ Momoniâ, Connaciâ, et Ultoniâ obeundâ fatigatus antè quis erit, quàm de fontibus istis certior factus. Itaque ille levium hominum gratiam ejus aucupantium narrationibus aures, et fidem leviter avidèque accommodâsse dicendus est. Ego quidem Ketengi sententiæ accedo dicentis[15], fortasse Deum ut ejusmodi prodigia scriptis ille traderet, passum fuisse, ut ejus mandacia essent illustriora. Et insuper addo tot fabulas illum idcirco forsitan cumulâsse, ut cæteram historiæ Hibernicæ seriem e fabulis contextam esse tacitè insinuaret. Cur autem potiùs portentosorum Lageniæ Mediæque fontium non meminit? in his enim provinciis diutiùs diversatus, Connaciam, Ultoniam, aut ulteriores Momoniæ partes nec pedibus unquam, aut oculis obivit. Media verò et Lagenia pluribus scatent fontibus, sanctorum olim operâ e rupibus, aut duriori solo elicitis, ad quos miracula indies etiamnum eduntur. Illorum enim beneficio plurimi oculis, pedibus, aut mente capti, aut aliis etiam morbis impliciti sanitatem impetrant. "In Me-

[15] In Præfatione.

[r] Ireland, like other countries, as Britain, Man, &c. &c., had her mirabilia or wonders, of which we may say with O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, pars iii. chap. 50), that "some are true, some false, and some facts enveloped in fable." The number of Irish mirabilia is different with different authors. The reader will find a full account of them in Dr. Todd's Irish version of *Nennius*, p. 192. Giraldus devotes his second distinction, consisting of twenty folio pages, to the mirabilia; and White entitles his twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth chapters, "Pia et vera nonnulla quæ de Sanctis Hiberniæ narrat Cambrensis;" but we must confine our notices to those mentioned by Dr. Lynch. Of the four wells in the text, two, namely, the wonderful well in Connaught, and the well which prevented hair from becoming grey, are unknown to all the collectors of Irish mirabilia. The well which made the hair grey is mentioned among the wonders of Ireland (*Irish Nennius*, p. 195); but, as being in the parish of Gallorn, county Monaghan, not in Munster, as Giraldus says. The *angry* well is also mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 197), thus: "The well of Sliabh Bladhma (Slieve Bloom), if any one gaze at it, or touches it, the sky will not cease to pour down rain until mass and sacrifice are celebrated." This well, which is the source of the Barrow, "floods the country for miles round during the rainy season."—*Ibid.*, p. 197.

With regard to these wells I make this general remark, that neither now, nor at any former period, have any traces been discovered of fountains with such properties; and, if the properties were natural, time alone would not destroy them: moreover, his vague mode of pointing out the site of those wells is in itself a strong ground for suspecting a falsehood. You would be tired going over all Munster and Ulster and Connaught, before you get any account of them[r]. The truth is, Giraldus must have greedily and foolishly gathered up the silly stories of persons anxious to worm themselves into his favor. For my own part, I incline to Keating's opinion, that heaven permitted such prodigies to be committed to paper, that Gerald's mendacity should be more notorious; or, perhaps I should add, that his object in heaping together so many fables may have been to intimate tacitly to the world, that the whole history of Ireland was of the same fabulous character. But why has he omitted the miraculous wells of Leinster and Meath? He lived a long time in those provinces, but never saw or set his foot in Ulster, Connaught, or the more remote districts of Munster. In Meath and Leinster there are many wells which the saints formerly drew from the rock or from the hard earth, at which miracles are worked even to this day, many persons recovering their sight or the use of their limbs, or their reason, or getting a cure of various other diseases[s]. "In Meath,"

Giraldus improved the legend by the invention of the peculiar rites for appeasing the well, of which see more, p. 136, n. [x]. But he can hardly be accused of drawing exclusively on his imagination, because it manifestly appears, from the accounts of the mirabilia collected by Dr. Todd, that various editions of the same stories were afloat in ancient times. According to Mr. O'Donovan, it is still a popular notion in in Ireland, that a spring well, if defiled, would dry up or emigrate to some other locality.

[s] In the Lives of the Saints, fountains similar to those described in the text are frequently mentioned. — See the *Bollandists*, June 29, pp. 433, 436, for the well in the Mamertine Prison, and those on the spot where St. Paul was beheaded, all of which have been associated in tradition with the memory of the Apostles. In Ireland, the number of wells is very great. Martiniere, in his Geographical Dictionary, describes them as a characteristic of Ireland: "Il y a partout des sources et des fontaines, non seulement sur les montagnes et les rochers, mais aussi dans les plaines d'ou elles coulent sans bruit et presque sans aucun bouillonnement." "There are a great number of other fountains throughout all the land, called holy wells by the inhabitants, whose waters, not differing from that of other wells in smell, taste, or any other sensible quality, nevertheless are believed to be effectual for

diâ," inquit David Rothus, Episcopus Ossoriensis, "S. Joannis Baptistæ fons, in Lageniâ S. Brigitæ puteus visitur. Ad rivulum S. Molengi, quarto a Rosponte lapide, ad fluvium Neorium" (Feorium potiùs) "situm olim deprecandæ pestis asylum, omnes omnium ordinum orationis causâ confluebant[16]." Joannes Clin, ad annum Domini 1348, "Convenerunt," ait, "de diversis partibus Hiberniæ Episcopi, et Prælati, viri Ecclesiastici, et religiosi, magnates et alii, et communiter omnes utriusque sexûs, magni et parvi ad peregrinationem et vadationem aquæ de Tathmoling Tormensi [*rectè* turmatim], et in multitudine, sic ut multa millia hominum simul illuc multis diebus convenire videres."

[16] In Laconicâ Descrip. Hiberniæ, p. 6.

curing several diseases."—*Boate's Natural History*, chap. vii. sect. 11. This belief still prevails; but many places which, thirty years ago, were visited by immense crowds on the festival of the saint after whom the well was named, are rapidly losing their celebrity, the Catholic clergy having often prohibited the pilgrimages in consequence of the abuses that followed from them. Those holy wells were generally near a church, and owed their reputation often to the fact, that the anchorite or hermit had dwelt near them, before the disciples had gathered around him, and enabled him to erect the church. For the celebrated well of St. Augustine, near Galway, see our Author's Dedication, *suprà*, p. 56, and *West Connaught*, p. 88.

[t] John's well, a beautiful spring in the county of Meath, near Lord Dunsany's demesne. Until within the last few years, it was frequented on the 24th of June by pilgrims from Meath, Westmeath, Cavan, and Monaghan; but the Catholic clergy have probibited the "patron," because many visitors came for amusement alone.

[u] It is impossible to ascertain what well of St. Brigid is alluded to here, there being at least half a dozen Brideswells marked on the Ordnance maps in the county of Wexford alone, besides a proportional number in the other Leinster counties. Colgan (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 544, n. 44) mentions three wells, which were probably the most celebrated in his time: "One in the county of Roscommon, not far from Athlone, which was frequented from all quarters, not only by Catholics, but Protestants also, on account of the wonderful things said to have been performed there. So great was its fame, that Randal M'Donald, Earl of Antrim, surrounded it with a strong wall of hammered stone. There were two other celebrated wells, one in Thomond and another in Hy-Kinsellagh, which probably is that mentioned by Rothe. The peasantry still point out St. Bridget's chair and headstone at Brideswell, Kilranelagh, Upper Talbotstown, county Wicklow. The work of David Rothe, cited in the text, is not known to the Editor.

[v] There are three wells of St. Moling. The well of Listerling, about three, and that at Craon Moling, called *Mullingahill*, about six miles from Ross; but the principal well is at St. Moling's Monastery, called, after him, St. Mullin's, which gives its name to a barony in the county of Carlow. This

David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, says: "there is a well of St. John the Baptist[t], and in Leinster a well of St. Brigid[u]. St. Moling's well, about four miles from Ross, near the River Nore, was formerly a celebrated place of devotion for all orders in public prayer against the plague." John Clin relates in his Annals that, in the year 1348, "Bishops and prelates, monks and clerics, nobles and others, and immense crowds of every age and sex, went on a pilgrimage to cross the stream of Tath-moling, and in such crowds and multitudes that many thousand persons were for many days assembled there."[v]

well is still a favorite resort for pilgrims on two fair days, the 17th of June and 25th of July. The well properly so called is a round basin of water, about two feet deep, overshadowed by old ash trees. From the basin the waters gush out, through two square orifices cut in granite, into another receptacle, formed by huge blocks of the same stone. It lies about 100 yards north-east of the monastery. The pilgrims commence their rounds or stations at the well, and conclude them at a ruined cell near the great church, beside which is a ruined cross of ancient date. A rapid mountain stream, which flows between the well and the monastery, is crossed by the pilgrims in their rounds, and that circumstance is probably expressed by the word "vadatio" in Clyn's account. The scenery around the well is striking; the Barrow, on one side, flowing at the foot of Brandon hill, and, on the other, the Carlow mountains rising between Carlow and Wexford. There is a large rath near the church. By water, St. Mullin's is nine, by land, about six miles from New Ross. The great plague recorded here by Clyn is referred to the same year, 1348, in Grace's Annals, p. 143; but to 1349 by the Four Masters and by Walshingham.—*Historia Anglicana*, p. 168, and *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 519. In the latter place, he states that while the whole kingdom was overjoyed at the fall of Calais, and English ladies were parading the luxurious silks of the conquered French, heavy rains commenced on the 24th of June, continued until Christmas, and were followed next year by the plague, which left hardly a tenth part of the human race, destroyed the value of landed property, swept off the animals themselves, and brought the world to a state from which it never recovered, &c. &c. Devotions at St. Mullin's well are not now regarded as a special protection against the plague; but, on the patron days, young children are carried from all the surrounding country, and immersed in the water. Why the pilgrims ford the stream at St. Mullin's, the Editor cannot determine; but, in similar pilgrimages, such as at St. John's well, four miles from Kilkenny, and St. Kieran's well, near Kells, praying in the cold water is considered as part of the austerity of the penance,—a custom which, like other peculiarly Irish customs, can be traced back to the earliest ages of the Irish Church. See, for instance, Colgan, March 11, on *Aengus*, author of the *Feilire*. In the porches of the ancient basilicas, fountains were constructed, or, if water could not be had, cisterns. Pope Leo the Great wrote the following inscrip-

Ab his igitur, et hujusmodi magis exploratis, et ob oculos positis [9] | fontibus enarrandis, ad obscuriores et remotiores fontes memorandos orationem ultro flexit: magis nimirum cupidus fuit, profanas fontium, quàm sacras dotes litteris consignandi: ut quàm a sacris aversum, tam in profana propensum se præberet. Certi itinerantes illi nugatores eò audaciùs plura de longinquis comminiscuntur, quò longiùs ab audientium notitiâ, et prospectu abesse illa cognoscunt. Viatores enim (ut proverbio vernaculo dicimus) mentiendi privilegium referunt. E cujusmodi hominibus cùm narrationes suas Giraldus potissimùm hauserit, non video cur fidem ullam mereatur. Quòd autem Giraldus: "viderit hominem, cujus pars barbæ lymphis fontis primò memorati lotæ, canis incanduerat, alterâ parte totâ in suâ naturâ fuscâ manente,"[17] putem hominem istum Giraldo ista imposuisse, ut Giraldi credulitatem inter sodales magis exploderet. Nec enim adeò mentis inops homo iste fuisse censendus est, ut biformi, et deformi barbâ omnibus ultro se irridendum præberet, qui lotione unicâ barbam canitie tingere, et hominum ludibrio se sic eximere potuit. Vidi bicolores barbas, e quorundam mento pendere, nullo tamen fonte tinctas, sed quas eâ colorum varietate imbutas natura produxit. Similis barbæ vir Giraldum convenire potuit, et (credulum hominem!) ad credendum adducere suam barbam diversos colores e memorato fonte hausisse.

Porro fontium agmen narratione satis ineptâ, et veritatem omnino non redolente claudit. Quò enim spectat, ut tam accurata castitas, in faciente sacrum exigatur? Viri, post legitimam uxorem fato functam, sacerdotio initiati Missa, castissimi cujusque Missæ virtutem ex opere operato (ut theologi loquuntur) exæquat. Ad fascinum potiùs, quàm ad prodigium referendo sunt istæ tempestates, tacto vel viso fonte, in circumjacentibus excitatæ. Etenim Martinus Delrio lucidis argumentis evincit[18] nullam hominum attactui aut aspectui vim inesse, quæ res ullo damno afficere posset. Ad tempestates autem illas sedandas non miror Missæ celebrationem, et aquæ lustralis aspersionem adhiberi:

[17] Top. dist. ii. c. 7. [18] Disquis. Mag. lib. i. c. 3, quæs. iv. lib. 3, etc.

tion on a fountain repaired by himself, near the church of St. Paul:

"Unda lavat carnis maculas, sed crimina purgat
Purificatque animas mundior amne fides;
Quisque suis meritis veneranda sacraria Pauli
Ingrederis, supplex ablue fonte manus."

—*Car. Bona. Rerum Litur.*, lib. i. cap. xx. 5. See *Adamnan de Locis Sanctis*, lib. ii.

Omitting these and similar well-known wells, which he had under his eyes, he deliberately selects for his narrative the more obscure and distant wells; proving, by his anxiety to chronicle the profane rather than the sacred properties of these wells, that his aversion for the sacred was as great as his partiality for the profane. Moreover, travelled fops are emboldened to descant more fearlessly on distant objects unknown to their auditors. Travellers (says our Irish proverb) bring home a patent for lying; and since they are the principal authorities for Gerald's narrative, I am at a loss to know how he can be worthy of credit. His own story "of the man, whom he saw with part of his beard grey from washing in the first-mentioned fountain, the other part still retaining its natural color," was, I have no doubt, a scheme of the grey-beard, to exhibit his dupe's credulity; for how could any man be so devoid of common sense as to make himself the laughing-stock of the world, with an ugly variegated beard, when one lotion could silver it, and save him from ridicule? I saw beards of two colors hanging from some men's chins; but it was nature, and not the virtue of any well, that dyed them with different colors. Giraldus probably saw one of these beards, and was persuaded (credulous man!) by the wearer that the well had imparted the colors.

His account of the wells is followed by a very silly story, without the least semblance of truth. Why should such virginal purity be required in the priest who said mass? The mass of a priest, who is ordained after the death of his lawful wife, works the same effects, *ex opere operato* (as theologians say) as the mass of the purest virgin that ever lived. The tempests excited in the surrounding district, when any one touched or looked at the well, must be attributed to witchcraft, and not to a miracle; for Martin Delrio proves, by the clearest arguments, that human touch or look has no such potent influence. I am not at all surprised that mass was celebrated, and holy water sprinkled, to appease the tempests; amulets and lawful *cataplasms*[w] are often used

cap. 3, 18, 19, for holy wells in Palestine. The Editor knows no fountain inside or in the porch of an old Irish church, except that of St. Doulagh's, in the county of Dublin.

[w] The Pagans, Greeks, Romans, and Orientals, &c., carried on their person amulets of different kinds, as preservatives against diseases or other ills. By the Romans they were called "amolimentum," or "amoletum," whence our word "amulet;" by the Greeks "phylacteria," "periapta," or "periammata;" and by the Orientals

amuleta enim et cataplasmata licita fascinationibus amovendis admoveri solent. Quorsum verò spectat illa lactis aspersio? nec cujuscunque lactis, nisi lactis e vaccâ nullis maculis, colore autem uno tinctâ mulcti? Minutiæ istæ, ac nugæ superstitionem sapiunt: quid autem superstioni cum sacrosanctâ Missâ commercium est? "Aut quæ participatio justitiæ cum iniquitate? aut quæ societas luci ad tenebras? quæ conventio Christi ad Belial?[19]" Non me latet familiare sagis esse rebus sacris,

[19] 2 Corinth. vi.

"talisman." They were of different kinds, rings, ligatures for any member of the body; scrolls of writings wrapped up, in Latin, or seals, &c. &c. They were ridiculed by Lucian, Philopseudes, and condemned repeatedly by the Fathers and Councils of the Church. See *Eusebius' Demonstratio Evan.*, lib. iii. cap. 6; *Thiers Traité des Superstitions*, part. 1ere, lib. v. cap. 1.

Amongst the Jews the "phylacteria" were portions of the Scripture, which were so generally used that it is the opinion of the learned our Redeemer wore them. See *Calmet's Dictionary, in voce.* The amulets to which Dr. Lynch alludes were probably portions of the relics of the saints, or a cross, or parts of the Gospel, or the *Agnus Dei*, some of which were worn by Christians before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. St. John Chrysostom (*Hom.* 19. *ad populum Antiochenum*) speaks of the "women and children wearing, as a great safeguard, the Gospels around their necks." St. Germanus wore a capsula of relics around his neck.—*Surius*, tom. iv. July 6, cap. 25. St. Gregory I. (*Ep.* 12. *Indic.* 7, *to Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards*) says he had sent to the King "phylacteria," two of which were, a cross enclosing a portion of the cross of our Lord, and a portion (*lectio*) of the Gospel enveloped in a gorgeous case (*persicâ thecâ*). — *S. Greg. Opera, Ed. Bened.*, vol. ii. p. 1271. For the ancient use of the "Agnus Dei,"— i. e. the image of a lamb bearing a cross, stamped on wax, — see *Raynal. de Agno Cereo a Pontifice consecrato*, caps. ix. xiii. tom. 10, p. 269, Lyons, 1665. Whether there were any peculiar Christian "phylacteria" among the ancient Irish the Editor knows not; but the Irish saints carried with them copies of the Scriptures, bells, thecas of relics, &c. The word "cataplasmata," used by Dr. Lynch, does not occur in any of the treatises the Editor has consulted.

[x] There is no authority, written or traditional, for Giraldus's account of the mass celebrated at the angry well, or of the barbarous ceremonies related by him. In Ireland, as in all other countries, there sprung up from time to time observances which are now condemned as barbarous and superstitious; but she was free (as far as the Editor can discover) from many superstitions which were sanctioned by the laws of other nations, though condemned by the Popes. Mariana (in *History of Spain*, lib. v. cap. vii. p. 167) describes the trial by ordeal, "which, though opposed to the laws of the Gospel, was approved by the laws of the Goths," and held its ground in Spain during many centuries, until it was at length abolished by Pope Honorius III. Dr. Lingard gives the following account of superstitions in the Anglo-Saxon Church,

against the spells of witchcraft. But why sprinkle the milk?—the milk, too, not of any cow, but of one without a single speck, and all of one color? Such petty observances savor of superstition; and what connexion can there be between superstition[x] and the most holy sacrifice of the mass? "For what participation hath justice with injustice? or what fellowship hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" Witches, I know, are accustomed to introduce prayers

to which parallels cannot be found in the whole history of the Irish Church: "In criminal cases, where the guilt of the accused was presumed only on circumstantial evidence, recourse was had to the judgment of God. The accuser swore to the truth of the charge; the accused, by oath, attested his innocence. Three nights before the day appointed for trial, the accused was led to the priest; on the three following mornings he assisted and made his offering at the mass; and, during the three days, he fasted on bread, herbs, salt, and water. At the mass, on the third day, the priest called him to the altar, before communion, and adjured him not to receive the Eucharist, nor go to the ordeal, if his conscience reproached him with the crime. He then received the Communion. . . . . . Of these trials there were four different kinds: 1. The cornsned was a cake of barley bread, of the weight of one ounce. A prayer was pronounced over it by the priest, begging that God would manifest the truth; that if the accused were guilty, when he took the cake into his hands he might tremble and look pale, and when he attempted to eat it his jaws might be fixed, his throat contracted, &c. The event decided his guilt or innocence. 2. In the ordeal of cold water, the prisoner was stripped naked, his hands bound crosswise to his feet; he was sprinkled with blessed water; a cord, with a knot on it, two ells and a half from the extremity, was fastened around his waist, and he was lowered into the pool. If he drew the knot below the surface, he was pronounced innocent; if not, he was guilty. 3. In the ordeal of hot water, a stone or piece of iron was placed in a caldron of boiling water, in the church: the priest sung a litany, and the accused plunged his arm into the caldron, and drew out the stone. His arm was instantly wrapped in linen, and sealed. If, when the seal was broken in the three days, the arm was healed, the accused was acquitted. 4. In the ordeal by hot iron, as soon as Mass began a bar of iron was laid on the coals; at the Collect, the accused raised it in his hand, and made three steps in the church. The treatment of the burn, and the indications of guilt or innocence, were the same as in the preceding case. 5. Wager of battle was introduced by the Normans, and has been perpetuated by the folly of succeeding ages. The first four were approved by the Anglo-Saxon laws: they were condemned by Pope Stephen V., Alexander II., Celestine III., Innocent III., and Honorius III.; and yet, so powerful was the force of ancient custom, and so great the difficulty of finding a substitute in cases of circumstantial evidence, that they kept their ground in England till the reign of Henry III."—*Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii. p. 133, *et seq.* As far as we know the Brehon laws, they approved no such superstitions.

ac precationibus incantamenti quidpiam tanquam venenum inspergere, ut latentiùs noceant. Sed imbres isti per præstigia inducti, præstigiis arceri non debuerunt. Nam Delrio præstantissimis documentis, et probatissimorum Theologorum judiciis allatis, maleficium maleficio trudi disertè negat quando malum fieri non debet, ut inde bonum eveniat[20]. Itaque vix dubito quin Giraldus hanc telam de industriâ ideo texuerit ut Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ authoritate superstitionem publicitùs exerceri doceret, et cleri disciplinæ hanc infamiæ notam inureret. Verùm Ecclesiam Hibernicam optimis institutis per ea tempora sic excultam fuisse, infra fusè monstrabo, ut tam sordida labes tum in eam cadere non potuerit. Plurima quoque Giraldi ejusdem in ipsos sanctos irreverentiæ documenta posthac: modò unum dabimus, huic loco maximè accommodatum, quòd in locorum descriptione versemur:

"Est," inquit Giraldus, "lacus in partibus Ultoniæ, continens in-

[20] Ubi supra, lib. vi. c. 2, sec. i. q. 2.

[y] If Giraldus, by these stories, intended to defame the Irish Church, and not merely indulge his taste for the marvellous, he has left in his other writings abundant grounds for accusing his own land. In the Itinerary of Wales (p. 844), he gives an account of a priest who, when a boy, was carried off by the long, yellow-haired fairies, and learned their language, which was a dialect of the Greek. This story Giraldus had from David II., Bishop of St. David's, who heard it from the priest himself. In chap. xvi. of the Description of Wales, he describes a race of prophets, who, when consulted, were agitated and tortured like men possessed: their first answers were incoherent; but the true revelations generally came to them in dreams, in which they said they had received into their mouths milk or honey, or paper. They invoked in their rhapsodies the name of God and the Trinity. These prophets, who were found in Wales only, were, he maintains, of the same kind as Balaam and the Sybils. Again (*ibid.*, p. 849), the Flemish settlers in Wales, by stripping of its flesh the right shoulder of a ram, and inspecting it, could tell all things past, future, and present, however remote, the signs of war and peace, &c. &c.; and yet Giraldus gives the highest character of the Flemish. It is manifest that he intended to be just, if not complimentary, to the Irish, in many passages which are interpreted by Dr. Lynch as calumnious.

[z] This is Lough Derg, so celebrated during 600 years in the literature of mediæval Europe, and still frequented as a place of pilgrimage. In our notes on this subject, the first place must be given to Thomas Wright, M. A., F. S. A. In his St. Patrick's Purgatory (London, 1844), he gives a long account of the various works on that subject published on the Continent, and especially of a French work by a Franciscan, Francis Bouillon, which was very popular during the first half of the last century. Mr. Wright "describes that book chiefly to show the kind of religious information which was spread among the middle classes in France, and the doctrines

and holy things, that their incantations, like poison, may work more secretly. But the rain brought down by witchcraft should not have been opposed by witchcraft. Martin Delrio proves, by the soundest arguments, and the authority of the most unexceptionable theologians, that evil spells cannot be used against evil spells, because evil ought not be done that good may follow. Gerald's object, I am sure, in detailing this fabrication, was to make the world believe the Irish Church authorized public superstitions, and to brand with infamy the discipline of her clergy[7]. But I shall prove at length that the Irish Church was, at that time, too well versed in the best principles to allow so foul a blot to stain her fair name. Many similar instances of Gerald's irreverence to the saints themselves occur in this volume. The following comes in naturally here, as we are on the topographical part of his work:

"An island," he says, "in a certain lake[8] in Ulster, is divided into

and misrepresentations by which the Popish system kept its hold on the minds of the simple and ignorant people." — (p. 158). But if Mr. Wright had consulted Dr. Lanigan (vol. i. p. 368), he would not identify the history of St. Patrick's Purgatory with the Popish system, since Dr. Lanigan was an humble believer in that system, and yet he had no belief in the popular history of the Purgatory of Lough Derg. Mr. Wright also states that "as long as the monks retained their influence in Spain, the purgatory stories were taught in their grossest forms."—(p. 172). From an examination of this latter position, the reader can estimate the degree of credit due to Mr. Wright on Catholic matters in France and Spain. In the last century, a Spanish monk, the General of the Benedictines, Fray Benito Geronymo Feijoo published, with the approbation of his own order, as well as of the Jesuits, Cistercians, and others, a series of essays against popular errors. The essays are on the plan of Addison's Spectator, and they have acquired for their author a European reputation, and a place in Spanish literature equal, and in science superior, to what Johnson or Addison holds in the English. Now, among those essays there is one which Mr. Wright (who cites many other Spanish books, p. 173) has most unaccountably overlooked, though it is on St. Patrick's Purgatory, "*Theatro Critico*, tom. vii. p. 157, ed. 1755." Feijoo commences by denouncing all miracles and revelations which have no solid foundation. He says they are "chaff:" "Paja llamo a las relaciones de revelaciones y milagros que carecen de fundamento solido: y aunque vulgarmente se crea que estas alimentan en algun modo la piedad, digo que esso es un alimento vicioso." — (p. 156). He then cites the Council of Trent, which merely defines that there is a purgatory, but expressly orders all bishops "incerta item vel quæ specie falsi laborant, evulgari ac tractari non permittant." Examining, on these principles, Henry of Saltery's account of Owen's visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory, he admits its great popularity, but

sulam bipartitam, cujus pars altera probatæ religionis Ecclesiam habens, spectabilis valdè est et amœna, Angelorum visitatione sanctorumque loci illius visibili frequentiâ incomparabiliter illustrata. Pars altera hispida nimis et horribilis solis dæmoniis dicitur esse assignata, quæ ut visibilibus cacodæmonum turbis, et pompis ferè semper manet exposita. Pars ista novem in se foveas habet, in quarum aliquâ, si quis fortè pernoctare præsumpserit (quod a temerariis hominibus constat esse probatum) a malignis spiritibus statim arripitur, et nocte totâ tamquam gravibus pœnis cruciatur, tot tantisque et tam ineffabilibus ignis et aquæ variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur. ut manè facto
[10] vix vel minimæ spiritus superstitis reliquiæ misero in | corpore reperiantur. Hæc ut asserunt tormenta si quis semel ex injunctâ pœnitentiâ sustinuerit, et infernales ampliùs pœnas (nisi graviora commiserit) non subibit. Hic autem locus Purgatorium Patricii ab incolis vocatur. De infernalibus namque reproborum pœnis, de verâ post mortem perpetuâque electorum vitâ, vir sanctus cum gente incredulâ dum disputâsset, ut tanta, tam inusitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas rudibus infidelium animis occultâ fide certiùs imprimeretur, efficaci orationum instantiâ magnam et admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duræque cervicis populo perutilem meruit in terris obtinere."[21]

Rumusculi ut plurimùm silvescunt, et in mendaciorum ramos ante diffunduntur, quàm ad ejus perveniant aures, qui ad posteritatem illos transmissurus est: ut cum iis pessimè sæpiùs agatur, qui res scriptis mandandas alienis oculis intuentur. Narrationi huic de Sancti Patricii Purgatorio ad Giraldum in Lageniâ aut Mediâ plerùmque diversantem ab ultimis Ultoniæ finibus delatæ, non modicum incrementum referentium, et audientium sermonibus accessisse hinc liquet, quòd unam et singularem insulam, in binas ille partes diducit, et harum alteram

[21] Top. dist. ii. c. 5.

denounces it as opposed to Catholic faith (of which more in note [d], p. 146); as of uncertain origin, some attributing it to Patrick the Apostle, others to Patrick the Abbot; as self-contradictory, because St. Patrick is represented as promising to show the torments of hell, and the joys of heaven, to those who entered the cave, and yet the knight Owen saw only the purgatory and the terrestial paradise: finally, as resting solely on the authority of writers who lived 700 or 800 years after the supposed origin of the Purgatory. On these grounds, supported by a detailed criticism on other points, the Spanish monk pronounces that the Patrick's Purgatory of Henry of Saltery and Matthew Paris is "a vulgar error." The essay is well worthy of perusal.

two parts, one of which is most beautiful and agreeable, and is often visited by angels, and honored, in a most singular way, by the apparitions of the saints of the place. There is a church of an approved religious order on that part. But the other division is hideous and horrible, and tenanted (they say) exclusively by devils; and whole troops and processions of these evil spirits may be seen almost always infesting it. In this division there are nine pits, and should a person venture to spend a night in any of them (as some rash men know to their cost), he is instantly laid hold on by the evil spirits, and tortured the whole night long with such dreadful pains, so innumerable and indescribable torments of fire and of water, and of all kinds, that when morning dawns scarcely a single breath of life remains in his wretched body. Any person, they say, once enduring these torments, by the injunction of his confessor, will never suffer the torments of the damned, if he do not relapse into more grievous sins. The natives call the place St. Patrick's Purgatory. For the holy man, after having discoursed much on the infernal pains of the reprobate, and the true and everlasting life of the elect after death, obtained here on earth, by fervent and repeated prayer, a great and admirable knowledge of these two states, which enabled him to imprint more deeply on the rude minds of the infidels a faith in so important, extraordinary, and mysterious truths, and that knowledge was most useful to a stiff-necked people."

Popular reports vegetate rankly, and often branch out into sturdy lies, before they come to the ear of him who transmits them to posterity; and hence the writers, who see through the eyes of others the things they write in their books, are generally in a most deplorable position. The history of St. Patrick's Purgatory travelled from the farthest corner of Ulster, and found Giraldus in Meath or Leinster, where he generally lived. It could not suffer by the carriage. That it was embellished on its way by sundry additions of the audience and retailers is evident from the fact that he bisects that one individual island[a], and falsely assigns

See the Author's opinion on the origin of the story, note [g], p. 750, *infrà*. Mr. Wright's essay, without Feijoo, is the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out; but it gives a good idea of the extraordinary fame of the remote island of Lough Derg, in the literature of mediæval Europe. Feijoo was a judicious critic, but yet never believed it happier to disbelieve the truth than to believe what was not true.

[a] Lough Derg is studded with islands; but there is no trace, either in fact or fable,

dæmoniis, alteram angelis se videndos utrobique præbentibus, insessas esse falsò asserat. Seriem rei Giraldus narrantem, vel segniùs advertit, vel malè percepit: rem profectò ipsam præposterè scripsit: "tantùm enim inclusis ejusmodi spectra obversantur, in cæteris insulæ partibus neutiquam visuntur." Si rei veritatem lectione magìs comperire quàm auditione mallet, eam ex Henrico Salteriensi liquidè haurire potuit, qui Purgatorii hujus peregrinationem anno post Christum natum 1152 ab Oweno milite obitam, per ea etiam tempora luculenter scripsit: "S. Patricium," inquit, "Dominus Jesus Christus, ei visibiliter apparens, in locum desertum adduxit, et unam fossam rotundam intrinsecùs obscuram ibidem ei ostendit:"[22] hic unum "locum," Giraldus, "insulam

[22] Matth. Paris ad eumdum ann.

of this bipartite island of Giraldus. The two principal islands in the lake are Saints' Island (St. Dabeoc's or St. Fintan's) and Station Island; the former near and once connected with the shore by a wooden bridge, the latter about a mile from the shore.—See *Ordnance Map*. On Saints' Island are the ruins of a convent, which, from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, at least (*Lombard's Commentary*, p. 279, and *D. Rothe, Messingham*, p. 95), was tenanted by canons of St. Augustine. Here also was the cave or pit called St. Patrick's Purgatory. But, towards the close of the fifteenth century, the Purgatory was destroyed, by order of the Pope, in 1497 (*Annals of Ulster, apud Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 1238), because "it was the occasion of shameful avarice" (*Bollandists*, March 17, p. 590), and was represented to the Pope as superstitious by a monk who came from Holland, spent a night in the cave, and saw none of the wonderful visions for which the place was said to be remarkable.—*Ibid.* The cause assigned for the destruction of the Purgatory by the author of the Ulster Annals, who executed the Pope's orders, is, that "it was not the purgatory which the Lord had shown to St. Patrick;" which appears to imply that the only error in the matter was one regarding the precise locality. And it appears clearly from David Rothe (*Messingham*, p. 93), who wrote early in the seventeenth century, that Irish opinion was very undecided on that point: "It must be observed that some believe the cave of St. Patrick is unknown, and cannot be seen, or, at least, is not that which pilgrims enter at present, but that it is some paces off, or hidden in the earth. This is an old tradition which I heard from the Rev. John Gaffney (Gamhneus), Abbot of Leathra (Abbeylara), and the Rev. John Furvus Mac Kegan, a priest seventy years old. Others believe that the place is utterly unknown, and never will be discovered before the day of judgment, an opinion which Torny Mulchonry, who was a professional antiquary and very advanced in years, told me he had heard from a Franciscan of eminent piety, Father Owen O'Duffy." None of those authorities, nor Rothe himself, Lombard, or Dr. Lynch, refer to the destruction of the Purgatory in 1497; they also omit the fact that the lessons of the Purgatory, copied from Mat-

one half to angels, and the other to devils, which, he says, often appeared there. He must either have paid no attention to, or misunderstood the train of, his informant's narrative. He describes the thing itself most absurdly: "These spectres are never seen except by persons shut up in the pits; they never appear in other parts of the island." Had he wished to get his information from books, and not from hearsay, he could have had full materials from Henry of Saltery, who wrote, about the year 1152, a clear narrative of a pilgrimage made to that Purgatory, by Owen, a knight, a short time before: "Our Lord Jesus Christ," he says, "appearing to St. Patrick, conducted him to a desert place, and showed to him there one round pit, all dark inside."[b] Here

thew Paris, which were published in the Roman Breviary at Venice in 1522, were expunged, by order of the Pope, in the next edition by the same printer in 1524. But it must be borne in mind that the account of all the circumstances that led to the destruction of the Purgatory by the Pope were not published before 1668 by the Bollandists, six years later than the date of Dr. Lynch's work, and probably were not known to him or any of his predecessors. The notice in the Annals of Ulster merely unsettled the belief regarding the situation of the Purgatory, but did not declare there was no such thing in Ireland. Certain it is, however, that, in the sixteenth century, the place frequented by pilgrims as St. Patrick's Purgatory, was in the island now called Station Island, of which an account will be given in another note. The site of the old Purgatory is marked on Saints' Island.—*Ordnance Map.*

[b] Assuming that Henry of Saltery's account of St. Patrick's Purgatory was correct and well known in Ireland when Giraldus was writing, Dr. Lynch reasons well; but there is no authority for St. Patrick's visit to Lough Derg, though his biographers mark with great diligence his travels and the churches founded by him. Lough Derg is not classed among the wonders of Ireland by the Irish Nennius, nor is it marked in that singular piece of topography cited in Hardiman's Minstrelsy, vol. ii. p. 381; and yet, had it been a place of ancient celebrity, it could hardly have been omitted. Even in Saltery's time an Irish abbot, whom he interrogated on the subject, said he had never heard of the Purgatory. This latter significant fact is omitted in Messingham, p. 108, but is given in Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 280. If, then, an Irish abbot had been totally ignorant of the existence of this purgatory, Giraldus may be acquitted of malicious intent in not agreeing in all the particulars of Saltery's account. The whole story rests on the authority of an Irish soldier, Owen, who, after serving in the army of King Stephen, returned to his native country, went to confession to the bishop of the place in which Lough Derg is situated, was admitted into the cave of the Purgatory by the monks, and there, not in spirit or ecstasy, or by vision, but corporally, went through purgatory, and saw hell and the terrestial paradise; told his adventures, on his return to England, to Gilbert, a monk of Louth in

[illegible] Purgatorii designat: ille "[illegible]" [illegible] ille nullam manus [illegible] fuisse [illegible] quod "S. Patricius [illegible] ecclesiam [illegible], et B. Patris Augustini canonicos [illegible] [illegible];" ut [illegible] illius loci partem [illegible] religiosis in insulá domicilium figentibus, [illegible]. A veritate igitur longe Giraldus aberrat dicens

[illegible], from whose relation Saltery compiled his account. Saltery, it is true, states, of the two Irish abbots whom he consulted, one declared the soldier's account was true, and even the bishop of the diocese told him "that many perish in that Purgatory, and even those who return pine away because of the great torments they suffered." This proves that, when Saltery was writing, the cave was known as a place of penance; but as an Irish abbot was ignorant of its [illegible]; as the canons of St. Augustine, to whom the cave was intrusted, were not established in Ireland before the twelfth century (Lanigan, vol. iv. p. [illegible]), and as the authors of the day could not agree whether it was Patrick the Apostle or Patrick the Abbot, in the eighth century, who had discovered the Purgatory (Camden, [illegible]), it is not rash to conclude that [illegible] [illegible]

[a] The accounts regarding the form of the cave, prior to the sixteenth century, do not agree in details. According to an old English metrical version, it was closed "with a dore bowden [bound] with iron and stele, and lokke and key made thereto that no man should the dore undo." Froissart's pilgrims descended down as into a cellar; the Dutch monk was let down into a very deep pit by a rope (*Bollandists*, March 17, p. 590; *Wright's Purgatory*, pp. 66, 139); but, from Lombard's Commentary (p. 277), it appears that though, in his day, the cave (if he speak of the old one) was almost level with the ground, having been filled up at different times by order (tradition said) of bishops and Popes, yet it had formerly been of immense depth. But neither in Henry of Saltery, nor in any subsequent writer, is there any allusion to the nine pits mentioned by Giraldus.

These nine pits were probably the [illegible] of the writers of the sixteenth century and of the present day. [illegible]

one place only and one pit are mentioned; but Giraldus places the Purgatory in an "island divided into two parts," and says that there were nine pits in which penances used to be performed. Henry of Saltery makes no mention of any part of the island being infested with evil spirits, or visited by angels; but he records "that St. Patrick immediately built a church in the same place, and established there the canons of St. Augustine, who observed their apostolical rule;" from which it appears that no part of the island was tenanted by the devils, or abandoned by the monks who had taken up their abode there[c]. How

trick. A few paces to the north of the church is the cave, a narrow building, roofed with stone, which could contain twelve, or, at most, fourteen persons, kneeling two and two. There was one small window, near which those were placed who were bound to read the Breviary. Beyond this cave, and farther to the north of the great church, were seven cells or mansions of some of the most eminent Irish saints. These cells were called penal beds, "pænosi lecti." This account Primate Lombard had from a person who had often visited the island.—*Commentar.*, p. 277. It agrees substantially with Rothe, except that the latter says nine persons were usually admitted to the cave together.—*Messingham*, p. 96. Ware gives its dimensions 16½ feet long, by 2 and one inch wide. The walls were of freestone, the roof of large flags, covered over with green turf.—p. 98. The beds remain, but the cave and the seven cells were destroyed by order of Government. When Lombard wrote, the "English Deputy had not dared to prevent the pilgrimage, or profane the place."—p. 281. But the Protestant colonies, subsequently planted near the lake, diminished the number of pilgrims (*Messingham*, p. 94); and, on the 13th of September, 1632, the Lord Justice, Richard Boyle, the *great* Earl of Cork, "caused the friars to depart from thence, their dwelling quite to be demolished, and the cell to be broken open, in which state it hath lain ever since, whereby that pilgrimage to purgatory is quite come to nothing, and hath never since been undertaken by any."—*Boate's Nat. Hist.*, p. 44. The Bollandists state that, subsequently to the date of Rothe's work, but at what precise time they could not ascertain, the guardianship of the Purgatory had passed from the Augustinians to the Franciscans, under whom, according to the account of a very old Irish lay brother of St. Antony's, Louvain, it maintained its former popularity down to 1632.—*Bollandists*, March 17, p. 591. Boate wrote in Cromwell's time, but his prophecy was not fulfilled. In the second year of Queen Anne, "it was enacted, that whereas the superstitions of popery are greatly increased and upheld by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, in the county of Donegal, and of wells to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers at certain seasons, by which not only the peace of the public is greatly disturbed, &c. &c., be it enacted that all such meetings shall be deemed riots and unlawful assemblies, and all sheriffs, &c. &c., are hereby required to be diligent in putting the laws in force against all offenders." The preamble on the influence of pilgri-

quòd "insulæ pars altera hispida nimis et horribilis solis dæmoniis dicitur esse assignata: quæ et visibilibus cacodæmonum turbis, et pompis ferè semper manet exposita."

Nec in commodo, quod ex hoc Purgatorio inito manat, ennarrando, Salteriensis cum Giraldo convenit. Narrat enim ille Salvatorem S. Patricio se videndum præbuisse, et hæc verba protulisse "quis veraciter pœnitens, verâ fide armatus, fossam eandem ingressus, unius diei, ac noctis moram in eâ faceret, ab omnibus purgaretur totius vitæ suæ peccatis, sed et per illam transiens non solùm visurus esset tormenta malorum, verùm etiam si in fide constanter egisset, gaudia beatorum." A Salteriensi Giraldus in hâc narratione quàm longissimè discrepat, cùm in hoc antro pernoctantes a malo dæmone tormenta perpessuros narret, sed nullâ cœlici prospectûs voluptate perfundi memoret; et præterea dicat: "hæc ut asserunt tormenta, si quis semel ex injunctâ pœnitentiâ sustinuerit, infernales ampliùs pœnas (nisi graviora commiserit) non subibit." Ut innuere videatur, si quis sibi hanc pœnam ultro indixerit, nullum ex illâ emolumentum eum percepturum. Quandoquidem nullus unquam, post homines natos, alienâ solicitatione (imò potiùs omnibus reclamantibus ut mox audies) ad tam inusitatos horrores adeundos animum induxisse legatur, Giraldum non mediocriter disipuisse censeo, quòd viros excipiendis in Hiberniâ confessionibus adhibitos, tam a mente alienos fuisse putavit, ut ulli tam graves pœnas ad quamvis gravissima delicta eluenda irrogarent, nimirum "ut a ma-

mages is a profound truth well worthy the consideration of all who would study the history of Catholics during the last 300 years; but the enactment did not succeed. Lough Derg is visited by 10,000 pilgrims annually at present.

[d] It was on this point that Feijoo denounces Henry of Saltery, or Matthew Paris's account, as contradictory and heretical. Contradictory, because the pilgrim was promised to see both hell and heaven, and yet he saw only purgatory and the terrestial paradise; and this charge is true. Owen does not say he saw heaven; and, in his vision, he merely passed over a terrible bridge, beneath which was the infernal abyss; but he did not see the torments of the damned. The charge of heresy is, that the story supposes a place after death, which is neither heaven, hell, nor purgatory; but a place of rest and happiness, where the souls, coming from purgatory, are detained for a time before their translation to the final abode of the blessed. This, says Feijoo, is an error condemned in the Second Council of Lyons; and subsequently in the same terms by a canon of the Council of Florence (*sess.* 25), which defines that souls are received into heaven immediately after their purgation." Now, in Owen's vision, the tenants

far from the truth then was Gerald's assertion, "that the other division of the island was wild and horrible, and tenanted exclusively by devils, and that whole troops and processions of those evil spirits may be seen almost continually infesting it."

Nor does Giraldus's account of the benefits accruing from a visit to the Purgatory agree with that of Henry. The latter relates that our Saviour appeared to St. Patrick, and addressed him thus: "any person truly penitent, and armed with true faith, entering this pit, and spending one night and day in it, shall be cleansed from all the sins of his whole life, and shall even, as he passes through it, behold not only the torments of the wicked, but also, if he has constantly acted through faith, the joys of the blessed."[d] Giraldus's account is very different from that; for, while he states that persons spending a night in the pit would be tormented by evil spirits, he omits altogether the delightful experience of the joys of heaven. He asserts, moreover, that "any person suffering those torments once, by the injunction of his confessor, will never incur the pains of hell, unless he relapse into more grievous sins;" insinuating, thereby, that if the Purgatory were a self-imposed penance no advantage would be derived from it. Now, as it has never been heard of, from the creation of Adam, that any man was induced by the solicitations of others to subject himself to such dreadful horrors (on the contrary, people generally dissuaded the step, as we shall see), I think it was flagrant folly in Giraldus to suppose that the priests appointed to hear confessions in Ireland could be so mad as to inflict so severe a penance for even the most enormous crimes. "They are laid

of the terrestial paradise inform him that their purgation is over "a pœnis liberi sumus" (*Messingham*, p. 106); but that they were not yet worthy of the supreme bliss of the saints: "Nondum tamen ad supernam sanctorum lætitiam ascendere digni sumus."—(*Ibid.*) Feijoo excuses Henry of Saltery and Matthew Paris on the ground that they lived before the Council of Lyons, an answer which cannot extricate Colgan, who attempts to solve the difficulty by saying that the non-possession of the beatific vision, by the souls in that earthly paradise, was "a punishment." But they are represented as saying "a pœnis liberi sumus;" and, moreover, the idea that Adams' terrestial paradise is a part of purgatory is as strange in theology as Lough Derg's being the gate of paradise is in Irish topography. Dante, after leaving purgatory, was also conducted to the terrestial paradise, before he ascended to heaven, the eternal abode of the blessed. Cantos xxviii. and xxix. of the "Purgatorio" bear a striking similitude, in many points, to chap. ix. of Henry of Saltery.

ignis spiritibus" (verba sunt Giraldi) "statim arripiantur, et nocte *totâ tanquàm gravibus* pœnis crucientur, tantisque, et tam ineffabilibus *ignis et aquæ variique generis* tormentis incessanter affligantur." Nec *enim confessores* illi *nescire* poterant, quòd Salteriensis tradit: "tem*pore S. Patricii, et aliis* postea temporibus multos homines Purgatorium *intravisse, quorum* alii *reversi* sunt, alii in ipso perierunt." Nunquam,
[11] inquam, prudentia illos, religio, | ac ipsa denique ratio adeo defecit, ut Christianos tam aperto pereundi periculo scientes objicerent.

Deinde Giraldus subjungit hujusce Purgatorii peregrinatione functum, alia postea tormenta non perpessurum: "nisi graviora commiserit." Perinde ac si diceret, egressum ex hoc Purgatorio atrocissima quæque flagitia impunè laturum, si atrocitate prioris vitæ scelera tantùm exæquent, non superent. Id est, si parricidii crimine, vel deteriori se, antequàm in antro diversaretur, inquinaverit; et hoc scelus simili deindè, non majori scelere cumulaverit, immunem eum tormentis postea futurum? Quo quid insulsiùs dici potest non video; nisi ab hoc quod sequitur, insulsitate superetur. "A temerariis hominibus," inquit, "nonnunquam constat esse probatum," quantæ pœnæ a pernoctantibus in hoc Purgatorio perferantur. Tantùm autem abest ut quis unquam, ante Giraldi tempora, temerè, ut potiùs summâ deliberatione adhibitâ in hoc se antrum immiserit: "Erat enim consuetudo," inquit Salteriensis, "tam a S. Patricio, quàm ab ejus successoribus constituta, ut Purgatorium illud nullus introeat, nisi ab episcopo, in cujus est episcopatu, licentiam habeat, quem priùs hortetur episcopus a tali proposito desistere: si vero perseveraverit, perceptis episcopi litteris ad locum festinat quas cùm prior loci legerit, mox eidem homini Purgatorium intrare dissuadet; quòd si perseveraverit, introducit eum in ecclesiam,

[a] According to this statement, it would appear that the cave was partially known some time before Owen's visit, though it owed its European celebrity to him. That some persons were lost in it is possible enough, if, as has been seen, it was of enormous depth, and if an adventurer, who descended in it during twenty-four hours, were of delicate health and nerves. But the assertion (Messingham, p. 108) "that some persons never returned from it," if understood to imply that their bodies could not be found, must be classed among the marvellous stories, to which, as the Bollandists complain, the Irish were extravagantly addicted, "nimis poetarum fabulis faciles credere." For an account of a Frenchman from Bretagne, who employed workmen during two summers, at the close of the sixteenth century, to discover the original

hold on," to use Giraldus's words, "by evil spirits, and tortured the whole night long with such dreadful pains, such torments of fire and of water, and of all kinds so innumerable and so indescribable, that, in the morning, scarcely a single breath of life remains in their wretched bodies." Surely these confessors must have known what Henry of Saltery relates: "In the time of St. Patrick, and in succeeding ages, many persons entered the Purgatory, some of whom returned, but others were lost."[e] Confessors must have been void of prudence, religion, and of reason itself, to expose Christians to such imminent danger of death.

According to Giraldus, those who once made a pilgrimage to this Purgatory would never again suffer such torments, unless they fell into more grievous sins, which appears to insinuate that the pilgrim acquired a patent for the commission of the most atrocious crimes, provided they equalled only, but did not surpass in criminalty, the delinquency of his former life. In other words, a parricide or more heinous criminal, coming out of that pit, may repeat the same crimes without any fear of the torments of hell, if he do not fall into more grievous sins. Now that is the acme of absurdity, if it be not exceeded by the following: "Rash men have sometimes had fatal experience of the horrible tortures inflicted on those who spend a night in the Purgatory." Before the days of Giraldus, no man ever entered the pit rashly. On the contrary, they proceeded with the most cautious deliberation. "It was a custom," says Henry of Saltery, "approved by St. Patrick and his successors, that no person should be allowed to enter that Purgatory without the license of the bishop of the diocese; the bishop ordinarily dissuaded him from his project; but, if he persevered, the bishop gave a letter which the postulant carried to the prior of the place; again the prior, after reading the letter, dissuades him from his project; but, if he persevere, he is conducted to the church, where he devotes fifteen

gulf on Saints' Island, see *Wright's Purgatory*, p. 161. But Richardson, who is there cited, does not represent the popular belief of the present day. The pilgrims never dream now "that they are going into another world" when they visit Lough Derg. Lombard mentions none of those visions; and the case mentioned by Rothe (*Messingham*, p. 97), as a popular report, is not a vision of purgatory, but a dream in which the person saw certain earthly events. A parallel case appeared in evidence at an assizes in the County Court, Kilkenny, not twenty years ago.

et in eâ quindecim diebus, jejuniis, et orationibus vacet," etc. Quænam quæso consideratio consultior, aut deliberatio protractior in consilii conditione discernendâ, adhiberi potuit? Quis episcopo loci, in rei tam arduæ consilio, prospectior? aut ipsius insulæ priore peritior esse potuit? Quæ ratio præstantior iniri valuit ad dispiciendum si Deus istam homini mentem immiserit, quàm precationibus ac jejuniis assiduè insistere? ut ipsi Giraldo nota temeritatis inurenda sit, qui homines tam cautè consideratèque negotium aggressos temeritatis arguit. Non veritus est homo temerarius hujus Purgatorii aditionem ab ipso Christo institutam, S. Patricii suasionibus commendatam, plurimis miraculis, plurium scriptorum approbatione, ac multorum sæculorum usu cor-

[f] For the order of penance on the island in the sixteenth century, when it was sometimes visited by 1500 persons at the same time (*Bolland.*, March 17, p. 590), see note[l], *infrà*; but in earlier ages, the admonitions of the prior appear to have succeeded in deterring persons from entering the cave. Feijoo had found only three, namely, Owen, the Spanish knight Raymond de Perilhos, whose history is given by O'Sullivan (*Historiæ Catholicæ*), and the Dutch monk, published by the Bollandists. Mr. Wright (*Purgatory*, p. 135) has added from Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii. part i. p. 174, letters patent of Edward III., A. D. 1358, to two distinguished foreigners,—one a noble Hungarian, the other a Lombard,—that they had performed the pilgrimage. Froissart (*ibid.*, p. 139) gives an account of Sir William Lysle and another knight's visit to the cave, while Richard II. was in Ireland. William Staunton entered it in 1409, and has left a history of his visions, resembling in many points those of Owen and Raymond de Perilhos. The only pilgrimage to Lough Derg, recorded by the Four Masters, is that of a French knight at the year 1516, though they are generally exceedingly minute in their notices of the remarkable events in Tyrconnel. An Irish history of the pilgrims to the Purgatory is cited by P. O'Sullivan Beare, but this work is now unknown to our best Irish scholars. But on the Continent, Cæsarius of Heisterbach, early in the thirteenth century (whom Keating confounds with Cæsarius of Arles), speaks of the Purgatory of Lough Derg as a well-known fact. Three metrical French versions of Saltery's legend were published in the thirteenth century; two English metrical versions, one in the fourteenth, another in the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth century the Purgatory was introduced into an Italian romance, "Guerino detto il meschino," which went through several editions before the year 1500; but Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Shakspeare, has contributed more than all others to give permanent fame in European literature to the "Purgatorio de San Patricio." See *Wright*, pp. 61, 62, 133, 137.

[g] Those who believe that the whole system of religion, in the middle ages, was one stupendous fabric of knavish priestcraft, have no difficulty in explaining how St. Patrick's name became connected with Lough Derg, and what was the real origin of the Purgatory visions. The soldier Owen, they

days to prayer and fasting[f]," &c. &c. What consideration could be more circumspect, or deliberation more slow, than these in deciding on the propriety of the intended penance? What wiser counsellor, in so important a concern, than the bishop of the diocese? Who more experienced than the prior of the place? Or what more efficacious means of ascertaining whether the man's project was an inspiration of heaven, than this persevering application to fasting and prayer? Giraldus's censure recoils on himself. None but a rash man could stigmatize as rash such cautious and circumspect deliberations. He rashly points his sneer against a pilgrimage instituted by Christ himself, strongly recommended by St. Patrick[g], and confirmed by many miracles, the appro-

say, was employed by the monks to circulate the story for the good of the rising monastery, and the delusion was kept up in after ages for the same lucrative purposes. Dr. Lanigan insinuates that the monks of Lough Derg conspired to establish their Purgatory as a rival to that on Croagh Patrick. —Vol. i. p. 370. The Bollandists and Feijoo suppose that St. Patrick, like many other saints, spent some days of retreat in the solitary cave; that his example was followed by the monks, who used the cave as a *duirtheach;* that some had visions; others imagined they had, and others still, according to Feijoo, pretended they had been so favored. St. Patrick, it is true, had probably never visited Lough Derg (which subverts part of the theory of those respectable authorities); but there is no proof that the monks of Lough Derg may not have believed he had visited it, as the people now believe that certain places were visited by Columba or Patrick, of which visits there remains no written record. As to the visions, with the exception of their localization in a particular place, and the statement that they were seen not in spirit, but corporally, they are in accordance with the universal belief of the twelfth century, when Saltery wrote. In the fourth century, St. Augustine relates a story of one of his acquaintances, who, for a time, appeared half dead, and, on recovering, told, among other things, "etiam in paradisum se introductum esse." "De curâ gerendâ pro mortuis."—*Ed. Bened. Antwerp*, tom. vi. p. 383. St. Gregory the Great relates that, during the plague in the city of Rome, A. D. 590, "a soldier fell away in a trance, and saw various regions of the other world", which agree in some very striking points with the visions of Owen.—Lib. iv. *Dialog.*, cap. xxxvii. St. Gregory was preferred to all the Fathers by the Irish Ussher (*Syl.*, p. 31), and perhaps to that circumstance may be attributed, in part, the very great number of visions originally published in Ireland, and thence circulated over the Continent, until, at length, they were immortalized by Dante in his "Divina Commedia." Bede records a vision of St. Fursa. — Lib. ii. cap. 19. Copies of Adamnan's vision are in several of our libraries. Before the vision of Owen, in the twelfth century, there appeared the vision of another Irish soldier, Tundal, a native of Cashel, who saw all the regions beyond the grave, and met several Irish

roboratam hâc sugillatione improbare. Nimirùm ausus est non solùm a plurimis viris prudentiâ, litteris, religione, ac sanctitate præditis: sed etiam ab ipso divino numine dissentire. Quid quòd secum tandem ipse pugnet, periochen istam hâc coronide claudens, et asserens Purgatorii beneficium rem magnam et admirabilem, et populo perutilem esse. Vides ut rem eandem primùm vituperiis, deinde laudibus cumulet. Cujus rei susceptionem nunc temeritatis insimulat, mox ad eandem amplectendam alliciat? Quid multis Giraldum in toto operis decursu, in hâc

kings in purgatory (*Wright*, p. 37); but the voyage of St. Brendan to the other world has the most striking analogy with Owen's vision. "But on the miraculous things," says Giraldus, "that are told of St. Brendan, and which have also been committed to writing; his great labors during his seven years' voyage in the ocean; the various orders of angels whom he met; the miserable but not unmerited fate ('miserrimi, nec miserabilis') of Judas the traitor, bound on that ocean rock, deprived of all light, banished, and in chains; the saint's most entrancing vision of the terrestrial paradise after his long and indefatigable wanderings; finally, his safe return to his friends by the favor of divine grace;—all those may appear incredible, but all things are possible to him that believeth, as the Lord hath done all that he willeth, in the heavens, in the earth, in the sea, and in all the depths. God is wonderful in his saints and in all his works, and the ends of the earth are always signalized by some extraordinary prodigies. Nature preserves her dignity in public, but indulges her freaks more freely in private places. But should any person wish to know all this matter, he can consult the book on the life of St. Brendan." Here we have, in the words of Giraldus (dist. ii. cap. 43), a visit to the other world, not in spirit merely, but corporally, and the entrance was believed to be "in the western part of Ireland."—*Messingham*, p. 91. This intercourse with the other world being thus one of the most popular notions of the twelfth century, the reader can estimate the value of the assertion that all who figure in the history of St. Patrick's Purgatory must have been deliberate impostors. Feijoo adopts the conjecture that Ireland was the *Ogygia* of the ancients, and that in it Ulysses found the entrance to Tartarus, a circumstance which, in his opinion, prepared the public mind to receive the more readily the Christian visions of the other world localized in the same island. Dante seems to point in the same direction (*Divina Commedia, Inferno*, canto xxvi.); but whether the "mountain dim," mentioned there, may have been suggested by Croagh Patrick, let others determine. Jocelyn, who says nothing of Lough Derg, mentions Croagh Patrick as the purgatory shown to our Apostle.—Cap. 172. Indulgences were granted by the Pope, in the sixteenth century, to pilgrims visiting it (*Messingham*, p. 125); and it is still a favorite place of devotion for the west of Ireland. The Bollandists (p. 589) confound Croagh Patrick with the hills between Lough Derg and Lough Erne.

[h] It does not appear clearly that Giral-

bation of several writers, and the usage of centuries[h]. He has dared to dissent not only from many prudent, learned, pious, and holy men, but even from God, and, in the end, from himself, when he winds up his summary with the following panegyric on the Purgatory: "That it was a great—an admirable thing, and most useful to the people." See how he praises what he had dispraised. A moment ago it was rashness to undertake the pilgrimage; now he encourages, by approving it[i]. This is a sort of inconsistency, in which Giraldus is ever consistent through

dus condemns the Purgatory, nor, indeed, that he had any definite notion of the penance performed on the island. He states, it is true, "that rash men have experienced, to their cost, what it was to spend a night in one of the pits; but it is hypercriticism to interpret that assertion as a general condemnation of all who tried the dangerous experiment.

[i] The island, as has been already observed, is still, and probably will continue, as long as Catholicity remains in Ireland, a favorite place of retreat, though the mediæval narratives of miraculous visions of the other world be forgotten. The order of penance, in the sixteenth century, was substantially the same as at the present day. Nine days was the term of the pilgrimage, during which a rigorous fast on the water of the lake and oaten bread was observed. The pilgrim was first conducted, barefooted, to the church of St. Patrick, around which he moved seven times inside, and the same number outside, in the cemetery, repeating some prayers of the Church. The same ceremonies were observed at each of the penal beds, or oratories, of the saints, on the island,—the pilgrim moving on his knees inside the churches. He next prayed around a cross in the cemetery, and another which was fixed in a mound of stones. Thence he proceeded, "over a rough and rocky path," to the border of the lake, a spot on which it was believed St. Patrick had prayed; and there he recited the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, and the Apostles' Creed, which closed the station. This station was repeated three times each day,—morning, noon, and evening,—during the first seven days; on the eighth, the stations were doubled; on the ninth, after confession and communion, and an admonition from the prior, the pilgrims entered the cave, where they remained fasting and in meditation during twenty-four hours; some, however, did not enter the cave, but spent the twenty-four hours of solitude in some of the little churches.—*Messingham*, p. 95. This exceedingly painful penance was regarded then, as it is this day, as a means of obtaining a remission of the temporal punishment which the Catholic Church believes may remain due in the other life, to venial sin,—or to mortal sin after the mortal guilt has been remitted by the sacraments. Neither Rothe, nor Lombard had visited Lough Derg; but, in modern times, it was visited by Dr. Burke, author of the "Hibernia Dominicana," according to whom there was not a more severe penance in the Catholic world:—"Opera exercent pœnitentialia quibus similia fieri non crediderim in quovis alio peregrinationis loco universi orbis," . . . . .

inconstantiâ constantem deprehendes. A sententiâ plerisque communi sæpiùs ille resilit, et quam amplexus est crebrò deserit. Ut quo magis ab aliis sentiendo dissideat, eo majori voluptate perfundi videatur. Cujus rei documenta non pauca posthac dabimus.

Interim quoniam in excutiendâ Giraldi Topographiâ versamur, non erit abs re, si discutiamus rectène an secùs Manniam Hiberniæ ditioni subtraxerit: "Mannia", inquit, "antiquitùs Ewania dicta (ut asserunt) medio libramine inter Boreales Hiberniæ, et Britanniæ partes porrecta est. De quâ utri terrarum applicari de jure debuerat, ab antiquis non mediocriter ambigebatur. Demum tamen in hunc modum lis ista quievit. Quoniam enim advectos periculi causâ venenosos hæc terra vermes admisit; eam Britanniæ applicandam communis omnium censura dictavit." Suspicionem hìc mihi multa movet, ut sentiam hanc disceptationem potiùs in Giraldi cerebro, quàm inter partes tam longè dissitas enatam fuisse. Quâ de causâ moventium aut decernentium hanc litem nomina reticuit? Cur decisionis tempus signatè non apposuit? Jure merito miratus est Seldenus cur Mannia Britanniæ potiùs adjudicaretur quàm Norwegiæ, Hispaniæ, aut Galliæ, ubi perinde ac in Britanniâ

[23] Top dist. ii. c. 5.

"non quæ audivi sed quæ vidi refero, mihi enim feliciter contigit insulam ipsam S. Patricii, habitatione et miraculis consecratam, præclarumque austeritatis primorum ecclesiæ sæculorum præbentem exemplar invisere, anno 1748."—*Hib. Dom.*, p. 4, n. b. So highly did Benedict XIII. approve the penitential austerities of Lough Derg that he preached a sermon on the subject, while he was yet Cardinal, which was printed.—*Ibid.* And, indeed, well might Dr. Burke exclaim that it was a most rigid penance, for,—exclusive of preparation for confession, attendance at mass, sermon, fasting, vigils, morning and night prayer,—the pilgrim repeats each day the Lord's Prayer and Angelical Salutation nearly 300 times, and the Apostles' Creed about 100 times, together with the entire Rosary three times. Mr. Wright refers to Carleton's "Lough Derg" as an authority for the modern rites of the pilgrimage; but, even in its expurgated edition (Dublin, 1843), that fiction must be regarded merely as a record of the author's *impressions*, and a broad caricature of the undoubted austerities to which pilgrims — whether to Rome, Jerusalem, St. James's of Compostella, or Lough Derg —have voluntarily subjected themselves. In Dr. Burke's time, the pilgrims kept vigil in the chapel, called "the prison," during twenty-four hours; but at present it is kept on the first night of the station, which may be three, six, or nine days. As in pilgrimages to other places, a prayer is repeated when the lake comes in view, and a popular hymn, "Fare thee well Lough Derg," is sung when the boat pushes from the island. As to the *stations* around the penal beds, where little churches formerly

the course of his work. He loves to differ from the common opinion, and often abandons his own, and is never more happy than when most opposed to the opinions of others. Abundant evidence of this fact shall appear in the sequel.

The Topography of Giraldus being under discussion, it will not be irrelevant to inquire whether he was justified in depriving Ireland of the dominion of the Isle of Man: " Man[k], anciently called Emania (they say) stretches midway between the northern parts of Ireland and of Britain. It was formerly a matter of great dispute to which of the two it belonged. The controversy was at length decided in the following manner. Venomous reptiles were brought there on trial; they lived, and of course the island was unanimously adjudged to Britain." I suspect, for many reasons, that this controversy originated in Gerald's brain, rather than from parties so widely separated. Why conceal the names of those who raised and decided the controversy? Why not mark the date of the adjudication? Selden had good grounds for exclaiming, in astonishment, why Man should be adjudged to Britain, rather than to Norway, or Spain, or Gaul, in which poisonous reptiles are undoubtedly found?

stood, the reader will find much interesting information regarding analogous institutions in the Bollandists (March 12, p. 150), namely, stations established by St. Gregory in the basilicas and cemeteries of Rome, which were frequented in Lent, Advent, "Quatuor tense," Rogation days, and the four great festivals of our Lord: also, in *Martene de Ritibus Antiquis* (tom. iv. pp. 512, 516), where he publishes, from the archives of Lyons, Strasburg, Milan, Vienne, &c. &c., rituals more than 900 years old, giving the offices celebrated at each station. At Lough Derg, the station continues from June 1 to Aug. 15. From the middle of July to the close, the average number on the island, each day, is 1200 or 1400. The boatman pays the landlord of the place £200 or £300 a year, which is levied off the pilgrims.

[k] Man, in Irish Manann.—*Tighernach Annal.*, 581, 582; *Ulster Annal.*, *ibid.*; *Irish Nennius*, p. 28. Also, Ebon Mania, and Ebonia, Abonia (the Ewania of Giraldus).—*Ibid.*, p. 29. There were several places in Ireland called "Manann" (*Book of Rights*, p. 8), whence we may infer that the derivation given by Dr. O'Conor (*Rerum. Hib. Script.*, vol. iv. p. 145) is fanciful: *Man in*, he says, is "the little," as *Er in* is "the west island." By Cæsar the island is called "Mona;" by Pliny, "Monapia;" by Orosius, "Menavia," and, in some copies, "Mevania;" by Ptolemy, "Monaoida," "Monaeda;" and by the Welsh, "Menaw." Colgan prefers Mevania, as most conformable to the Irish form, eamhain, or eabhoin, in which the "mh" and "bh" are pronounced as "v," thus giving "Evain," in Latin "Evania," and, by the prefix "M," "Mevania," as it is found in Bede and Orosius.—*Acta Sanct.*, p. 60, n. 4.

venenosa animalia nutriri nemo dubitat[24]? Nec enim solo ab Hibernis insesso ea erat indoles a naturâ semper insita, ut venenatorum animalium expers esse debuerit. Imò Hebrides, et Scotia dudum ab Hibernis incoluntur; nec tamen diuturnus eorum in iis locis incolatus venenata
[12] animalia | abegit. Itaque rationi absonum est, ut indicio tam parum explorato lis tam ambigua dirimeretur. Nemo credet bellicosas gentes potiùs judicio quàm armis juri suo utrimque cessisse. Cùm Hiberni non modicam Britanniæ partem, Scotiam scilicet hodiernam, Britannis per vim eâ tempestate eripuerint, quis credet illos finitimam insulam ei

[24] Mare Clausum, lib. ii. c. 30.

[l] From Martin's West Isles (*passim*) it is plain that the Hebrides were Irish islands. The Irish was spoken in the isles of Erisca, Lewis, Rona, Arran, Kilda, &c. Manuscripts, in the Irish language and character, copies of Vicenna, Averroes, Joannes de Vigo, Bennardus Gardonus, and several volumes of Hypocrates, were found there. On the island of Rona was a chapel dedicated to the Irish St. Ronan. The names of churches on Lewis Isles, and the saints to whom they are dedicated, were Irish and Roman: SS. Columba, Flannan, Lennen, Brigid, Kiavan, Peter, Michael, Kilda, Moluag, Ultan, Bannan, Donnan, Barr, &c. &c. The chief authority was anciently called, in *Irish*, "Thiarna;" the dress worn by persons of distinction was the *leni-croich*, from the Irish word "leni," a shirt; and "croich," saffron.—p. 206. The traditions regarding "Fin mac Coul" were, that he was a general who came from Spain to Ireland, and thence to those islands.—p. 152. See *Dr. O'Conor's Rerum. Hib. Scrip.*, vol. i. proleg p. cxxvii. Dr. Lynch discusses fully the colonization of Scotland from Ireland. —Chaps. 17, 18.

[m] This reasoning of Dr. Lynch is solid against Cambrensis, who discusses, at great length, the exemption of Ireland from venomous animals, but does not state that they could not exist in the same country with Irishmen. "Of the various kinds of reptiles there are none but harmless ones in Ireland; it is free from all poisonous animals, from serpents and snakes, from toads and frogs, from tortoises and scorpions, and from dragons. It has spiders, leeches, and lizards; but they are harmless. Hence it may be said, with as much truth as elegance, that, in France and Italy, frogs are garrulous and clamorous; in Britain, mute; but, in Ireland, not at all." He rejects the opinion that it was St. Patrick had banished the reptiles, because historians, before the birth of St. Patrick, had asserted Ireland's exemption from them: "I am not astonished that there should be some natural property in the earth destructive to the reptiles, as there is in other lands to certain birds or fishes; but what astounds me beyond measure is, that this island is destructive to poisonous animals if introduced from other countries. In the old writings on the saints of this land, we read that serpents were sometimes brought, for experiment's sake, in brazen pots, but, as soon as the ship had reached the middle of the Irish sea, the animals were found to be dead. Bede, speaking of Ireland, has the follow-

Moreover, lands, though once occupied by the Irish, did not acquire a perpetual exemption from venomous animals. Nay, the Hebrides[l] and Scotland were colonized by Irish several centuries ago; and yet that long possession has not banished all venomous animals from these countries[m]. To decide so doubtful a controversy by so fallacious a test, would have been, therefore, palpably absurd. Do you think warlike nations would have submitted their rights to such arbitration, and not appealed to the sword?—or, can any man believe that the Irish, who wrested from the Britons, by force of arms, a large tract of Britain, namely, modern Scotland, would have contentedly and heedlessly resigned an island

ing remarks on this subject: 'No reptile is seen, nor can a serpent live there. For serpents were often sent over from Britain, but when the ship neared the shore, and the air of Ireland breathed on them, they perished. Nay, almost everything brought from that island is an antidote against poison.'" Giraldus then adduces other examples, "whence," he says, "it is manifest, that, either from the merits of the Scots (which is the common opinion through the world), or from some strange and unprecedented, but most benignant, quality of the climate, or some hidden virtue of the soil, no poisonous animal can live there; and all poisons introduced from other countries completely lose their malignant power. So destructive of all poisons is this land, that, if some of its soil be scattered in ponds, or other places, in foreign countries, it will banish far away all venomous reptiles. Leather, also, not adulterated, but made from the hides of animals grown in this land, is commonly used as a remedy against the bite of serpents and toads; the parings of the leather are drunk in water. I saw, with my own eyes, leather of this kind drawn in a close and narrow circle around a toad, for experiment's sake, but when the reptile came and endeavoured to creep over it, he fell back the moment his head touched it; then rushing to the opposite side, and meeting the leather on all points, he shunned it like the plague, and suddenly finding in the centre of the circle some muddy earth, he tore it up with his feet in presence of a great crowd of persons, and disappeared." He then cites Bede, who states that he saw the swellings caused by poison instantly allayed by administering to the sufferer a draught of water mingled with the parings of Irish books; and another notable story of a boy, in his own times, who swallowed a snake, and could not be cured until he came to Ireland.—Dist. i. cap. 23. Such being the general opinion from Bede's time, a story of the settlement of the rival claims to Man, described by Giraldus, does not appear improbable. In dist. i. cap. 24, he says that a frog was found near Waterford, and carried alive into the castle before Robert Power, the governor, to the amazement of English and Irish. "O!" said Donald, King of Ossory, a prudent man in his own nation, shaking his head most significantly, and heaving a sigh of bitter grief, "bad are the rumors that this reptile brings to Ireland." He looked upon the foreign reptile as a certain sign of the coming of the English, and the subjugation of his native land.

genti ultro per segnitiem collaturos, quibus agros longè positos armis extorserunt?

Quòd si ad tribunalia judicum hæc causa trahenda foret, plures, et præstantiores rationes Hibernis suppetebant, cur secundum ipsos sententia proferretur: ipsos nimirum primos Manniæ dominos fuisse Ptolomæus sub annum Domini 140 superstes apertè testatur, dum in suis tabulis geographicis Hebrides et Manniam Hiberniæ adscribit. Tigernachus quoque testis est Cormacum Hiberniæ regem anno Domini 266 mortuum Ulfhadi agnomen inde adeptum, quòd Ultonienses procul abegerit et in Manniam insulam se recipere coegerit, ut Manniam ad jus Ultoniensium spectâsse non ambigent, cùm in eam, tanquam in asylum Ultonienses confluxerint. Eandem præterea rem asserunt Æthicus et Orosius: illius verba sunt: "Menavia insula, æquè ac Hibernia, a Scotorum gentibus habitatur[25]." Hic iisdem prorsus verbis usus in Æthici sententiam pedibus (ut aiunt) ivit. Hic post, ille ante annum Domini quadringentesimum superstes. "Aliqui," inquit, "Humfredius

[25] Cosmog. lib. i. c. 5.

[n] There may have been a contest, in very remote ages, between the Scots and Britons, for the dominion of the Isle of Man, if we can believe O'Flaherty and Keating that the Hebrides, and other isles adjacent to Britain, were occupied, A. D. 60, by Picts or Britons. — *Ogygia*, pars iii. cap. 45. When Giraldus was writing, the Manxmen aided John de Courcy, who was married to Africa, daughter to Godred, King of Man. In his descent on Ulster, A. D. 1205, Ronald, successor of Godred, accompanied him with 100 ships. But, in 1210, King John detached a portion of his army to Man, under the command of Fulcho, who pillaged the country during sixteen days, exacted hostages, and returned home.—*Chronicon Manniæ, Johnstone*, p. 24. The political relations of the day may have suggested to Giraldus the invention of the story regarding the adjudication of Man to Britain, in order to compel Man, as well as Ireland, to bow to the supremacy of British dominion.

[o] "To the north of Ireland lie (ὑπερκεινται) five islands: 1. Ebuda, western (Lewis); 2. Ebuda, eastern (Skie); 3. Rhicina (Rathlin); 4. Maleos (Mull); 5. Epidion (Ila). On the eastern coast of Ireland are those islands: 1. Manaoida (Man); 2. Mona (Anglesey); 3. Edri; and 4. Limni: the two last are desert." Johnstone translates ὑπερκεινται "subjacent;" but incorrectly.—(p. 127). Dr. Lynch's inference, however, is solid, inasmuch as Ptolemy mentions those islands in that chapter which treats of Ireland.—*O'Conor, Prolegom.*, p. xliv. It is singular that he classes Anglesey among Irish islands; and if it did not arise from his ignorance of the proximity of that island to Britain, it proves the close connexion between the great stronghold of British druidism, and Ireland, the "insula sacra," of the ancients. The modern names of the islands are taken from

so near Ireland, to that very nation whose distant provinces they had subdued[n]?

Were that cause to be brought before a bench of judges, the arguments which the Irish could produce, why sentence should be pronounced in their favor, would be the more numerous and conclusive. Ptolemy, who flourished about the year of our Lord 140, deposes[o] that they were the original masters of Man, for he marks, on his map, both Man and the Hebrides as appendages of Ireland. Tighearnach also testifies, that Cormac, King of Ireland, who died in the year 266, acquired his surname, Ulfada, from his having expelled the Ultonians, and compelled them to take refuge in Man[p], which would be no asylum for them if Man were not unquestionably under the dominion of Ulster[q]. Æthicus and Orosius record the same fact: "The Isle of Man," the former says, "as well as Ireland, is peopled by the Scots[r]." Orosius records the same statement of Æthicus, in the very same words[s]. The former flourished before, the latter after, the year 400. Humphry Lhuydd

Camden. Ware (*Antiq.*, chap. 6) surrenders all of them to Britain. An Irish geographer, in the commencement of the ninth century, has the following passage, which the French editor enthusiastically praises as "infiniment intéressant:" "Circum nostram insulam Hiberniam sunt insulæ, sed aliæ parvæ, atque aliæ minimæ. Juxta insulam Britannicam multæ, aliæ magnæ, aliæ parvæ, aliæque mediæ. Sunt aliæ in australi mari, et aliæ in occidentali. In aliquibus istarum habitavi, alias tantùm vidi, et alias legi."—Chap. vii. § 11, pp. 37, 129. *Dichuil* "*De Mensurâ Orbis Terræ*," Paris, 1814.

[p] Tighearnach records this event at the year 254: "Expulsion of the Ultonians from Ireland into Man by Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles. But Cormac was called Ulfada, because he drove the Ultonians far away."—"Indarba Ullad a hErind a Manand la Cormac hUa Cuind. ar de ba Cormac Ulfada dia ro cuir Ulta a fad."—*O'Conor.*

[q] But the question arises whether those Ultonians, who were expelled to Man, may not have been Irish Picts, not Scots; and, if the former, it would not follow that Man was an Irish island, because the Picts might naturally seek a refuge among a kindred tribe. In the very learned "Additional Notes" to the Irish Nennius (pp. xliii. xlvii.), the opinion is adopted that the Ultonians expelled by Cormac were Irish Crutheni or Picts; but who those Irish Picts were is not yet clearly ascertained.

[r] Æthicus, it is believed, lived in the third century of the Christian era. — *O'Conor, Prolegom.*, p. 63.

[s] Hibernia: "Britanniæ spatio terrarum angustior, sed cœli, solique temperie magis utilis a Scotorum gentibus colitur. Hinc etiam Mevania insula proxima est et ipsa spatio non parva, solo commoda, æquè a Scotorum gentibus habitatur."—*O'Conor, Prolegom.*, p. 75.

Lhuyddus, Manniam insulam Euboniam Latinè vocant, hinc videtur originem traxisse, quòd ab eâdem natione nempe Iuvernicâ, quâ et Euboniæ (quas Hebrides aliqui dicunt) incoletur[26]," qui ibidem alibi addit, "Manniæ incolas linguâ Scoticâ sive Iuvernicâ quæ eadem est, uti." Adjicitque Camdenus: "Sub Honorio et Arcadio Augg. a Scotorum gentibus (ut est apud Orosium) æquè ac Hibernia ipsa Mannia culta fuit; et Builæ alias Buile Scotum quemdam hanc tenuisse scribit Ninnius[27]." Et Seldenus non "Hibernia solùm," inquit, "sed etiam Mannia, inclinante Romanorum Imperio, insulæque Occidui maris cæteræ et Britanniæ magna pars septentrionalior a Scotis tenebatur[28]." Deinde subjungit, "Scoti pro Hibernis apud veteres non rarò sumuntur."

Britannorum incunabula Camdenus a Gallis accersit pluribus de causis, ac præsertim quòd morum similitudo, et linguæ communio illi genti cum hâc intercessit: ita ut in linguæ communione, maximum suæ disputationis firmamentum, et certissimum originis argumentum collocare se dicat: "Qui enim, inquit, linguæ societate conjuncti sunt, originis etiam communione fuisse conjunctos homo opinor nemo inficiabatur. Quòd si omnes omnium historiæ intercidissent, et nemo litteris prodidisset nos Anglos e Germanis genui, nos Scotos ex Hibernis, Britones Armoricanos a nostris Britannis prognatos esse: ipsarum linguarum communitas hoc facilè evinceret: imò faciliùs quàm gravissimorum auctoritas[29]." Itaque cum reapse et Camdeno præter alios attestante, "Manniæ, incolæ et linguâ et moribus ad Hibernicos proximè accedant[30]," nemo illos ab Hibernis oriundos esse inficias ibit.

[26] Pag. 839. [27] In Epis. de Monâ insulâ. ad calcem. Defen. Brittan Prisii. [28] Mare Clausum, lib. ii. c. 8; ibid. c. 16. [29] Pag. 12. [30] Pag. 838.

[t] Camden believed that Man was anciently held by the Britons; "but when the nations from the North, like violent tempests, overflowed those south parts, it became subject to the Scots." Then follows the passage in the text, after which he proceeds: "But, as the same writer recordeth, the Scots were driven out of all the British countries and islands by Cuneda, grandfather of Maglocunus, whom Gildas (for the foul work he made in those islands) termed the dragon of the isles."—*Holland's Translation*, 1637, p. 204. The troop under the command of Buile, who seized upon Man, are called in the Irish Nennius (p. 49) "Firbolgs."

[u] The argument derives greater force from the fact, that Man was, during many centuries, subject to the Northmen. In 1056, Godred Cronan, after subduing the island, allotted the northern portion to the natives, and the southern to his own followers.—*Chronicon Manniæ*. Previously to that period there are several notices in the Irish

writes: "Some persons call the Isle of Man in Latin 'Eubonia,' probably because it was peopled by that same Irish race which peopled Euboniæ, or, as some call them, 'the Hebrides.'" In another place he adds, "that the inhabitants of Man spoke the Scotic or Irish, which were one and the same." Camden too writes: "That in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, Man, as well as Ireland, was" (as Orosius declares) "occupied by tribes of the Scots, and that a Scot, named Builæ or Buile, had possession of it, as we learn from Nennius[t]." Selden also says, "that not Ireland alone, but Man, and the other isles of the Western Ocean, and a large portion of the North of Britain, were, at the fall of the Roman Empire, held by the Scots." "Scoti," he adds, "was a name often given to the Irish by the ancients."

Among the many arguments by which Camden proves the Britons were descended from the Gauls, the principal are a similarity of customs and identity of the language spoken by both nations. The identity of language he regards as "the chief support of his position, and the most certain evidence of descent." "No person, I think, can deny," he says, "that nations which use the same language must have been from the same stock. Though all the histories of all nations had perished, and no man had ever stated in a book that we English sprung from the Germans, the Scotch from the Irish, and the Britons of Armorica from our Britons, yet the bond of a common language would clearly establish it, yes, more clearly than the testimony of the most unexceptionable writers." Now, as Camden himself declares that the language and customs of the inhabitants of Man bear a close resemblance to the Irish, it cannot be denied that the Manks are descended from the Irish[u].

Annals of descents of Northmen from Man on the Irish shores. In 1266 the kingdom of Man and the Isles was sold to Alexander, King of Scotland, by the King of Norway. The Manxmen resisted the transfer, but were defeated by Alexander in 1275.—*Chronicon Manniæ*. As many of the Scotch probably spoke the Erse, the conquest would not have any considerable influence in eradicating the old language. Its identity with the Irish is universally admitted. For proofs consult *O'Donovan's Irish Gram.*, p. lxxx. The bishop of the place described some of the national customs for Camden: "Controversies are decided without writing or charges, by men whom they choose from among themselves, and call deemsters. For the magistrate taketh up a stone, and when he hath given it his mark, delivereth it unto the plaintiff, who, by virtue thereof, citeth his adversary and witnesses. If there fall out any doubtful case, and of greater importance, it is referred to twelve men, whom they term the keyes of the island. The

In situ quoque, ad nationum originem dignoscendam, multum esse momenti Camdenus memorat: "Ratio enim," inquit, "dictat unamquamque regionem primos incolas potiùs e vicinis quàm e disjunctissimis locis accepisse[31]." Cùm autem Cæsar dicat "in medio" inter Britanniam "cursu esse insulam quæ vocatur Mona[32]," et Cambrensis scribat eam medio libramine inter Boreales Hiberniæ et Britanniæ partes porrectam esse[33], par est ut credamus eam æquè saltem Hibernis ac Britannis excipiendis opportunam esse: ut iam situs non impediat, quominùs ex ejusdem linguæ et morum communione Hiberni primas in incolendâ Manniâ retulerint.

Quòd autem Jocelinus "Euboniam, seu Manniam tunc Britanniæ subjectam fuisse[34]," cùm eam fidei luce S. Patricius illustraret, a veritate multùm dissona loqui videtur. Rationi enim absonum est, ut Hiberni bellum cum Britannis in ipsâ Britanniâ tum gerentes, in citeriori insulâ hostes quietem capere, et sibi quasi præ foribus insidiari paterentur; et Britanni de insulâ remotiori sibi comparandâ ineptè laborarent, hoste intra suos fines omnia bello miscente, finiumque non modicam partem ferro sibi vendicante. Nonnulla documenta exhiberi possunt, quæ fidem et memoriam in Jocelino desiderari moneant[35]. Hibernos ab Anglis, riti-
[13] bus Ecclesiasticis excultos | fuisse falsò ille narravit. In quâ re acerrimum habet adversarium, Petrum Lombardum Archiepiscopum Ardmachanum[36]. Ad veritatis in hâc re fontem nos infrà digitum intendemus.

[31] Pag. 9. [32] Bello Gallic. lib. 5. [33] Top. d. ii. c. 15. [34] Vita S. Patric. c. 29. [35] Cap. 175. [36] Commen. de Hib. c. xii. p. 314.

women, whithersoever they go out of their doors, gird themselves about (as mindful of their mortality) with the winding-sheet that they purpose to be buried in. Such of them as by law are condemned to die are sewed within a sack, and flung from a rock into the sea." He states there were no beggars in the land; that the people were most anxious for the reformed religion, though tradition still points the spot where the last bloody battle was fought in defence of the old creed: finally, that "whereas the whole island is divided into south and north, this in common speech resembleth the Scottish, the other the Irish."—*Camden, Holland's Trans.*, p. 205. Kelly and Moore are very common names in Man at present.

[v] "In medio inter ambas insula est, quæ olim Monoeda appellatur, nunc autem Manavia."—*Richardi Monachi de Situ Britanniæ; Johnstone's Chronicon. Manniæ*, p. 114.

[w] The point on which Lombard criticises Jocelin was the interpretation of a vision attributed to St. Patrick. An angel, it was said, revealed to our apostle the four future states of Ireland: first, the whole island is a flame, and the flame reaching to heaven; second, mountains of flame in all quarters of the island; third, the fires dwindled down

The geographical position of a country, also, is of great moment in deciding on the origin of its inhabitants. "It is more reasonable to suppose," says Camden, "that a country would be peopled from neighbouring than from very remote places." Now since Cæsar writes "that there is an island called Mona, lying off the central part of Britain," and Cambrensis describes it as "stretching midway between the northern parts of Ireland and of Britain," the position of the country is as favorable to colonization from Ireland as from Britain[v], and diminishes in no degree the force of the arguments founded on the similarity of the language and customs of Man to those of Ireland.

Jocelin, it is true, declares that when St. Patrick dispensed the light of faith to Man, "Eubonia, or Mannia, was then subject to Britain." But that statement appears palpably contrary to fact. It is repugnant to common sense that the Irish, who at that time carried the war against the Britons into the heart of Britain, would leave the enemy in quiet possession of an island so well adapted, from its position, for a descent on the Irish shores. And could the Britons be such fools as to endeavour to hold a distant island, while the desolating sword of the enemy was within their territories, and dismembering large portions of their dominions? Jocelin's authority and honesty are not beyond suspicion on this matter. There are cogent reasons for distrusting him. He had asserted falsely that the Irish were instructed by the English in ecclesiastical rites, an assumption for which he has been chastised severely by Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh[w].

into lamps, and by degrees into mere twinklings; and finally, smouldering, but still living embers. At this stage, Patrick wept; but suddenly a light springs from Ulidia, spreads over the island, and brings back the splendor of the primitive days. Jocelin interprets the days of darkness as those of Turgesius, and the tyranny of the Danes; the returning light as the labors of St. Malachy; and the crowning glory as the coming of the English. But Lombard objects to this interpretation, on the ground that the English, as he had already proved, so far from developing religion and civilization in the country, had, on the contrary, increased the miseries of the native Irish, fomented their discord, denied them the use of arms and the establishment of universities, finally persecuted, in his own day, the religion of St. Malachy. Dr. Lynch, though a descendant of the Anglo-Norman invaders, had all the feelings of the old Irish; and he maintains, in another place, that Henry II., a murderer, blasphemer, adulterer, and sacrilegious tyrant, could not feel a sincere interest in promoting the spiritual happiness of Ireland. Hence his severity on Jocelin.

Illi solemne nimirum est ad gloriolam patriæ suæ aucupandam, levissimâ quâque occasione arreptâ, flectere. Illâ de causâ in hoc capite XXIX. putatur narrationem instituisse a nullo alio vitæ Patricii scriptore memoratam. Inter quas ille quoque solus multa ab illis prætermissa scriptis tradit, ut aliqua nunc in dubium revocentur, quòd solâ illius authoritate tanquam debili fulcro nitantur. Hujusmodi conditionis sunt cap. LXIX., LXX., LXXI. Vocat ille cap. LXIX. Dubliniam pagum exiguum: et cap. LXXI., urbem nobilem[37]. Vocis originem a virgine Dubliniâ, non a voce Hibernicâ Dubh-linn (quæ nigrum alveum significat) adducit. Cap. CLXXV., Gurmundum et Turgesium reges Hiberniæ per errorem facit. Quæ dumtaxat eò spectant, ut Jocelino Monam sive Manniam Hiberniæ adimenti et Britanniæ, nullo alio scriptore adducto, addicenti, fides non habeatur.

Nec ab illo multùm facit quòd "Buadanus rex Ultoniæ," anno Christi nati 580 mortuus, "exteros e Manniâ expulerit, et ab illo tempore Mannia sit in possessione Ultoniensium[38]." Vox enim "Gall" in Hibernicis O'Duvegani verbis posita, Anglum, Saxonem, Danum, aut alium quemvis peregrinum, non Britannum denotabat. Cùm autem Dani nullum impetum in Hiberniam ante annum Domini 812 fecisse legantur, "quo classis Danorum Hiberniam agressa a Scotis prælio

[37] Trias Thaum., p. 111. [38] O'Dubegan. p. 64.

[x] The contradiction is manifest. In chap. LXIX. Jocelyn describes St. Patrick as coming to a hill, within a mile distant from Dublin (Athcliath), and predicting that "this small village (exiguus pagus) will be one day most distinguished;" but, in chap. LXXI. this "village" was, in the days of St. Patrick, "the noble city of Dublin," under the sway of the Norwegians and the Lords of the Isles, and sometimes obedient, but sometimes rebellious, to the sceptre of the Irish monarchs. But did Jocelin invent the story? There is no evidence in Irish Annals, it is true, for the settlement or descent of Northmen on Ireland before the year 794 (795); but there are some good reasons for believing that St. Patrick's blessing of Dublin was a current tradition many years before Jocelin came to Ireland. —*Book of Rights*, pp. 227, 231.

[y] See *Book of Rights*, p. 227; *Colgan, Trias Thaum.*, p. 111.

[z] The terms used by Jocelin are: "Gurmundus ac postea Turgesius Norvagienses Principes Pagani, in Hiberniâ debellatâ *regnabant*," which imply nothing more than the right of the sword. Turgesius held under his sway a larger portion of Ireland than many English kings who were styled Lords of Ireland.

[a] The authority to which Dr. Lynch refers here is not accessible. The Irish Annals record the death of Baedan Mac Cairill, King of Ulster, and a naval expedition at the same year, 580 (*Ann. Ult.; O'Conor*); but it does not appear that he took part or

The means for arriving at an accurate conclusion on that point shall be pointed out in the sequel. But Jocelin embraced every opportunity of exalting the glory of his own nation, and therefore national vanity is supposed to have been the sole motive of his narrative, in that twenty-ninth chapter, of an event not recorded in any other Life of St. Patrick. He often records other events not mentioned by any biographer of St. Patrick, and hence his authority is at the present day of slight weight on some points. The chapters LXIX., LXX., and LXXI., are of that character. Thus, in chap. LXIX., he calls Dublin a little village; and in chap. LXXI., a noble city[x]. The name he derives from the virgin Dublinia, and not from the Irish word Dubh-linn, signifying the black pool[y]. In chap. CLXXV., he erroneously makes Gurmund and Turgesius Kings of Ireland[z]. These examples prove that Jocelin's assertion is not entitled to credit, when, without the authority of any other writer, he asserts that Man or Mona formerly belonged to Britain.

"Buadan, King of Ulster, who died A. D. 580, expelled the foreigners from Man, and from that time forward Man was subject to the Ultonians[a]." But that historical fact does not support Jocelin's position; because the Irish word "Gall," used by O'Dugan, designates not a Briton, but an Angle or Saxon, a Dane, or any other foreigner. They must have been Angles or Saxons whom Buadan expelled, the Danes having made no descent on Ireland before the year 812, in which "the Danish fleet, having invaded Ireland, was

was slain in that expedition. A poem, in the Book of Leacan (fol. 139, *a*, *a*), for which I am indebted to Mr. Curry, describes tributaries coming from various quarters to Dun Baedain, the seat of Mac Cairill. One of them is thus introduced, lamenting that his tribute was not more prized:

"Cid misi thanic o Sci
Do ruachtus fo di sa tri,
A coimed set ro clai dath;
Is aduar in t-Albanach.

"Caeca, lx, fil fon lind
Itir Manaind is Erind;
Fil sund nonbar rosaig nem
Is uamon an ailithir."

"Even I who have come from Sky,
I have come twice and three times,
To convey gems of varying hue;
[I] the Albanian feel neglected.

"Fifty, sixty, are on the water
Between Man and Eire;
Here are nine who seek for heaven
And the sorrows of pilgrimage."

At the close of the poem, it is said: "Is leis [.i. Baedan] ro glanad Manaind o gallaib conad re n-Ulltaib a forflaithius osin ille."—"It was by him [Baedan] that Manainn was cleared of the Galls [foreigners], so that its sovereignty belonged to the Ultonians thenceforward."

superatur[39]." Tunc enim scilicet tempore Caroli Magni (inquit Aymonius): "classis Normannorum Hiberniam Scotorum insulam agressa commisso prælio cum Scotis, innumerabilis multitudo Normannorum extincta est, et turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est[40]." Pedem quidem, illos, anno post Christum natum 838 in Hiberniam primum intulisse, victorias ibi reportâsse, sedesque fixisse Cambrensis narrat[41]." Saxones, igitur, aut Anglos istos oportet esse, quos e Manniâ Buadanus protrusit. Illi enim rei maritimæ peritissimi, diu piraticam egerunt, ita salo assueti ut solum timuerint, quibus cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solùm sed familiaritas erat. Hos mare Britannicum sæpiùs infestâsse testatur Ammianus[42] et Claudianus qui Britanniam Stiliconis de se sollicitudinem ennarrantem inducit his verbis:

"Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."

Et deinde:

"———— Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne[43]."

Ut hinc non dubitem quin Saxones in Orcadibus, aliisque insulis Britanniam cingentibus excensionem, subinde fecerint, tempus in Britanniam irruendi operientes. Contra quam cum Scotis et Pictis

[39] Annalium Francorum contract. Eginhard. [40] Lib. iv. de Ges. Francorum. [41] Top. dist. iii. c. 36. [42] Lib. 26 et 27. [43] De laud. Stilichonis.

This poem is cited by M'Firbis (p. 491) from the Book of Sabhall Phadraig [Saul, county Down], and *infrà*, p. [92]. In 580, the year of Baedan's death, the Irish Annals record a victory gained in the Isle of Man by Aedan Mac Gabhrain, seventh king of the Albanian Scots.

[b] In 794 the Gentiles devastated the island of Rathlin. At that year, in the Annals of the Four Masters, Mr. O'Donovan shows the mistakes fallen into by O'Conor and Moore on a passage in the Annals of Ulster, supposed by them to denote, in 747, a prior descent of the Danes in Ireland. In 810 there was "strages Gentilium per Ultonienses;" in 811, "strages Gentilium," by the Munster-men, under Maelduin, King of Loch Lein.—*Ann. Ult.*, *O'Conor*.

[c] A marginal note in the copy of the Ulster Annals published by Dr. O'Conor, states, that in 838, "the Lochlane (Danes) came to Ireland," according to the *Chronicle*. But we have seen that other Northmen had arrived before them. In 838, the Gentiles launched a fleet on Loch Eachach (Neagh), and ravaged the surrounding country, burned the churches and oratories, massacred the priests or carried them off captives, and burned Armagh, with all its

conquered by the Irish[b]." That event occurred in the reign of Charlemagne, and is thus recorded by Aymo: "A fleet of Northmen having invaded Ireland, the island of the Scots, a battle was fought, in which an innumerable multitude of the Northmen were slain, and the remnant fled home in disgrace." Cambrensis states that the Danes first landed in Ireland, and gained victories, and formed settlements in the year 838[c]. It must have been, therefore, Angles or Saxons whom Buadan expelled. During several centuries their pirate flag had swept the British seas. They were expert mariners, familiar with the dangers of the deep, and unwilling to encounter an enemy except on their native element. Ammianus records their frequent ravages on the British seas, and Claudian thus presents to Stilicho the gratitude of Britain:

> "Beneath his sheltering arm I fear no more
> Nor Scot, nor savage Pict: along my shore
> Heedless the fickle winds may blow—no Saxon comes!"

And again:

> "The Orkneys reek with routed Saxons' blood;
> The bleeding Picts discolor Iceland's flood;
> And frozen Erin mourns her piles of dead."

The Saxons, I have no doubt, descended in course of time on the Orkneys, and other islands in the British seas, whence they sent out their armaments against Britain[d]. They appear to have been leagued

duirtheachs and stone churches. The date 838, in Camden's edition of Giraldus, does not appear in the manuscript copy cited by Ussher.—*Prim.*, p. 860. It is manifestly incorrect. Giraldus states that in that year Turgesius invaded Ireland, destroyed churches and monasteries, castellated the whole island with raths (fossata), surrounded with deep and generally triple fosses, and also with stone fortifications, of which the ruins still remained in the twelfth century. The tyrant, according to Giraldus, oppressed Ireland during about thirty years, which would bring us to the year 868, a date not supported by any Irish authority; Ware, O'Flaherty, the Ulster Annals, Four Masters, and Dr. O'Conor, assigning the death of Turgesius to 844-5; Ussher and Dr. Lanigan to 848; at which year the Ulster Annals record several bloody defeats of the Northmen. A foreign annalist also, published by Du Chesne (tom. ii. p. 525), congratulates the Scots on having, in 848, by the grace of God, shaken off the yoke of the Northmen, and on forming a treaty of peace and friendship with the King of France, from whom the Irish king solicited a safe conduct to Rome.—See *O'Conor*, vol. iv. p. 214; *Lanigan*, vol. iii. pp. 243, 279.

[d] The Ulster Annals record (an. 434): "Prima præda Saxonum in Hiberniâ."—

fœdere juncti fuisse videntur, cùm Claudianus in superiori carmine parem timorem Britanniæ a Scotis, Pictis, et Saxonibus impendisse, et in altero, pari omnes clade affectos fuisse narret[44]". Conjecturam juvat Beda dicens: "Saxones Pictosque bellum adversus Britones suscepisse, et alleluia tertiò repetitâ fusos fuisse[45]." Licet aliqui putent vocem "Scotos" pro vocabulo "Saxones" substituendum esse, aliquem ex his Saxonibus aut ex Anglis a Vortigerno in Britanniam[46] sub annum Christi 490 accersitis manipulum Manniam tum insedisse necesse est, cùm a Buadano inde deturbarentur. Quis crederet, paganis insulæ dominantibus, tot Episcopos officio suo in illâ liberè functos fuisse? Post S. Germanum primum Manniæ Episcopum anno 474 cœlos ingressum, Connidrius et Romulus Episcopi Manniæ instituti sunt, quibus S. Machaldus postea successit. Deinde S. Conanus et S. Mochonus

[44] 4 Consolat. Hon. [45] Lib. i. cap. 20. [46] Ussher, Primord. p. 335, idem in Indice.

O'Conor. In 429, they co-operated with the Picts in an invasion of Britain.—*Bede*, lib. i. c. 20.

[e] The Saxon Chronicle records the progress of the Saxons in England previous to 580; but is silent with regard to Man. It is more probable that the invaders expelled by Buadan from that island were refugee Britons than Saxons. Dr. O'Conor adopts the opinion of Camden (*ante*, p. 160, note [t]), regarding Malgo, "the dragon of the isles," King of Venedotia, who ascended the throne, according to Lhuyd, in the year 560.—*O'Conor*, vol. ii. p. 151.

[f] Germanus is not mentioned in any of the Lives of St. Patrick, except Jocelin's; and Dr. Lanigan is of opinion that he never existed.—Vol. i. p. 306. Colgan states that he is the same who is honored in the Martyrology of Tallaght, July 30. There is a German Mac Guil at that day, but there is no allusion to the Isle of Man. According to Probus (lib. ii. c. 11), Conidrius and Romulus were the first apostles in Man.

[g] Both honored in the Irish Martyrologies of Tallaght, Macguires, and Marian Gorman: Connidrius, on Sept. 17; and Romulus, otherwise Maol or Maolan, on Dec. 25, or Jan. 4.—*Acta Sanct.*, p. 60. Both are mentioned by Probus and the Tripartite. See *Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 305. At a short distance north of Castletown, in the Isle of Man, there is a Kirk Malow, which appears from the name to have been dedicated to St. Romulus.

[h] Mentioned in all the old Lives of St. Patrick (*The Third Life*, c. 73; *Eleran.*, c. 81; *Probus*, lib. ii. c. 9; *Tripart.*, pars iii. c. 6), and also in the Life published by Sir William Betham.—*Irish Antiquarian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 329. He was a cruel savage, a chief of the Irish Crutheni, until he was converted by St. Patrick, when he renounced the world, retired to the Isle of Man, where he found Conidri and Romulus, and where he became a bishop. Near the north-west promontory of the Isle of Man there is a Kirk Maughold, manifestly a corruption of Machald. He is honored in the Martyrologies of Ængus, Tallaght, and Marian Gorman, at April 25.

with the Picts and Scots. Claudian, in the above-cited poem, represents Britain as dreading alike the Scots, the Saxons, and the Picts; and in another they are represented as defeated in the same engagement. These conjectures are confirmed by the words of Bede: "The Saxons and Picts waged war against the Britons, and were put to flight by an alleluia, thrice repeated." Though some persons are of opinion that "Scots" should be substituted for "Saxons," some of the Saxons or Angles, who were invited to Britain under Vortigern, A. D. 490, must, at that period, have formed a settlement in Man, otherwise they could not have been expelled from it by Buadan[e]. If pagans had been masters of the island, who can believe that so many Christian bishops could have freely exercised their ministry there? After the death of St. Germanus[f], the first Bishop of Man, A. D. 474, Connidrius and Romulus[g] were appointed, and after them St. Machaldus[h]. Then came St. Conan and St. Mochonna[i], bishops of the same see. It must have been, there-

[i] Colgan (*Acta Sanct.*, p. 60, n. 9) states that, besides the two bishops in the text, there were many other Irish bishops of Man; but he produces no authorities, nor is it possible to make out the succession of prelates previous to the year 1050 (*cir.*), at which the Chronicle of Man commences. On Connanus he has a note, which makes it doubtful whether the two bishops Connanus and Mochonnus were not different forms of the same name: "Conna, *alias* Mochonna, or Dochonna, called in Irish, by Marian Gorman, 'Conna' or 'Conda;' by the Martyrology of Tallaght 'Dochonna' and 'Teochonda;' and by others generally 'Machonna' or 'Mochonda.'" The prefixes mo and do, "mine" and "thine," were often incorporated with the names of Irish saints. The diminutive of affection or reverence og, anciently oc, was also suffixed to the names, which, in this case, would produce "Moconoc," and thus identify Connanus and Mochonoc, as in the name "Maidoc," patron of Ferns, which is literally mo Aeđ óg, "my beloved Aedh." The identity of the names is rendered more probable, as Colgan (n. 9, p. 60) does not mark the day on which Mochonnus is honored in the Martyrologies. But was Connanus Bishop of Man or of Inis Padraig, now Holm Patrick? The Annals of Ulster, A. D. 797 (*O'Conor*), record the plundering of his shrine by the Danes; and Dr. O'Conor understands the reference as made to Holm Patrick. But Colgan proves (*Acta Sanct.*, p. 60) that Inis Padraig was the Irish name of the see which the British writers call Sodor. The tradition of the Isle of Man claims St. Patrick as its apostle; but all his biographers, except Jocelin, are silent on the subject, though they record his sojourn for a short time at "a very small island," which is generally understood to be Holm Patrick, near the Irish coast. There was "a very small island," called Inis Padraig (*Chron. Manniæ*, p. 10; *Johnstone*), near Peel, on the eastern coast of the Isle of Man. It is now connected with the mainland. It is covered with ecclesiastical ruins, among which, if we can believe a late writer

eandam Ecclesiam administrârunt[47]. Rebus, igitur, in Britanniâ et Hiberniâ bello turbatis, globus aliquis militum Manniam per tumultum arripuit, eâ mox a Buadano ejectus.

Nec eorum assertione moveor, qui verba Bedæ dicentis Regem Edwinum sub annum a Christo nato 630, "Menavias insulas Anglo-
[14] rum imperio subjugâsse[48]," | sic interpretantur, ut Anglesia et Mannia ditioni Anglorum, operâ Edwini, accesserint, cùm Alfredi Saxonica versio Angleseiam tantùm indicet[49]: et Malmsburiensis conceptis verbis dicat, Bedæ locum attingens, "Menaviarum quas nunc Anglesei, id est Anglorum insulas, dicimus." Hinc mihi persuadeo, non solùm primos incolas ex Hiberniâ Manniam accepisse, sed etiam illam eorum posteritate non antè ademptam fuisse, quàm eorum adjacentesque Scotiæ insulas Norwegus sæculo nono sibi per vim arrogaverit; unde indigenæ mores, et linguam a majoribus Hibernis adhuc retinent, et a Norwegis tamdiu imperantibus Norwegicum quiddam (ut Camdenus loquitur) admiscuerunt[50].

Correctissima Flavii Dextri editio a Roderico Caro adornata, et typis Hispalensibus anno 1627 in lucem emissa, docere videtur Manniam cultores, et Menaviæ nomen, ab insulâ Menaviâ Hispanicæ Carthagini adjacente mutuâsse[51]. Fortasse cùm in eâ insulâ nati Hibernos ex Hispaniâ originem duxisse acciperent, et vel multitudine abundarent, vel a valentiore manu avitis sedibus ejicerentur, vel ulteriora visendi

[47] Colgan, Jan. 3. Jocelinus, cap. 152. [48] Morg. ad cap. v. lib. ii. Beda. [49] In Editione Wheloci. [50] Pag. 838. [51] Ann. 100, p. 55, Primord. Ussher, p. 641.

(*Col. Campbell*, "*Ireland, Past, Present, and Future*," p. 125), there is a round tower resembling those in Ireland. If this be true, it would be as powerful a proof of the connexion of Man with Ireland, as any of those adduced by Dr. Lynch.

[k] "Swylce he eac Moniga Brytha calond da Syndon gesette betwih Hibernia Scotland 7 Bræotone Angel Cynnes rice underwtheodde," that is, according to Whelock, "Mona also, an isle of the Britons, situated between Hibernia, which is Scotland, and Britain, he reduced under the sway of the English."—(*O'Conor, Prolegom.*, pars i. p. lxv.) Hence the name Anglesey, that is, Isle of the English, as Guerns*ey*, Jers*ey*, and probably Dalk*ey*, Ireland's *Eye*, Lambay(*ey*). But Bede (lib. ii. c. 9) not only uses the plural number, "Menaviæ Insulæ," but gives the estimated size of *both* the conquered nations.

[l] This is probable, if under the Irish be included the Irish Crutheni or Picts (see "Additional Notes" to *Irish Nennius*, p. xliii.), though it is not certain that the Manann, there cited from Tighearnach, is the Isle of Man. From a collation of the Book of Rights, p. 8, with Colgan, p. 60, n. 4, it would appear, that so late as the age of Cuan O'Lochain, A. D. 1024, Man was

fore, some band of military adventurers that availed themselves of the wars of Britain and Ireland to seize the Isle of Man, until they were expelled by Buadan.

I attach no importance to the opinion of some, who, grounding themselves on Bede's words, "that King Edwin had reduced the Menavian Isles to the English crown, A. D. 630," thence infer that Man, as well as Anglesey, must have been conquered by Edwin. Alfred's Saxon version mentions Anglesey only; and William of Malmesbury, citing Bede's words, expressly writes as follows[k], "Menaviæ, which we now call Anglesey, that is the isles of the Angles." I am, therefore, of opinion, that the Irish were not only the original inhabitants of Man, but that it remained in the uninterrupted possession of their posterity, until the Norwegian, in the ninth century, subdued their isles, and those adjacent to Scotland[l]. Hence the inhabitants still retain the language and customs of their Irish progenitors, with a mixture, as Camden expresses it, of a something Norwegian, introduced by the long occupancy of that nation.

A very correct edition of Flavius Dexter, prepared for the press by Roderic Carus, and printed at Seville A. D. 1627, appears to state that Man was originally peopled, and took its name, Menaviæ, from the Spanish island Menavia, lying off Carthagena. It may have been that the natives of that island, knowing that the Irish were of Spanish extraction, and being either overstocked with inhabitants, or expelled from their native soil by some superior force, or actuated by that innate

regarded as an Irish dependency. According to Cuan, the "*fruits* of Man" were one of the prerogatives of the Irish monarchs. Now Colgan had in his possession an old panegyric in the Irish language, composed by Arthul on Magnus, son of Godfred, King of Man, in which the island is frequently styled Eamhoin abhlach, i. e. "Man of the apple trees," to distinguish it, as Colgan conjectures, from Eamhain Macha, the celebrated seat of the kings of Ulster. Hence there can be no doubt that Man was an Irish dependency, though Irish dominion may have been occasionally interrupted.—See note [l], *ante*, p. 160. Even in 1075, the Manxmen solicited Muircheartach O'Briain, King of Ireland, to send over a regent of the royal blood, during the minority of the son of Godred.—*Johnstone's Chronicle of Man*, p. 8. There are several notices of Man scattered through the Irish Annals. If collected, they would throw some light on its history, previous to the Norwegian invasion. According to tradition, it was governed during many centuries by princes, called "orries;" see oirrigh, *Tribes and Customs of Ui-Maine*, pp. 72, 188; *Book of Rights*, pp. 82, 250, 260.

innato mortalibus studio incenderentur, ad agnatos ac populares suos ut ejusdem stirpis ramos commigrarent.

Quòd si hactenus a me dicta ritè perpendantur, Giraldus profectò rudem topographiæ, sive chorographiæ Hibernicæ delineationem potiùs adumbrâsse, quàm vivis illam coloribus expressisse deprehendetur. Ut similis omnino sit primis illis imperitis pictoribus, qui, pingendi arte adhuc inchoatâ, et ultimam perfectionem nondum adeptâ, specie adeo deformi imagines exhibebant, ut nisi ad picturæ oram rei depictæ nomen adscriberetur, quam figuram tabula referebat ignoraretur, scilicet equine an hominis formam, navis aut alterius rei nisi voce appositâ exprimeretur. Adjecta enim vocula effigiem, non pictura indicabat. Pari omnino ratione, qui congeriem hanc e variis figmentis tumultuariè a Giraldo consarcinatam oculis et animo evolvet, Topographiæ sive Chorographiæ nomine insigniendam esse nunquam divinabit, quandoquidem ab opere titulus iste maximè sit alienus.

[m] Stanihurst, in his annotations on the fourteenth chapter of the Topography of Giraldus, accuses him of error, for asserting that Meath was not one of the most ancient quintuple divisions of Ireland. But Stanihurst himself was in error; for, in the division by Slainge, first Monarch of Ireland, Meath is not mentioned, nor in that by Eochaidh Feidhleach.—See *Cambrensis Eversus*, pp. [57], [65].

[n] Some of the principal defects of the Topography have been already pointed out in the annotations, *suprà*, pp. 114, 115, namely, that Giraldus makes but a passing allusion to the chief divisions of the island, and is almost entirely silent on the smaller principalities and ecclesiastical divisions. This omission is much to be regretted; for had he described the various interesting localities in Ireland with the same zeal which he devoted to the wonderful book of St. Bridget, and to the exquisite performance of the Irish harpers, his work would have been an invaluable repertory of Irish an-

propensity of the human breast to push forward into remoter regions, turned their emigrant sails towards their kindred and countrymen, as branches of the same stock.

On a careful perusal of what I have now stated, it must be admitted that Giraldus has scrawled only a rough outline of Irish topography or chorography, without any of the true and firm coloring of a finished piece[m]. He was like those first rude painters, who, when the art was yet in its infancy, and not brought to perfection, sketched images of objects so uncouthly, that if the name of the object were not written on the margin of the picture, no man could say what it represented,—the figure of a man or a house, a ship, or any other object,—if the words did not solve the mystery. Then it was the title, not the picture, that expressed the subject; and so with Giraldus's work. After the most attentive survey and examination of the enormous mass of heterogeneous fictions, thrown together in wild confusion, no man could ever dream of calling the collection either a Topography or Chorography, so slight the resemblance it bears to its title[n].

tiquities. A very ancient catalogue of the principal monasteries is cited by Dr. O'Conor (*Prolegomena*, pars ii. p. xciii.), and also by Mr. Hardiman (*Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. p. 381), which might have opened a fine field for the rhetoric of Giraldus. The monasteries are described by a characteristic epithet, thus: "the head of Ireland, Armagh; the arts of Ireland, Clonmacnoise; the happiness of Ireland, Kildare; the learned of Ireland, Bangor; the joy of Ireland, Kells; the eye of Ireland, Tallaght; the litanies of Ireland, Lismore; the difficult language of Ireland, Cork; the cemetery of Ireland, Glendalough," &c. &c. But Giraldus wrote for his masters, and consulted their taste.

CAPUT III.

QUÒD GIRALDUS "EXPUGNATÆ HIBERNIÆ" TITULUM ALTERI SUÆ LUCUBRATIONI INSULSÈ PRÆFIXERIT.

[14] Expugnationis conditiones.—Expugnati non semper linguam et vestem et mores victoris amplectuntur.—Victores, devictæ gentis linguam locuti. [15] Victi vincentium linguam non vi sed aliis de causis imbiberunt.—Romani non coëgerunt gentes victas Latinè loqui.—Mithridates viginti duo linguas locutus. [16] Peregrinationis effectus.—Linguæ Hibernicæ laudes.—Poesis Hibernica quàm præstans.—Linguæ Hibernicæ difficultas.—Non potest eam dæmon loqui.—Severitas Linguæ Germanicæ.—Pompa Hispanicæ. [17] Angli magis delectantur Hibernicâ linguâ quàm Hiberni Anglicâ linguâ. Ubi Anglica, ubi Hibernica lingua sit vernacula?—Medicinam apud Græcos certæ familiæ profitebantur.—Certæ familiæ historiæ, jurisprudentiæ incumbunt.—Scientiæ censu aluntur.—Initium consuetudinis singularum artium a singulis tribubus exercendarum.—Linguæ Anglicæ in Hiberniam inductio, non est indicium expugnatæ Hiberniæ.—Vestis Anglica nuper ab Hibernis cœpta.—Angli formam vestis crebrò mutant. [18] Romani non coëgerunt victos gerere vestem Romanam.—Vita Agricolæ.—Victoris vestis non semper a victo geritur.—Victi non semper vincentium legibus vivunt.—Multæ gentes a Romanis victæ suas leges observabant.—Willelmus conquestor Anglicis legibus Anglos gubernabat, et Edvardus I. Wallicis Wallos. [19] Atheniensium legibus Romani non Romanis Athenienses parebant.—Leges Anglicæ in Hiberniâ constitutæ.—Iis Hiberni non obtemperabant.—Anglicæ provinciæ fines inibi.—Quàm latè leges Hibernicæ dominabantur.—Unam tantùm Hiberniæ ternionem Angli possidebant.—Duodecim comitatus in Hiberniâ constituti.—Hibernici Reguli censum ex Anglicâ provinciâ exigebant.—Ii reditus quando sublati.—Mulctæ ob flagitia irrogatæ divisæ inter Reges Angliæ et Regulos Hiberniæ. [20] O'Neill Rex Ultoniæ.—O'Mordha princeps Laighsiæ.—Primi comitatus instituti.—O'Farelli.—Comitatuum in Conaciâ institutio.—Quando comitatus in Ultoniâ instituti.—Macguire responsum ad Proregem.—Comitatus Wicloensis.—Exigui fines legum Anglicarum.—Hiberni Anglis pro alienigenis et hostibus habiti.—Aegrè cives jus inter Anglos obtinuerunt. [21] Thomas Butler Hiberniæ Prorex.—Exemplum immunitatis concessæ quibusdam Hibernis.—Pejor Hibernorum in Hiberniâ conditio quàm alienigenarum.—Hiberni pro hostibus habiti.—Vetitum Anglis connubia aut societatem ullam cum Hibernis contrahere. [22] Gubernatores fovebant dissidium inter Anglos et Hibernos.—Initia expugnationis acria.—Longæ inimicitiæ raræ.—Romani leges suas cum victis communicabant.—Coloniis aliquò deductis non nisi septimam devicti agri partem Romani dederunt. Lusitani cum victis Indis fœdus inierunt.—Castellani idem fecerunt.—Hiberni cur Anglo refractarii? [23] Cur barbari.—Angli nec cultum, nec religionem Hibernos docuerunt.—Bellandi necessitas Hibernis imposita.—Hiberni sæpè rogarunt legum sibi beneficium.—Eorum postulationes frustratæ. [24] Bellandi usu scientia militaris addiscitur.—Quare proceres Anglici impedierunt quò minùs legum beneficium Hibernis conferretur?—Non Hibernos Angli, sed Anglos Hiberni expugnârunt. [25] Fruges solum mutantes mutant indolem.—Summi imperii tesseræ.—Quamdiu principes Hiberni summo imperio in suis ditionibus fruebantur.—In ditionibus Hibernicis tribunalibus Anglicis nullus locus.—Angli non exterminârunt Hibernos.—Prisca Midiæ nobilitas. [26] Prisca Ulidiæ nobilitas.—Prisca Orgalliæ nobilitas.—Prisca Craobhroæ nobilitas.—Prisca Tirconnalliæ nobilitas. [27] Prisca Connaciæ nobilitas.—Prisca nobilitas Brefinæ.—Prisca Manachiæ nobilitas.—Siolanmchiæ nobilitas et cæterarum Connaciæ regionum.—Prisca Lageniæ nobilitas. [28] Prisca Momoniæ nobilitas. [29] Prisci Hiberni in avitis agris ann. 1585.—In tribus Ultoniæ diœcesibus Episcopos ante Jacobum Regem, Angliæ reges non constituerunt.—Giraldus fatetur Hiberniam non fuisse expugnatam.

LOCUM illum expugnatum esse plerùmque dicimus, quem, prioribus possessoribus exclusis, victor suæ ditionis facit, aut saltem priscis in-

[a] Dr. Lynch does not admit this definition of conquest; but, taking his adversaries on their own principles, he demonstrates that Ireland was not conquered.

CHAPTER III.

"THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND" WAS AN ABSURD TITLE FOR THE SECOND WORK OF GIRALDUS.

[14] Evidences of conquest.—Language, manners, and dress of the conquerors not always adopted by the conquered.—Conquerors have adopted the language of the conquered. [15] The language of conquerors introduced not by force, but by other causes.—The Romans did not compel the conquered nations to adopt the Latin.—Mithridates spoke twenty-two languages. [16] Influence of foreign travel.—Panegyric on the Irish language.—Excellence of Irish poetry.—Difficulty of the Irish language.—The devil cannot speak it!—Harshness of the German language.—Pomp of the Spanish. [17] The English were fonder of the Irish language than the Irish of the English.—Districts in which the English or Irish language is vernacular.—The medical profession hereditary in certain families in Greece.—The history of jurisprudence hereditary in certain families in Ireland.—Revenues the support of learning.—Origin of the custom of confining the various arts and professions to certain families.—The introduction of the English language into Ireland no evidence of the conquest of Ireland.—English dress not adopted by the Irish until very lately.—Fickleness of the English in the fashions of their dress. [18] Conquered nations not compelled by the Romans to wear the Roman dress.—Life of Agricola.—The dress of the conqueror not always adopted by the conquered.—The laws of the conqueror not always adopted by the conquered.—Many nations conquered by the Romans maintained their own laws.—William the Conqueror governed the English by English, and Edward I. the Welsh by Welsh laws. [19] The laws of Athens adopted by Rome, not those of Rome by Athens.—Enactment of English law in Ireland.—Some Irish obeyed it.—Extent of the English Pale.—Immense territory governed by Irish law.—Not more than one-third of Ireland occupied by the English.—Twelve counties established in Ireland.—The English Pale compelled to pay tribute to the Irish princes.—Abolition of that tribute.—Fines, levied as penalties for crime, divided between the Kings of England and of Ireland. [20] O'Neil, King of Ulster.—O'Moore, Prince of Leix.—First counties established.—O'Farrells.—Counties established in Connaught.—Counties established in Ulster.—Maguire's answer to the Lord Deputy.—County Wicklow.—Small territory subject to English law.—The Irish regarded as aliens and enemies by the English.—Difficulty of obtaining the rights of English law in Ireland. [21] Thomas Butler, Lord Deputy of Ireland.—Charter of freedom granted to some Irishmen.—The condition of the Irish in Ireland worse than that of aliens.—The Irish regarded as enemies.—The English forbidden to marry, or form any connexion with the Irish. [22] Government fomented discord between the English and Irish.—The first acts of conquest always ruthless.—Permanent animosities of race very rare.—The Romans extended the benefit of their law to the conquered.—The Romans allowed only the seventh part of the conquered territory to the colonies which they planted.—Treaty between the Portuguese and the conquered Indians.—Similar measures of the Spaniards.—Why were the Irish hostile to the King of England? [23] Causes of their barbarism.—The English imported neither religion nor civilization into Ireland.—The Irish had no resource but armed resistance.—They often petitioned for English laws.—Their petitions rejected. [24] Military skill acquired by warlike operations.—Object of the English Lords in preventing the concession of English law to the Irish.—The English conquered by the Irish, not the Irish by the English. [25] Change of clime changes nothing but fruits.—Characteristics of sovereign power.—How long did the Irish princes retain sovereign power in their own territories?—No English tribunals in the Irish territories.—The English did not exterminate the Irish.—Old nobility of Meath. [26.] Old nobility of Ulidia.—Of Oriel.—Of Craobhroe.—Of Tyrconnell. [27.] Old nobility of Connaught.—Of Breffny.—Of Hy-Many.—Of Siolanmchia, and the other territories of Connaught.—Old nobility of Leinster. [28.] Old nobility of Munster. [29.] Their ancient territories held by the Irish in 1585.—The Kings of England appointed no bishop to three of the Ulster dioceses before the reign of James I., King of England.—Giraldus himself admits that Ireland was not conquered.

A COUNTRY is, in ordinary phrase, said to be conquered[a] when its inhabitants have been either utterly extirpated, or compelled, by the irre-

colis a sede suâ non remotis, summo cum imperio ita præest, ut ad linguæ suæ, vestium, et legum communionem amplectendam victos adigat[1]. Has expugnationis justæ leges potiùs e cerebro suo Stanihurstum, quàm e scriptorum monumentis deprompsisse putem, quarum tamen si aliqua desideretur expugnationem claudicare necesse esse dicit. Plures tamen evictas gentes idioma suum, vestium formam, majorum instituta, vincentium linguâ, amictu aut ritibus non mutâsse constat. Ita ut in his indubitata expugnationis indicia constitui non possint. Ut autem sigillatim unumquodque prosequamur; non rarò victores populi, ad superatæ nationis linguam communi sermone celebrandam se accommodârunt. Italiam Trojani subjugâsse dicuntur, victoris tamen linguâ in desuetudinem abeunte, indigenarum loquela a victoribus, et victis frequentata est, quod Virgilius innuit, Jove Junoni annuente fore ut

"Sermonem Ausonii patriam moresque tenerent."

Romani quoque sermonem Græcum quamvis peregrinum, et populo a se debellato avitum avidè imbibebant. Normanni etiam ad linguam Anglis a se devictis familiarem vulgò usurpandam tandem deflexerunt. Imò
[15] par est | credere victis gentes sui potiùs commodi, quàm legis a victore latæ causa, ad vincentium linguam calendam animos adjunxisse. Cùm enim ad vincentium tribunalia crebrò se sistere victos oportuit, linguæ a judicibus perceptæ subsidio ad causam obtinendam uti necesse fuit. "Nam Romani prætores jus nec dicebant, nec respondebant nisi suâ linguâ. Imò Romani ita perditè amabant suæ linguæ mollitudinem, et suavitatem, ut nullâ necessitate potuerint cogi, quòd aliâ linguâ quàm suâ cum plebe agerent, contraherent, loquerentur." "Ut non frustra Britanni qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupierint, ad quam tamen addiscendam Romanorum hortatibus potiùs

[1] Descrip. Anglic. Hiberniæ, c. i. p. 3.

[b] The argument in this chapter is directed principally against Stanihurst, who maintained that the destruction of Irish language, law, and dress, was essential to English conquest: "First, therefore, take this with you, that a conquest draweth, or at the least wise ought to draw to it, three things, to wit, law, apparel, language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is governed, to wear the same fashion of attire wherewith the victor is vested, and speak the same language that the vanquisher parleth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin by lawful conquest brought under the subjection of England, and by English conquerors inhabited, is it decent, think you, that their own

sistible force of the invading power, to adopt the language, dress, and laws of their conquerors. Yet, when Stanihurst laid down these conditions as essential to a real conquest, I am inclined to think he consulted his own fancy rather than historical authorities; for it is evident that several conquered countries never renounced their own dress, language, or laws, for the dress, language, and laws of their conquerors. An examination of each, in detail, proves that they cannot be admitted as undoubted tests of conquest: successful invaders have frequently adopted the language of the conquered people. The Trojans, it is said, conquered Italy; yet their language soon became obsolete, and the original language of the country was the only one spoken by the victors and the vanquished, a circumstance to which Virgil alludes in the favor granted to Juno by Jupiter, that

"The Ausonian laws and language he preserved."

The Romans zealously cultivated the Greek language, though it was entirely different from their own, and spoken by a nation which the power of their arms had reduced to complete subjection beneath the sceptre of Rome. The Normans, after the lapse of some time, adopted the mother tongue of the conquered English. There is even reason to believe that self-interest, rather than any express law on the matter, has been the motive that led conquered nations to adopt the language of their masters. For as the fallen race must have frequently appeared before the legal tribunals of the conquerors, a knowledge of the languages spoken by the judges was indispensable for a favorable verdict. "Thus the Roman Prætors never used any language but their own in the administration of the law, and in official communications. Nay, so excessive was the admiration of the Romans for their own soft and melodious tongue, that no necessity could compel them to use any other in their intercourse, contracts, or connexions with the people." Hence it is easy to conceive why "the Britons, who had at first despised the Latin language, grew ambitious of eloquence," though we can infer from

ancient native tongue should be shrouded in oblivion and suffer the enemies language, as it were a tetter or ringworm, to harbour itself within the jaws of English conquerors?—no, truly."—*Description of Ireland*, chap. i. p. 5, London, 1808. But here Dr. Lynch proves that English law, language, or apparel, had not been adopted by the native Irish before the commencement of the seventeenth century.

allectos, quàm per vim impulsos fuisse Tacitus innuit. Illo enim amore quis avitæ linguæ, quam cum nutricis lacte suxit tenetur, ut eam sibi extorqueri ægerrimè patiatur. Sic ultimus Hetrusciæ rex, Romanorum armis profligatus, eorum se voluntati in omnibus accommodavit, tamen Catone narrante Latinas litteras ut reciperet persuaderi non potuit. "Et qui citimi Rheno sunt nullâ vi aut fraude in ordinem ita cogi poterant ut linguam suam omitterent, et peregrinam Romanorum usurparent." Hinc Augustinus Romanos increpat, "quòd imperiosa illa civitas, non solùm jugum, sed etiam linguam suam domitis gentibus imposuit." Suam tamen linguam peregrinorum sermonem abolitione Romanos non sanxisse, vel hinc percipi potest, quod Hebraicam, Syriacam, Chaldaicam, Abissinam, et plures alias linguas Orientis incolæ semper impunè locuti sunt.

His Argenteus penitus assentitur, cujus verba Gallica hunc sensum referunt: "In ullâ unquam historiâ," inquit, "nemo legit Romanos populum ullum a se domitum ad aliquam linguam ediscendam, præter eam, quæ fuit ipsi antè vernacula coëgisse: num Romani post Græciam et Athenas subjugatas, linguæ mutationem incolis imperârunt? Num Judæis sub imperio Vespatiani positis vis adhibita est ut Hebraicam aliâ linguâ mutarent? Num Galli ad nuntium linguæ suæ remittendum Cæsaris jussu adducti sunt? E quibus tabulis ista eruuntur? Compertum quidem habemus Romanos in votis habuisse ut gentes a se domitæ, linguâ vernaculâ derelictâ Latinam complecterentur, et Romanos magistratus eâ solâ locutos; imò ludos literarios ad juventutem eâ imbuendam in municipiis apertos fuisse. Nusquam verò constat, nationem ullam a Romanis expugnatam ad linguæ Latinæ cognitionem per vim attractam fuisse. Incredibiles profectò labores subire illos oportuit, si per amplissima Germaniæ, Africæ et Asiæ spatia, suæ linguæ cognitionem vi diffundere contenderent. Imò verò contrarium evenit. Imperio enim Romano inclinante, statim ac Germani Gallique in Romanas provincias irruperunt, Latina lingua in desuetudinem abiit. Ita ut Apollinaris, epistolâ ad Ervagasten dixerit, usum Latinæ linguæ anno

[e] Argentre is not a good authority. The first edition of his work, in 1583, was full of errors, some of which appear in this passage, though, so late as A. D. 390, two dialects of Celtic were spoken in the heart of Gaul.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, v. i. p. cvii. Latin is the parent of the French as well as of the Spanish, Italian, &c.

Tacitus, that this taste was inspired by the encouragement rather than enforced by the power of the Romans. For so strong is our attachment to that mother tongue which we have lisped in our nurses' arms, that we cannot consent to renounce it without a violent struggle. Thus, the last king of Etruria, when subdued by the Roman arms, conformed without reserve to all their dictates, but never could be compelled, as Cato informs us, to introduce the Roman letters; "and the nations on the banks of the Rhine could not be induced, by force or artifice, to resign their vernacular language for the foreign speech of the Romans." Hence the charge of St. Augustine against the Romans, "that the imperious city imposed not only her yoke, but her very language, on the conquered nations." But that the abolition of the aboriginal languages was not the means used by Rome to establish her own, is abundantly clear from the fact, that the Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Abyssinian, and many other languages, continued to be spoken by the eastern provinces of the empire.

This was the opinion of Argentre, as appears from the subjoined translation of his French work: "There is no authority," he says, "for believing that the Romans compelled any conquered nation to abandon its own language for any other. When they subdued Athens and Greece, were the Greeks compelled to renounce Greek? Did Vespasian proscribe the Hebrew when he reduced Judea under the Roman yoke? Were the Gauls compelled by Cæsar to renounce their vernacular language? Where are the proofs of such policy? The Romans ardently desired the substitution of their own language for the vernacular language of the conquered nations. Latin was the only language used by the Roman magistrates, and schools were opened in the municipal towns to teach and encourage it. But there is not a shadow of evidence that any country conquered by the Romans was ever compelled by law to embrace the Latin language. A labor of incredible difficulty it would have been, to enforce the use of that language through the extensive regions of Germany, Africa, and Asia. The contrary was the fact; for when the Germans and Gauls seized the dismembered provinces of the Roman empire, the Latin language immediately fell into desuetude[e]. Thus, we learn from the epistle of Apollinaris to Ervagastes, that Latin had ceased to be spoken in Belgium, and the provinces beyond the Rhine, so far back as the reign of the Emperor Majorianus, who flourished in

460 florentis, Majoriano imperatore jam desiisse tam in Belgiis, quàm provinciis trans-Rhenanis, quam etiam rem Lupus Ferrariensis in suâ quâdam epistolâ confirmat[2]."

Nemini profectò unquam vel dedecori, vel impedimento, imò potiùs honori quàm oneri fuit plurium cognitione linguarum imbui. Non modica Mithridatis Ponti Regis commendatio ad posteritatem transmissa est, quòd duarum et viginti gentium, quas sub ditione habuit linguas percaluerit, earumque gentium hominibus absque interprete locutus fuerit[3]. Romani etiam aliquot Pœnorum linguam, quòd in eâ nescio quid scriptum non insulsè fuit haud prorsus sibi esse contemnendam putârunt. Alienarum enim cognitionem linguarum nulla unquam repudiavit antiquitas, omnis semper amplexa est humanitas. Videmus eos qui plurimas orbis terræ regiones itineribus peragrârunt, et, linguarum peritiâ, cum diversis nationibus commercium, e commercio summam prudentiam, comparâsse. Ut Ulissem Homerus unicè laudet:

"Multorum mores hominum qui vidit et urbes."

Sicut enim peregrinatores, induciis ad tempus cum laribus paternis et jucundâ propinquorum consuetudine factis, admiranda variarum na-
[16] tionum | scrutantur, mores asperiusculos limâ peregrinationis emolliunt; et domesticam rusticitatem exteri cultûs sale macerant, sic eâdem operâ variarum linguarum iis regionibus, quas percurrerunt, familiarium notitiam hauriunt. Quòd si aliqua inter peregrinandum vitia contraxerint, non linguis illud, sed malæ suæ indoli ascribant. Sic ut e thymo mel apis, aranea venenum exugit, sic a linguis bonum aut malum pro suo quisque arbitrio elicit. Etenim nil prodest quod non lædere possit idem. An qui peregrino idiomate linguam imbuit, animum rebellione in patriam inficiet? Num Walli, quòd Wallici sermonis cognitione præditi sunt, Angliæ principibus obsequium præstare detrectabant? Armoricos in Galliâ, Vascones Cantabros in Hispaniâ a suorum regum imperiis non desciscere videmus, quòd sermone a suorum principum linguâ diverso utuntur. Hiberni tamen si patrio idiomate tritum et pervagatum habuerint, an continuò perniciem sui prin-

[2] Historia de Britanniâ, lib. i. cap. 12. [3] Plinius, Gellius.

[d] St. Augustine alludes to the Punic in a letter to Maximus: "Neque enim usque adeo teipsum oblivisci potuisses ut homo Afer scribens Afris, cùm simus utrique in Africâ constituti Punica nomina exagitanda existimas—quæ lingua, si improbatur abs

the year 460. This opinion is confirmed by the authority of Lupus of Ferrara, in one of his epistles."

A knowledge of many languages, so far from being an incumbrance or discredit, has ever been prized as desirable and useful. It is not the least among the glories of Mithridates, King of Pontus, that he understood the languages of the twenty-two nations which owned his sway, and was able to converse with their delegates without the aid of an interpreter. The Romans themselves did not think the Phœnician language[d] beneath their notice, finding that it could boast of some works of no inconsiderable merit. A knowledge of many foreign languages was never despised by the ancients; it has been at all times a laudable study. Wisdom of the highest order has rewarded the labors of those men who travelled through many foreign countries, and were able to converse with their inhabitants in the native language. Homer's eulogy of Ulysses is summed up in the words:

"The towns and laws of many lands he knew."

Travellers, by resigning for a time the domestic hearth and the sweet society of friends, and surveying the wonderful things of various nations, soften down the asperities of their native character, and apply to native rudeness the corrective of foreign civilization. By the same means they acquire a familiar knowledge of the language of those countries through which they have travelled. The bad habits, if any, which they contract in their travels, must be attributed to their own depravity, not to the languages. For as the bee extracts honey, and the spider poison, from a flower, so the knowledge of a language may produce good or evil, according to the character of the linguist. In this world there is no good which may not be abused. Does the knowledge of a foreign language make a man a traitor to his country? Are the Welsh rebels to the King of England, because they speak Welsh? Are the Bretons in France, and the Cantabrians of the Basque Provinces in Spain, rebellious subjects, because they do not use the language of their respective kings? And if Irish be the common language of the Irish, are they to be charged with compassing or contriving the murder of

te, nega Punicis libris, ut a viris doctissimis proditur, multa sapienter esse mandata memoriæ, pœniteat te certè ibi natum ubi hujus linguæ incunabula calent."—Ep. 17, *Ed. Ben.*, vol. ii. p. 15. The Emperor Severus harangued eloquently in Punic.

cipis capiti moliri dicentur? Nec aliam video causam cur illi abolendæ tam acriter insistatur.

Hibernica certè lingua non est conjurationi machinandæ magis apta quàm quævis alia lingua, nec minus quàm cæteræ suis ornamentis est distincta: nam adeo copiosa est, ut gravitate Hispanicam, comitate Italicam, amoris conciliatione Gallicam, terroris incussione Germanicam si non æquet, modico sanè intervallo sequatur. Sacer orator Hibernicæ linguæ fulmine sceleratos a flagitio sæpissimè deterret, ejusdem quoque linguæ lenocinio ad virtutem attrahit. Illa inter matrices Europæ linguas refertur. Scaliger enim ait undecim in Europâ linguas esse matrices, Latinam, Græcam, Teutonicam, Slavicam, Epiroticam, Tartaricam, Hungaricam, Finnonicam, Hirlandicam, Cantabricam, et Britannicam[4]. Linguam Hibernicam multâ concinnitate præditam esse quis neget? cùm eam Stanihurstus ipse fateatur acutam, sententiis abundantem, ad acria apophthegmata, et jucundas allusiones accommodatam esse, addatque, in opere Latino, "gravissimorum hominum authoritatem fidem illi jamjudum fecisse, eam verborum granditate,

[4] Thomas Sanchius in consultatione de principatu, p. 799.

[e] Stanihurst thus gives the spirit of English law against the Irish tongue: "My discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient that the Irish tongue should be so universally gaggled [cackled?] in the English Pale. What brought this present ruin and decay on the English of Ulster? They were environed and encompassed with evil neighbours. Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance wafted in the Irish tongue, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudeness, rudeness ingendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of laws, the contempt of laws bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto wars; and so, consequently, the utter decay and desolation of that worthy country. If these chinks, when first they began to chap, had been diligently by the dwellers stopped, her Majesty at this day to her great charges should not have been occasioned with many thousand pounds, yea and with the worthy carcasses of valiant soldiers, the gaps of that rebellious northern country."—*Description of Ireland*, p. 5, London, 1808. It does not appear that when Lynch was writing there was any special hostility against the Irish language; but there was always a strong party who maintained, with Primate Bramhall against Bedell in the Convocation of 1634, and with Primate Boyle against Dr. Narcissus Marsh at a later period, that the Irish language was *abolished* by the 28 Henry VIII.—*Mason's Life of Bedell*, pp. 225, 298. See *ibid.* (pp. 288, 292), the violent opposition given by Strafford and the English party to Bedell's translation of the Old Testament, which was so powerful that even Primate Ussher could not interfere. But there were at all times some great names to patronize, but without effect, the Irish language.—*Ibid.*, pp. 152, 303.

their king? And yet I can see no other pretence for the violent attempts to abolish it[e].

The Irish language, certainly, has no peculiar aptitude for treasonable machinations, nor is it devoid of characteristic excellencies: surpassing in gravity the Spanish, in elegance the Italian, in colloquial charm the French, it equals, if it does not surpass, the German itself in inspiring terror. From the lips of the Irish preacher it is a bolt to arrest the evil-doer in the career of guilt, and to allure, by its soft and insinuating tones, to the paths of virtue. It is one of the original languages of Europe. Scaliger mentions eleven: Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Sclavonian, Epirote, Tartar, Hungarian, Finnish, Irish, Basque, and Welsh[f]. But can there be any doubt of the excellencies of the Irish, when Stanihurst himself admits that it is sententious and expressive, and a good vehicle for the keen apophthegm and the delicate allusion? "I have been long convinced," he says in his Latin work, "by the authority of the most competent judges, that the Irish abounds in sono-

[f] These languages, with the exception of the Tartar, Hungarian or Maygar, Finnish, and perhaps Epirote or Albanian, are cognate languages of the Indo-European tribe, according to modern philology. Giraldus might have saved modern linguists much trouble had he pointed out the affinity between his native Welsh and the Irish, especially as he appears to have had some taste for comparative philology. He asserts that the Welsh was "in many things" conformable to the Greek, and illustrates his position by the Greek ὕδωρ and ἅλς, and their Welsh equivalents Dwr and Halen.—*Itinerary of Wales*, lib. i. c. viii. He compares the different dialects of the Welsh, especially the pure North Welsh, and the still more polished Ceretican in the heart of South Wales. Extending his researches, he finds that the Armorican of Bretagne, and the British of Cornwall, are almost the same ("ferè persimiles"), and that both are almost, in all respects, intelligible to a Welshman ("in multis adhuc et ferè cunctis intelligibili"). The very rudeness of the Cornish, he believed, proved that it was the parent stock, just as the Devonshire Saxon, though rude in his day, was the best language for understanding the Anglo-Saxon works of Bede and Alfred. —*Description of Wales*, c. vi. But, in this respectable range of linguistic researches, he omits the language of that country to which he has devoted two large treatises; his only remarks on the Irish, known to the Editor, being its agreement with seven other languages in the term for "salt" [salann] (*Itin.*, lib. i. c. viii.); and the assertion on Irish authority, "that the Irish was called 'Gaidelach' from Gaidelus, its first founder, and partly because it is compounded of all other tongues."—*Top.*, dist. iii. cap. 7. Probably the Irish was not generally, if at all, intelligible to Giraldus, a question which Dr. Lynch discusses in chapter v., where he treats of the duties of a historian.

dictionum concinnitate, ac dicacitate quâdam acutâ redundare, denique, cum Hebraicâ linguâ, communi conglutinationis vinculo contineri[5]." Facetias, quidem, scommata et sales paucis verbis complectitur, et in poeticen sic est appositè flexilis, ut plusquam centena Carminum genera liber Urikeacht[6] inscriptus in eâ præscribat: ita ut poetæ, metri Hibernici varietate, artificio et argutiis, nulli aliarum Europæ nationum poesi, eorum qui plurium linguarum notitiâ instructi sunt judicio, non cedant[7]. Quod non modicè Spenserus corroborare mihi videtur, dicens: "Aliqua poemata Hibernica curavi mihi ab interprete exprimi, ut illa perciperem, in quibus profectò multum acuminis, suavitatis, et bonæ inventionis inesse deprehendi; fuerunt etiam aspersa singularibus quibusdam flosculis, decore quodam et comitate illa exornantibus[8]."

Stanihurstus tamen idiomatis Hibernici nitorem obscurare pro virili contendit, dicens tantis eam difficultatibus obreptam esse, ut peregrinis

[5] Anglica Descrip. Hib., p. 12. [6] Pag. 26. [7] Histor. Cathol. O'Sull., p. 37. [8] Inspectio Hiberniæ, p. 51.

[g] Stanihurst published his Latin annotations on Giraldus after retiring to Belgium in 1584. In that work he modifies considerably many of the opinions of his "English description of Ireland," published in 1575, but yet exhibits, in his new views of Irish affairs, a piteous struggle between the feelings of the old English Pales-man, once the pet of English power, and those of the Anglo-Irish Catholic, who, as well as the mere Irish, was henceforward to feel that power as a persecutor.

[h] Upaiceacht na n-éigeap, i. e. "precepts of the poets," attributed by O'Flaherty to Forchern, who flourished under Conchobhar Mac Neasa, King of Ulster, A. M. 3937 to A. D. 48.—*Ogygia*, part iii. c. 30. O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*, 17, 18, 45–48) prefers the claim of Ferceirtne, a poet of the same age; the work was revised by Ceannfaeladh, in the reign of Domhnall II., A. D. 628–642. O'Conor attributes the work to a Fortchern, who lived in the fifth century: "De Fortcherni Ætate et de Arte Rhythmicâ Hibernorum" (*Prolegomena*, Pars. 2da, p. lxvii.), where he says that the Irish had, at least from the earliest ages of Christianity, a system of metrical rules, and that from them it was borrowed by the Anglo-Saxon Adelhm, p. lxviii. For the rules of Irish prosody see *O'Mulloy's Irish Grammar*, p. 144, and *O'Donovan's*, p. 412. On this subject Giraldus exhibits his usual ignorance. Describing the Welsh poets and rhetoricians, he says that they, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, delighted beyond measure in that figure which he calls "annominatio," and especially that kind which combined words whose first letters or syllables were similar: "Præ cunctis autem Rhetorices exornationibus annominatione magis utuntur, eâque præcipuè specie quæ primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientiâ jungat." So highly was this figure prized, that nothing was good without it. "Quod schematis hujus limâ non fuerit plenè expolitum." He is amazed that so

rous and expressive words, in pointed and exquisite diction, and is, in fine, connected with the Hebrew language by a common bond of affinity[g]." The witticism, the jest, and the epigram, it expresses briefly; and, in the hands of the poet, it is so pliant and flexible, that the *Uraiceacht*[h] lays down rules for more than a hundred different kinds of metre; so that, in the opinion of men who are well acquainted with several languages, Irish poetry does not yield, either in variety, construction, or polish of its metres, to the poetry of any nation in Europe. Spenser himself corroborates this opinion, when he says: "I have caused divers of Irish poems to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savored of sweet wit and good invention; they were sprinkled with some pretty flowers of natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them."

Stanihurst, however, strains every nerve to depreciate its merits, and declares it to be so excessively difficult, that no stranger can ever ac-

elegant a language as the French had not adopted it; and declares that in no language was it so common as in the English and Welsh. Now this proves either that he never saw Irish poetry, or that he wilfully robbed it of an ornament which he prized so highly as to make it the characteristic of his own Latin style. Alliteration, under the strictest rules and conditions, has been, at all times, an essential ingredient of Irish poetry.—See the *Book of Rights*, and the Archæological books. We content ourselves here with one quatrain, which is unquestionably very ancient. It is a prophecy, attributed by the biographers of St. Patrick, in the sixth or seventh century, to the Druids of Laeghaire, foretelling the coming of our Apostle:

"Ticfai taillcend tar muir meircend,
A bratt toillcend, a ċrand ċromcend,
A ṁias a n-airther a ṫiġe,
Friscerut a ṁuinter uli, amen, amen."

"A Taillceann (artis caput) shall come across the stormy sea,
With his head-pierced hood, his crooked-headed staff,
His altar shall be in the east of his house,
And all his people shall answer, amen, amen."

— *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 13, *b*, *b*, cited in *Petrie's Tara Hill*, pp. 76, 77.

Here is the alliteration which is the essential characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon, and of all metres in Icelandic poetry.—*Rask's Anglo-Sax. Gram.*, p. 146. Rhyme is also found in the most ancient Irish poetry, as in Fiech's Hymn; whence Dr. O'Conor infers that both Anglo-Saxons and Icelanders borrowed their poetry from the Irish and British bards, who were certainly Christians, centuries before Icelander or Saxon had the use of letters.—*O'Conor, Epistola nuncupatoria*, p. 25. See also *Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Bohn's Edition*, p. 382, for an abstract of Icelandic prosody.

ad eam addiscendam nullas pateat accessus, cum tamen homo Germanus Coloniæ natus Matthæus Doringii eques auratus sic in ejus adyta penetravit, ut, nostrâ memoriâ, Grammaticam Hibernicam condiderat. Deinde narrat quendam a dæmone insessum Romæ, aliis linguis locutum, Hibernicè loqui vel noluisse, vel non potuisse, quia nimirum (ut ille jocatur) lingua tam sacra, ore tam sordido profanari non debuit; vel potiùs, ut innuit, quòd asperitate tantâ horruit, ut dæmon ipse illius ignoratione laboraverit. Linguæ quidem Hibernicæ ignorantiam ad alienissimam de illâ conjecturam faciendam eum adduxit non secus ac Hispanus ille tantâ severitate Germanicam linguam præditam esse ratus est, ut crediderit Adamum a Deo, majoris ei terroris incutiendi causâ, linguâ Germanicâ increpitum fuisse. Cui Germanus respondit; tantâ linguam Hispanicam pompâ ac subtilitate imbutam esse, ut persuasum habuerit, eam a serpente adhibitam esse, cum Evam fraudum et callidorum consiliorum tragulis circumvenire statuisset.

Hînc autem Hibernicæ linguæ suavitas magis quàm horriditas elucet,
[17] | quòd eam Stanihurstus a suis Anglicæ provinciæ colonis, quàm Anglicam ab Hibernis, plus expeti conqueritur: cùm etiam Hibernos Anglicè loquendo mentum torquere dedignari dicat; populares suos a sermone Hibernico æquè aversos non esse ac linguam Hibernicè gar-

[i] Stanihurst speaks not of the Irish commonly spoken, but of the "true Irish," which was so different from the other "that scarcely one in five hundred can read, write, or understand it. And in very deed the language carrieth such difficulty with it, what for the strangeness of the phrase and the curious *featness* of the pronunciation, that a very few of the country can attain to the perfection thereof, and much less a foreigner or stranger,"—a position true, as far as it regarded "the perfection" of the ancient language and pronunciation.

[j] This Matthew de Rienzi was a German, and descendant of the famous Scanderbeg. He obtained a grant from James I., in 1622, of 1000 acres of the forfeited Irish lands in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County, on condition that he would not adopt the title of O'Rorke, O'Mulloy, or any Irish chieftain, nor sanction the Brehon law on his property. His epitaph, in the church of Athlone, states that he composed not only an Irish grammar, but a dictionary, and a chronicle, in the same tongue. These works, if extant, are not known. He died in 1634.—*Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 12.

[k] "A gentleman of my acquaintance reported that he did see a woman in Rome, possessed with a babbling spirit, that could have chatted any language save the Irish, and that it was so very difficult as the devil was gravelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by, answered that he took the speech to be so sacred and holy that no damned fiend had the power to speak it. Nay, by God his mercy, man (quoth the other) I stand

quire a knowledge of it[i]; though, within my own memory, Sir Matthew de Rienzi[j], a native of Cologne, was so profoundly versed in it, that he compiled an Irish Grammar. He then tells a story of a certain person in Rome, who was possessed by the devil, and who, although she could speak all other languages, either could not or would not speak Irish; because, as Stanihurst jocularly observes, a language so sacred should not be profaned by so unhallowed lips; or rather, as he insinuates, because it was so uncouth and barbarous, that the devil himself could not master it[k]. This unfavorable judgment on the Irish must be attributed to Stanihurst's ignorance: like the Spaniard, who thought the German was so rough and harsh, that it must have been the language spoken by God, when he wished to reprove and strike greater terror into Adam. But a German retorted, by declaring his belief that the Spanish language was so insinuating and pompous, that it must have been the one spoken by the serpent, when he lured Eve to her ruin, by the captious snares of fraud and crafty suggestions.

A proof of the sweetness, rather than of the harshness of the Irish language, may be deduced from Stanihurst's complaint, that the Irish was a greater favorite with the colonists of the English Pale, than the English ever was with the Irish[l]. For while he admits that the Irish disdained to strain their jaws by speaking English, he complains bitterly that his own countrymen were not so averse to the Irish, and

in doubt whether the Apostles, in their copious mart of languages, could have spoken Irish if they were opposed: whereat the company heartily laughed."—*The Descrip. of Ireland*, p. 7. The belief that the devil could not speak Irish was popular, it appears, in the seventeenth century (*Mason's Bedell*, p. 265); but how it originated the Editor knows not, if it were not a sarcasm levelled against the English officials, who, it may be supposed, were generally ignorant of the Irish language.

[l] "One demanded merrily why O'Neile that last was (John the Proud) could not frame himself to speak English. 'What,' quoth the other in a rage, 'thinkest thou that it standeth with O'Neil his honor to writhe his mouth in clattering English? and yet we must gag our jaws in gibbrishing Irish.'"—*The Description of Ireland*, p. 6. The O'Reilly of Cavan, being informed by the family nurse, that one of his sons, who was about four years old, would be a stammerer, or entirely dumb, resolved to send him to the Pale to learn English, which he believed was fit for none but stammerers.—*Stanihurst de Rebus Hibernicis*, p. 30. Again, he asks, "what Irish Lord speaks our tongue?"—*Ibid.* See *Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 13, for the contempt in which the English language was held by the Irish.

riendo agitare molestè perferat: oblitus in Hiberniâ vulgò dici (ut Barnabas Richius author est) decem Anglos citiùs Hibernorum se moribus accommodare, quàm unum Hibernum Anglorum ritus amplecti. Addit Stanihurstus[9] eos, qui urbes, Fingalliam, Mædiam, et Louthiæ, Wexfordiæ comitatus incolunt, Anglicè loqui: cæteris autem Hiberniæ

[9] Descriptio Hib. i. qu. p. 34.

[m] If English was spoken commonly in all the towns, it must have been a strange jargon, when an address from Limerick to the Earl of Essex was such as Harrington describes: "I know not which was most to be discommended; words, composition, and oratory, all of those having their particular excellencies in barbarism, harshness, and rustical both pronouncing and action."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 43. Waterford prudently addressed the Lord Deputy in Latin.—*Ibid.*, p. 48.

[n] According to O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath.*, p. 35), the Fingallian was a compound of English and Irish. Sir William Petty states that, in his day, 1672, it was neither English, Irish, Welsh, nor Wexfordian.—*Pol. Anat.*, p. 371, Dublin, 1769. But, according to Stanihurst, who was a better judge, both in Wexford and Fingall "the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English were kept; thus, they called 'a spider' *an attercop*, 'a wisp' *a wad*, 'a lump of bread' *a pocket* or *a pucket*, 'a sillibucke' *a coprous*, 'a fagot' *a blaze*, 'a physician' *a leech*, 'a gap' *a shard*, 'a household' *a meanie*, 'a dunghill' *a mizen*, &c. The women have, in their English tongue, a harsh and broad kind of pronunciation, and utter their words so peevishly and faintly, as though they were half sick and ready to call for a posset." They also placed the accent on the last syllable in dissyllables, as "market" "mar*keat*." "If those faults were corrected, no man," he says, "could complain of their English." But it is clear that the Fingallians were ridiculed abroad for not knowing Irish, and at home for not knowing English. Against the former charge, Stanihurst, then a Catholic priest, defends himself by saying that "he could find in the Pale many 'toothless old men,' who could not understand, much less speak Irish:" to the second, he replies, "that men now-a-days, in England, thought they were speaking the best English when they were not speaking English at all."—*De Rebus Hibernicis*, p. 29, 1584. The truth is, whatever English remained in Ireland felt but slightly the influence of the revolution which formed the English language in the reign of Elizabeth. Many of the great literary men of the day, most of whom had studied with Stanihurst in Kilkenny, were afterwards eminent Catholic priests, and of course paid more attention to the Latin and Irish, which were the only means of influencing the mass of their countrymen.

[o] This must be understood of the small part of Meath which was governed by English law. So late as 1576, out of 102 vicars in the diocese of Meath, eighteen only could speak English. Sydney, who made that report, mentions fifty other churches, which were better served, but yet "badly," though it was enacted so early as 1537, that no benefice should be given to a person who spoke Irish only, until proclamation had been made four days in the nearest market-town, for an English-speaking candidate.—*Irish Stat.*, vol. i. p. 123. See an article,

that they quivered their tongues speaking it; but it appears he forgot what Barnabas Rich assures us was a common saying in Ireland: "that ten Englishmen would adopt Irish, for the one Irishman who would adopt English habits." Stanihurst adds[m], that the inhabitants of the cities, Fingall[n], Meath[o], Louth and Wexford[p] counties, spoke English[q];

Dublin Review, Feb. 1843, p. 214.

[p] Not the present county, but the barony of Forth, or territory "bayed and enclosed within the river called the Pill, where if an Irishman (which was rare in old times) had spoken Irish, the Wexfordians would command him forthwith to turn the other end of his tongue and speak English, or else bring his trenchman with him. But in our days (the sixteenth century) they have so acquainted themselves with the Irish, as they have made a mingle mangle or gallimaufrie of both the languages, and have in such medlie or checkerwise so crabbedlie jumbled them both together, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speak neither good English nor good Irish."—*Description of Ireland*, p. 4. Some are of opinion that the barony of Forth was held by a Flemish colony, an offshoot of the Flemish planted near Haverfordwest in Wales by Henry I. But the Flemish of Wales was nearly lost in the English so early as 1363, the date of Higden's death. —*Polychronicon*, p. 210, Edit. Gale. The seclusion of the barony of Forth might preserve the few characteristics that distinguished the Flemish language from the cognate English. The Wexfordian must probably have been, in the sixteenth century, very different from the English, as an English commissioner, who was sent over, congratulated himself on his rapid progress in the Irish, because he was able to understand odd words and sentences from the Wexford peasants. The simple commissioner "thought the blunt people had prattled Irish all the while they jangled English."—*Description of Ireland*, p. 4.

[q] That is, English was spoken in the Pale, but not English only. So early as 1465, 100 years before Stanihurst, there were "multitudes" of native Irish in the four shires, and all were bound by statute the same year to keep English bows, "*if they could speak English.*" Then also the Irish of the Pale were ordered to renounce their Irish names, and adopt the names of towns, or colors, or trades, as Sutton, Chester, &c. &c.; White, Green, Brown, &c. &c.; Smith, Carpenter, Taylor, &c. &c. They were ordered to take the oath of allegiance before the Deputy, or any person appointed by him, "for the multitude which is to be sworn." —*Irish Statutes*, vol. i. p. 29. This changing of the names was the same policy which prohibited the Helots to wear distinctive dresses, lest they might know their numbers and strength. Thirty years later, in 1495, under Henry VII., the Statute of Kilkenny, the grand palladium of Anglo-Irish legislation, was repealed, so far as it prohibited the Irish language in the Pale." —*Ibid.*, p. 47. This irresistible progress of the native language, even during Elizabeth's reign, is thus deplored by Stanihurst: "The Irish language was free denizened in the English Pale. This canker took such deep root, as the body that before was whole and sound, was by little and little festered, and in manner wholly putrified."—*Description of Ireland*, p. 4.

regionibus patriam ac genuinam linguam esse Hibernicam quam hodie cum nutricis lacte omnes imbibimus. Præter Dublinii, Vadipontis, et Wexfordiæ incolas et accolas reliqui Anglicâ linguâ in ludo literario pusiones imbuimur. Nimirum sicut Quinctilianus dixit "a sermone Græco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinus, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus se præbet," et Livius habere se ait "auctores Romanos pueros sicut nunc Græcis ita Hetruscis literis eruderi solitos," sic peregrinam nos linguam priùs discimus, quàm nostram, utpote nobis usu familiarem. Ita ut, licèt omnes Hibernicè loquamur, et Anglicè plerique legamus et scribamus, aliqui tamen jam adulti ad linguam Hibernicam legendam et scribendam animos ultro appellant, quodam linguæ quasi saporis fascino allecti.

Intimi quique locutionis Hibernicæ recessus ab aliquibus hodie tenentur, qui scientias avitas etiamnum consectantur. Sicut enim cautum olim erat ne quis artem et industriam medendi cuiquam communem faceret, qui ex Æsclepiadarum genere non esset exortus, ac proinde artis illius peritos Græci "filios medicorum" semper appellarent[10]; sic a certis et destinatis in Hiberniâ familiis historica, jurisprudentia, poetica, et medicina semper colebantur, ut artes illæ liberis parentum institutione a teneris unguibus nullo negotio instillatæ illorum animis altiùs insererentur, adeo ut earum artium non esse peritissimi non potuerint, quarum pænè in cunabulis tyrocinia posuerunt. Ita tamen ut more jam memorato Græcorum, qui etiam eruditos non sophos, sed philosophos, quasi literarum amantes, nominabant, doctissimum quemque non virum eruditum, sed "doctrinæ filium" appellent[11]. Vereor tamen ut reconditæ idiomatis Hibernici cognitioni ruina jam immineat, cùm earum artium cultoribus assueti census non subministrentur. Etenim honos alit artes, ut vulgò dicitur, quò Martialis illusit canens:

"Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones,
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt[12]."

[10] Bibliotheca Possevini, lib. 14. [11] Stanihurst, lib. i. p. 50. [12] Lib. viii. Epig. 56.

[r] Especially one of the last and greatest of the old race, Duald McFirbis, for whose works see Preface to *Tribes and Customs of Ui-Fiachrach*. Dr. Lynch received valuable aid from him, pp. [157], [158].

[s] The spoliation of bards and Brehons, without any national allocation of funds for Irish education, was carried into effect in Ireland by James I., the British Solomon, under whom she received English law. Fortunately the language is not yet lost. Much has been done during the last eight years

but that the unadulterated and national language of all other parts of Ireland was that Irish language which all of us, to this day, drink in on our mothers' breasts. Except the inhabitants of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, and their immediate vicinities, the only knowledge we have of English is what we learn in schools. Thus, as Quinctilian says, "he wished the pupil to commence with the Greek tongue, because the Latin was so generally known, that whether one wished or not he could not but learn it," and as Livy also declares, "he knew, on the authority of Roman writers, that the boys were formerly instructed in Etruscan, as they were in his days in Greek;" so the first language we learn in schools is a foreign language, because our own is so familiar to us. We all speak Irish, and many of us can read and write English; but some persons, in their riper years, fascinated by the sweetness of their native tongue, turn to read and write Irish.

Some persons of the present day, who still cultivate their hereditary branches of learning[r], have a profound and critical knowledge of the Irish tongue. For, as the art and practice of medicine was formerly forbidden to all not descended from the family of Æsculapius, and hence professional physicians were invariably called, by the Greeks, "sons of physicians," so history, jurisprudence, poetry, and medicine, were, in Ireland, cultivated by certain families devoted exclusively to one particular branch. Thus those arts, instilled from their tenderest years, and from the lips of a parent, were easily and deeply impressed on the minds of the children, who could not but make themselves perfect masters of an art, of which they had learned the rudiments in their cradle. But, like the Greeks, who, in accordance with their above-mentioned custom, never called learned men, wise men, but philosophers, that is, lovers of learning; how great soever the literary eminence of any man in Ireland, he was never called learned, but "a son of learning." The age, however, of a profound knowledge of the Irish language is, I fear, past for ever, since the hereditary revenues of its professional masters have been taken away[s]. Patronage is the life of arts, according to the proverb: and so Martial sings:

> "When patrons smile, the epic muse takes wing:
> Flaccus! thy lands would make a Virgil sing."

to preserve Irish literature, and make it intelligible to future generations. But the crowning labor is yet a desideratum, namely, a Glossary and Dictionary, as perfect in

Colligere porro mihi videor a sacris literis (dicentibus quòd "Jabal fuit pater habitantium in tentoriis atque pastorum, Jubal pater canentium cytharâ et organo, et Tubalcain malleator et faber in cuncta opera æris et ferri[22],") recentibus illis ab orbe condito mortalibus familiare fuisse, ut singulis artibus exercendis stati tribus impliciti tenerentur: et ab illis sicut originem, sic etiam similem consuetudinem ad posteros dimanàsse.

Sed ut interruptum de linguâ Hibernicâ sermonem rursus instauremus. Ea per omnes Hiberniæ regiones sic hodie diffusa est ut ubique ferme fit vernacula. Itaque mirum non est, Giraldo scribente, Anglisque primùm huc appulsis, et latiores ditionum fines nondum consecutis, si ea suis omnibus ornamentis ad amussim insignita floruerit. Ac proinde neque tunc neque nunc temporis Anglicæ linguæ usus ab Hibernis frequentatus gentis sub Anglorum potestatem redactæ tessera non fuerit.

Nec e vestis Anglicæ gestatione argumentum elici possit, quòd Hibernos suæ potestati subjecerunt. Vestis enim Anglica nunquam Hibernis ante nostram memoriam vulgò usitata fuit. Nimirum illi non eâ laborabant inconstantiâ, ut instar Protei ad omnem vestis formam ab Anglis indies excogitatam, se vertant: "Itaque Barnabas Richius

[22] Genesis, cap. iv.

their order as the Irish Grammar of Mr. O'Donovan.

[x] The interpretation here given by Dr. Lynch is not supported by any respectable authority. "Father" means simply "inventor," not that he transmitted his trade as an heirloom in his family.

[y] It is a sad and curious speculation what might now be the state of the Irish language if the Irish had not risen in 1641, nor Cromwell ever visited our shores. Probably one of the national demands to-day would be to make the Irish the official language, as the Bohemians, the Hungarians, and the Poles in Posen and Gallicia have lately insisted on a similar restoration.

[z] This inference, as far as it regards the Irish language, is true; but if it imply that English was not more generally spoken before the Statute of Kilkenny, 1365, than afterwards, it is opposed to history. That statute declares that, "at the Conquest, and a long time after," the English used the "lang Engleys," but that now many English had forsaken that language. And it is highly probable that for a few generations the settlers spoke a language which was not Irish; but was it English? Many of the settlers were Welsh, whose cognate language would soon be lost in the Irish; the nobles were Normans, many of whom probably preferred the French language.—See *Rot. Pat.* 3, 4 Edw. II. 57; and *idem*, iii. 4. The English spoken by the settlers of Saxon race was the only formidable antagonist to the Irish, especially as it found in Dublin, Limerick, and other towns, the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic, al-

From the text, "Jabal was the father[t] of those that dwell in tents, and of shepherds; Jubal was the father of those that played on the harp and organ; and Tubalcain was a hammerer and an artificer in every work of brass and iron,"—it would appear to me that, from the creation, the primitive inhabitants of the earth restricted the culture of the several arts to particular families: a custom which, with their blood, descended to their posterity.

But, returning from this digression to the Irish language, it is at this day so generally diffused through Ireland, that it is strictly our vernacular tongue[u]; and, of course, when Giraldus wrote, and when the English had but landed, and had not made extensive settlements, it must have flourished in its full beauty and perfection; so that neither then, nor now, can the use of the English tongue in Ireland be urged as a proof of the subjugation of the Irish[v].

The adoption of the English dress supplies no better proof of the conquest of Ireland by the English. It is only within my own days that English dress has been commonly worn. We never were victims of such fickleness that, like Proteus, we should be constantly changing our dress, according to the fleeting fashions daily imported from England.

ready established by the Northmen. The materials for tracing the history of the English language in Ireland, previous to the sixteenth century, are very scanty; with the exception of the Conquest of Ireland (*ex* Maurice Regan), which is in Norman French, and the French translations by Godfred of Waterford in the fourteenth century (*Harris, Ware*, p. 76), the works of Irish writers are almost exclusively Latin or Irish. Some of the old English ballads were, until within a late period, popular in parts of the county of Wexford. There is no Anglo-Irish border minstrelsy, though the whole island was intersected by marches. Yet this Statute of Kilkenny, the first that prohibited the Irish language to the English race, and the Irish living among the English, was confirmed in all the Irish Parliaments down to 1495.—*Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. xiii. After a lapse of forty-two years, the Statute was revived in 1537; all Irishmen were ordered to the "uttermost of their wisdom, power, and cunning," to learn the English. The parochial clergy were bound by oath to keep an English school in their parishes.—*Irish Stat.*, vol. i. p. 121. In 1569, the 12 Elizabeth ordered the erection of a school in each diocese, but with what effect may be learned from the preceding notes, and from the report presented to the Queen in 1599, wherein it is stated that the want of schools "to learn younglings the English tongue" was the great misery of the Pale; and that Irish bards, harpers, and rhymers, were there entertained, which proved how perfectly the English had learned "the Irish behaviour."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. pp. 296, 299; see note, *suprà*, p. 22.

[illegible] Hibernici [illegible] esse, [illegible] vestium Anglis similiorum [illegible] Dublinum transmi[illegible] qui non [illegible] gestandum [illegible] Hiberni [illegible] quamquam [illegible] quaecumque vest[illegible] accommodent [illegible]

[illegible] levetum [illegible] amplitudinem [illegible] gentibus Romani [illegible]

[illegible]

Barnabas Rich very properly declared "that he was not such an enemy to the prosperity of Irishmen as to advise them to conform to all English fashions. Hardly can you find a single carrier going from Chester to Dublin who does not import different fashions of dress, both for men and for women, from England. The Irish are proud and enthusiastic, but they are not fickle enough to accommodate themselves rashly to every whim of fashion[w]."

I never heard that Rome compelled by law any of her conquered provinces to abandon their own dress, or to adopt her own. For the Romans were distinguished from all other nations by the toga. To this the lines of the poet allude:

"O'er the wide world the Roman toga reigns."

Exiles were certainly prohibited to wear the toga, in order to deprive them not only of their country, but of every mark by which they could be recognised as Romans. Once expunged from the roll of Roman citizenship, they were, in a manner, condemned to adopt the dress of the barbarians to whose country they were banished. Scipio, as we learn from Livy, was censured for having appeared in the gymnasium with cloak and sandals; Cicero charged Verres with having worn, while prætor, sandals and a purple pallium, and, in his Philippics, he accuses some judges of using the pallium and toga indiscriminately, as if the use of the ordinary dress of the Greeks, instead of the Roman toga, were a degenerate adoption of Grecian customs. Different kinds of plays even had their distinctive names from the ornaments and dress worn by the players. The Grecian were called "palliatæ," from the dress of that nation; the Roman "togatæ." Thus the toga was a distinctive mark of every Roman citizen. Other nations were persuaded rather than compelled to adopt it. Thus, as Tacitus observes, "the Roman dress was considered respectable by the Britons, and the toga was generally worn by them." But who has ever heard that the Greeks were prevented from wearing their pallium and casiaca, or the Sardinians their

often killed, being mistaken for Irishmen, enacted that all Englishmen should wear their head-dress *at least* in the English fashion, and not twine their hair into "culans," under penalty of imprisonment and degradation to the level of mere Irishmen. This statute was much more tolerant than the subsequent tailor legislation.—*Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc.*, p. 22. Mr. Moore's assertion on this subject (vol. iii. p. 41) is not correct.

Galli suo bardocucullo, Britanni suâ bracchâ, Germani suis rhenibus, Hispani suo strigio, Candei suo arsineo aut tyarâ, Persæ suâ capyri, Massilienses suo chortæo, Armenii suo micorone, Troades suo peplo, aut Babylonii suâ canace uterentur? Illarum enim gentium plerasque Romani armis domuerunt. Multùm igitur a veritate Stanihurstus abiit, superantium vestem semper a superatis gestatam esse asserens, et in ejusmodi mutatione vestium subjectionis tesseram collocans.

Nec magis verè dixit, ubi victi venere in vincentium ditionem, ad horum leges, confestim illos, avitis institutis abjectis, transire oportere, cum contraria consuetudo Græcis familiaris fuerit. Etenim "Lacedemonii, et initio Athenienses, in captas civitates nullum sibi vendicabant imperium[16]." Regi Macedoniæ Philippo, "Romanus Consul pacem dedit, regnumque concessit. Græciæ quoque veterem statum reddidit, ut legibus viveret suis, et avitâ libertate frueretur. Regi quoque Syriæ Antiocho victo et supplici pacem atque partem, regni dari placuit: Pompeius supplicem jussit regnare Tigranem nam victor gentium populus, et donare regna consuevit[17]." Dario victo hanc aliquoties conditionem ferebat Alexander, ut ipse imperaret aliis, pareret Alexandro[18]. In Bythiniâ Proconsulari Provinciâ Apamæ civitatem privilegium habuisse Plinius ait sub arbitrio Remp. administrandi[19]. Et idem Plinius alibi[20] quoque docet suos magistratus et suum senatum esse. Sic in Ponto Amisenorum civitas legibus suis utebatur, Luculli beneficio. Gothi, victis Romanis, leges reliquerunt Romanas. Imò "Guillelmus ipse conquestor in Normannis victoribus et Anglis victis regendis, iisdem legibus usus est, quæ per Angliam, diu ante illam a Guillelmo subjugatam viguerunt[21]." Edwardus primus Anglicanarum legum observationem Wallis non imperavit, sed Wallorum legibus quæ in multis, legibus Hibernicis conformes erant, "diligenter auditis, et pleniùs intellectis (verba decreti sunt), quasdam permisimus, quasdam correximus, ac etiam quasdam alias adjiciendas et faciendas decrevimus." Non enim nuperus ritus erat ut,

"Firmetur senium juris, priscamque resumant
Canitiem leges, emendenturque vetustæ
Accedantque novæ[22]."

[16] Grotius de Jure Belli, lib. iii. c. 15. [17] Florus, lib. i. c. 7, lib. iii. cc. 5 et 9. [18] Diodorus, lib. vii. [19] Lib. x. ex. 48, 84, 117, 119. [20] Ep. xcvii. [21] Davis, p. 127. [22] Claudius in Consulatu Honorii.

mastruca, or the Gauls their bardocucullus, or the Germans their rheno, or the Britons their bracchа, or the Spaniards their strigium, or the Cretans their turban or tiara, the Persians their capyris, the Marseillois their chortæum, the Armenians their micorone, the Trojans their peplum, or the Babylonians their canax? Yet all these nations were subdued by the Romans. It was, therefore, a gross error of Stanihurst to assert that conquered nations always adopted the dress of their conquerors, or that such a change of dress was any test of subjugation.

Not less untruly has he asserted that, when conquered nations lost their independence, they renounced their own institutions for those of the conquerors. The contrary was a usual custom among the Greeks: "The Lacedemonians, and for some time the Athenians, reserved no dominion over the captured cities." "The Roman Consul granted peace to Philip, King of Macedon, and permitted him to reign. He also restored the old constitution of Greece, and gave her the enjoyment of her own laws and her ancient liberty. When Antiochus, King of Syria, was conquered and sued for peace, part of his kingdom was restored to him. Pompey raised the suppliant Tigranes to a throne, for the people which conquered kingdoms used also to give them away." The conditions imposed on Darius by the victorious Alexander were, that he might reign as a king over all others, provided he acknowledged himself a vassal of Alexander. The city of Apameæ, Pliny tells us, had the privilege of managing its own political concerns in the proconsular province of Bithynia; and from the same authority we know that other places had their own magistrates and senate, such as the city of Amisena in Pontus, to which Lucullus granted the use of its own laws. The Goths conquered the Romans, but spared their laws. "Even William the Conqueror himself governed his victorious Normans and conquered English by these very laws which had been in force in England long before the conquest." English laws were not forced on the Welsh by Edward I.; but, "after a diligent examination and full review of the Welsh laws (which in many points resembled the Irish), his decree permitted some, amended others, and enacted some other additional constitutions:" for it was not unusual to

"Confirm old laws, restore their ancient truth;
Breathe o'er their hoary forms the life of youth;
New laws enact ——."

[19] Obolescunt enim non rarò leges, et nonnunquam pro temporum ac | rerum conversione figuntur et refiguntur. Crebrò etiam præstantiores finitimi populi leges abrogatis a Repub. domesticis subrogantur. Sic duodecim tabularum leges Romam Athenis decemviri tulerunt, et ad Remp. suam administrandam accomodârunt. Nec proinde tamen Athenienses summo cum imperio Romanis præfuisse quis unquam dixit: ut falsò Stanihurstus constituerit populum quemque iis obnoxium esse, quorum leges amplexus est.

Nihilominus fingamus tantisper compertissimum expugnationis indicium esse expugnatos legibus ab expugnante indictis parere, certè vel hinc Hibernos immunitatem totos quadringentos annos post Hiberniam Anglicis armis infestatam, ab Anglorum expugnatione nactos fuisse liquidò constabit[23], cùm illo temporis intervallo, nullum Anglicis legibus obsequium Hiberni detulerint[24]. Quamvis enim Henricus II. comitia Lismoræ habuerit ubi "Leges" (inquit Mathæus Paris) "Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ, et juratoriâ cautione præstitâ confirmatæ[25]," et Rex Joannes duodecimo regni sui et Christi nati 1211 anno, leges Anglicas, et consuetudines in Hiberniâ statuerit, et magistratus iis administrandis constituerit, ac "duxerit secum viros discretos, et legis peritos quorum communi consilio statuit, et præcepit leges Anglicanas teneri in Hiberniâ[26];" Henricus quoque III. undecimo Regni, et Christi nati 1227 suos in Hiberniâ subditos iis immunitatibus frui jusserit, quas pater, ac ipse Anglis indulserunt, edicens, "quòd omnes leges et consuetudines quæ in Regno Angliæ tenentur, et eadem Hiberniæ terra ejusdem legibus subjaceat ac per easdem regatur[27];" tamen angustis Anglicæ provinciæ finibus leges illæ constringebantur et ad reliquas Hiberniæ regiones non manabant[28]. Provinciam autem Anglicanam comitatus Dubliniensis, Kildariensis, Medensis, et Louthensis constituebant, quæ sola ditio legibus Anglicis obedientiam exhibebat[29]; ita ut anno Henrici VIII. decimo tertio, et post Christum

[23] Davis, p. 10, Historical Tracts, London, Edit. 1786. [24] Ibid, p. 80. [25] Hist. Maj., fol. 121. [26] Davis, p. 81. [27] Ibid., p. 82. [28] Ibid., 184. [29] Ibid., p. 111, et seq.

[x] General assertions of this kind occur in a few following pages; but, though they are founded on the authority of Sir John Davis, they lead the reader into error. The history of Ireland from 1172 to the sixteenth century is not the history of one country, but of different principalities.—What is true of one is not true of another;

For laws often fall into desuetude, and are amended and remodelled according to the changes of times and circumstances. It often happens too that the good laws of a neighbouring state are adopted and substituted for the national laws. The Decemvirs introduced from Athens to Rome the laws of the twelve tables, and adapted them to the Roman constitution. But who can thence infer that the Athenians had dominion over the Romans? Stanihurst was, therefore, wrong in his assertion that a nation becomes the subject of those whose laws it adopts.

But, suppose for a moment, that the adoption of the invader's laws, by the invaded nation, were an unquestionable proof of subjugation, still it is perfectly evident that for full four hundred years after the descent of the invaders on the Irish shores, Ireland could not be said to be conquered; for, during that whole interval, the Irish paid no obedience to English laws[x]. "Henry II., it is true, held that assembly at Lismore, in which," as Matthew Paris tells us, "the laws of England were gratefully accepted, and confirmed by the sanction of an oath." John, in the twelfth year of his reign, A. D. 1211, introduced English laws and customs into Ireland, and appointed magistrates to administer them: "He brought with him discreet men and learned in the law, by whose common counsel he ordered and enacted the establishment of English laws in Ireland." Henry III., in the eleventh year of his reign, A. D. 1227, confirmed to his subjects in Ireland the enjoyment of those privileges which he and his father had granted, "ordering that all the laws and customs in force in England should be established and obeyed in the land of Ireland." But those laws were confined to the narrow limits of the English provinces, and did not extend to the other districts of Ireland. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Louth[y], formed the English province, beyond which English laws were not observed; so that, in the year 1522, the thirteenth of Henry VIII., a complaint was made

and most of them had their fluctuations of independence and subjection.

[y] Dr. Lynch's references to Davis are invariably correct; but they are sometimes, as in this instance, so arranged, that they mislead the reader. The English "Pale" was unknown in the reign of Henry III.; there was no distinction then between degenerate English and liege English; the reign of English law, over the English colonists, was coextensive with their possessions, which included a large and the more fertile portion of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, together with the country east of Lough Neagh and the Bann in Ulster.—*Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny*, p. xxiii.

natum 1522 querela instituta fuit, quòd legum Anglicarum authoritas ultra quatuor illos comitatus non produceretur," legibus Hibernicis per cæteras Hiberniæ partes, citra obicem dominantibus. Imò et per mediocres eorundem comitatuum tractus, mediam scilicet comitatus Dubliniensis, et Medensis, ac tertiam Kildariensis, Louthensisque partem[30]. Itaque tantùm exiguorum illorum finium incolæ ad comitia evocabantur, extra quos Regis diplomata nullum nacta sunt obsequium[31]; ita ut Angli non integram unius Hiberniæ ternionis possessionem adiverint. "Initio quidem Rex Joannes anno suprà memorato, suæ ditionis in Hiberniâ agros in duodecim comitatus digessit (nimirum præter quatuor jam productos) in Lageniâ, Catherlacensem, Kilkeniensem, et Wexfordiensem: in Momoniâ, Waterfordiensem, Corcagiensem, Limbricensem, Kierriensem, et Tiperariensem[32]. In his tantùm leges Anglicæ promulgabantur, et executioni mandabantur. Has duntaxat judices jus administraturi obibant, et non alias Hiberniæ plagas ab Hibernis insessas, duosque ad minimum Regni trientes amplexas, quorum postremi quatuor comitatus, post aliquod temporis curriculum, leges Hibernicas subierunt, quæ a solo illo Anglicæ provinciæ angulo exclusæ reliquam Hiberniam universam citra exceptionem pervagatæ sunt[33].

[30] Davis, pp. 160 et 184. [31] Ibid., pp. 100, 184, 185, 188. [32] Ibid., pp. 99, 199. [33] Ibid., pp. 49, 188, 189.

[z] "In that space of time which was between the tenth year of King Edward II. and the thirtieth year of King Edward III. (I speak within compass) all the old English colonies in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and more than a third part of Leinster, became *degenerate*, and fell away from the Crown of England, so as only the four shires of the English Pale remained under the obedience of the law, and yet the borders and marches thereof were grown unruly, being subject to black rents and tribute to the Irish."—*Davis*, p. 160. But the Statute of Kilkenny re-established the law for a short time in some of the *degenerate*—or, as the native Irish called them, *civilized*—districts.—pp. 172, 178.

[a] The marches or borders had, especially after the battle of Wakefield, made those encroachments on the shire-ground, and were governed by what was called "March Law." The boundaries of the Pale, at this time, are known from several statutes published by Mr. Hardiman.—*Statute of Kilkenny*. In 1494, all the inhabitants from the Liffey to "the mountain in Kildare," and from the Liffey to Trim, and so on to Meath and Uriel, were ordered to build a ditch six feet high around the Pale.—p. 4. This line, in 1515, ran from Dundalk to Ardee, Kells, Dangan, Kilcock, Clane, Naas, Kilcullen-bridge, Ballymore Eustace, Rathmore, Rathcoole, Tallaght, Dalkey.—p. xxviii. Outside of this line lay the marches. For the frontier castles, see *ibid.*, p. xxvi. Baron Finglas gives an amusing

that beyond those counties English laws were not in force, and that Irish laws reigned supreme and without a rival[a]; and even in considerable districts of these four counties, namely, half of Dublin and Meath, and one-third of Louth and Kildare[a], Irish laws were predominant. Such were the confined limits from which Parliaments were summoned[b]; beyond them the king's writ was powerless[c]; so that the English never had full possession of even one-third part of Ireland[d]. "King John, it is true, in the year already mentioned, divided all the territories of his Irish lordship into twelve counties in Leinster and Munster, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Tipperary. In these only were the English laws published and put in execution, and in these only did the itinerant judges make their circuits and visitation of justice, and not in the countries possessed by the Irish, which contained two-third parts of the kingdom at least; even the four last-named counties, after a short time, embraced Irish law[e], which, being thus excluded only from that little corner, the English Pale, ruled supreme over every other part of Ireland."

description of the means to be employed to preserve the four half-shires, the last shred of English power: "The Lord Deputy," he suggests, "should be employed eight days every summer cutting passes through the border-woods."—*Harris's Hiber.*, p. 102.

[b] This was the case during part of the fifteenth century only. In the 14 Henry VII., Sir Ed. Poyning annulled the Parliament lately held at Drogheda, on the ground that the writs had been issued only to the Pale. Thenceforward he ordered all the shires to be summoned; but "his laws were like good lessons set for a lute that is broken and out of tune."—*Davis, Histor. Desc.*, p. 188.

[c] Even so late as 1536, the Lord Deputy complained that the King's Justices could not resort to the shires beyond the Barrow. —*State Papers*, part iii. vol. ii. p. 411. In 1488, the Earl of Kildare, and other Lords of the Pale, threatened the King's representative, Sir Richard Edgecombe, that they "would become Irish every one of them," if he did not accede to their terms.—*Harris's Hibernica*, p. 65. Many of them, probably, carried the threat into execution.

[d] This assertion is made on the authority of Sir John Davis (p. 100); but the English race held considerably more than one-third of the island. Stephen White writes: "Hodie et a 400 annis inhabitant longè maximam et meliorem portionem Iberniæ, omnesque ejus urbes et portus insigniores." —Cap. v. fol. 28, *MSS.*

[e] Mr. Hardiman doubts whether the twelve counties were formed by King John.—*Stat. of Kilkenny*, p 102. From most of them, English law was banished, not by the native Irish, but the degenerate English, "who became more mortal enemies to the English name and nation than the mere Irish."—

Præterea Hibernici Reguli, redditus et tributum quod vulgò nigrum dicebatur, ab Anglicæ provinciæ limitibus referebant[34]: quos tamen census, ante 28 Henrici VIII. et Christi 1537 annum, comitia non sustulerunt. Eadem quoque comitia sanciverunt, ut, in ditionibus Hibernorum imperio parentibus, homicidii reis mulcta quadraginta librarum irrogaretur, quarum viginti Rex Angliæ, et alias viginti ditionis Toparcha perciperet[35]; et ut minoris furti quatuordecim denarios non superantis convictus, pro mulctâ, quinque marcas, utpote viginti sex solidos et octo denarios Toparchæ, ejus autem successori designato viginti solidos persolveret: annuentibus nimirum Anglis ut Hibernici Reguli suis limitibus, legibus, et vectigalibus liberè potirentur. Ita
[20] ut pace subinde ac pactione utraque pars | devincta fuisse videatur. Plurimis enim horum a suis tribulibus injuriam perpessis opem illi crebrò tulerunt. Sic "Rodulfus Ufford, Justiciarius Hiberniæ, Ulto-

[34] Davis, p. 160. [35] Ibid., pp. 193, 194.

Davis, p. 148. Carlow, and the greater part of Wexford, were seized by Art Mac Murrough in 1327; and his descendants, in conjunction with the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles of Wicklow, held thirty miles of country from the Barrow to the sea, during more than two centuries.—*Harris, Hib.*, p. 81. The native Irish of South Kilkenny and Tipperary, Limerick, East Cork, Waterford, and a large portion of Kerry, never rose after the conquest; and English law was in force in Kilkenny and Tipperary until about the year 1478.—*Ibid.*, p. 102. Munster, from Limerick to Cork, was also obedient to the King's laws during 160 years from the conquest (*ibid.*, p. 83), that is, until the memorable year 1342, when the Anglo-Irish Lords assembled in convention at Kilkenny, complained to the King that the native Irish had reconquered one-third of their old territories. They also stated: "Ensement sire vos chasteaux de Roscoman, Randon, et Athlon, Bunrat, et autrez chasteaux et forceletz qe deussent estre en votre mein et par queux tot le pais entour soleit estre confort et defende, si sont ore en mein des Irreys enemys."—*Liber Mun.*, part iv. p. 32. Whoever would study Irish history from 1172 to the accession of Henry VIII., must take 1342 as one of his epochs. The native Irish never lost, but rather continued to extend the power which they had then regained.

[f] The black mail or tribute paid to the native Irish in 1515 is known from the State Papers (vol. ii. part iii. p. 9). O'Conor had £300 from the county Meath, and £20 from Kildare; O'Neill of Clannaboy, £40 from the barony of Lecale; O'Neill of Tyrone, £40 from Louth; O'Carroll, £40 from Kilkenny; the county of Limerick paid £40 to O'Brien of Arragh, and £40 to the great O'Brien; Mac Murrough received £40 from Wexford, and eighty marks from the King's Exchequer. The Editor cannot ascertain at what precise time these counties thus became tributary to the native Irish. Mac Murrough enjoyed his eighty marks from the reign of Edward III. (*Harris, Hib.*, p. 82); and in the same

The Irish chiefs, moreover, levied on the inhabitants of the English Pale the tribute known by the name of the "black rent[f],"—a tribute which no parliament disputed before the year 1537, the 28 Henry VIII.[g] But in that same parliament it was ordained, that homicides committed within the dominions of Irish princes should be punished with a fine of forty pounds, half of which went to the King of England, the other half to the Irish chieftain. At the same time it was ordered, that all thefts of sums below fourteen pence should be punished with fines of five marks, of which twenty-six shillings and eight pence went to the Irish chieftain, and twenty shillings to his tanist, or appointed successor; the English themselves thus expressly recognising the right of the Irish prince to have his own laws and tributes within his own territories[h]. The relations between the two races were regulated by formal treaties of peace; thus we find the English sometimes coming to the aid of Irish princes[i]. "Ralph Ufford, the Justiciary of Ireland, entered Ulster, de-

reign, after the Statute of Kilkenny in 1367, this custom of paying the Irish was gradually adopted.—*Liber Munerum*, vol. i. p. 24. It was part of the system adopted by Sir William de Windsor in 1369, who accepted the Government on the understanding that he was to act only on the defensive.—*Ibid.* Then also the King reduced the scutage according to the quantity of land reconquered by the Irish.—*Ibid.*

[g] In 1529, Baron Finglas proposed that "no black rent be paid to any Irishman for the four shires, and any black rent they had afore this time to be paid to them for ever." —*Harris, Hibernica*, p. 101. The statute of Henry VIII. (c. 11, *Rot. P.* c. 16) could not be carried into effect; for, so late as 1599, the Irish Council complain to the Queen that English subjects still pay most oppressive black rents.—*Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 301.

[h] Davis (pp. 216, 217, ed. 1666) cites, for these arrangements, not the Statutes, but the Council Book of Ireland, 33 Henry VIII. They were a sort of compromise between English law and sovereignty on the one side, and Brehon law and Irish independence on the other, when the Irish chiefs submitted to the Lord Deputy. But Davis, from whom Dr. Lynch takes the facts, admits that, "though it was a good beginning, yet it was far from reducing Ireland to the perfect obedience of the Crown of England." As to the fines intended to be levied for manslaughter and theft, "no forfeiture, fine, or revenue (certain or casual), did accrue to the Crown out of these provinces, namely, Connaught, Ulster, Munster, and a great part of Leinster."

[i] Dr. Lynch, in this inference, and the facts by which he supports it, confounds two political states of Ireland entirely different. Ireland, in 1344, was quite different from Ireland in 1537. In the latter year the royal power began to be generally felt; in the former, especially after 1333, it interfered as one native chieftain with another, either as rival, enemy, or ally.

niam intravit[36] et Henricum Regem Ultoniæ deposuit e regno, substituto Odone O'Neil pro eo." Præterea "Conello O'Mordha patriæ suæ principe ac domino nefariè cæso, Angli filium ejus primogenitum nomine Rorium, Davide defuncto germano viro potente et divite, et parem de natione suâ non habente, qui principatum sibi per nefas arrogavit amoto, cum consensu populi principem elegerunt, et armis ab hostis injuriâ vendicârunt[37]."

Siquidem per ea tempora judiciis ex Anglicarum legum præscripto exercendis via strata non fuit; necdum enim in provinciis comitatus certis regionibus definiti fuerunt[38]; nam primorum comitatuum institutio in Christi nati annum 1556, Philippo et Mariâ tertium regni annum transgressis, incidit; Thomâ Sussexiæ comite et Hiberniæ prorege statuente ut Laighsia O'Morhi et Huifalgia O'Conchauri ditiones pro duobus comitatibus deinde haberentur, et illa Reginæ, hæc Regis comitatus nuncuparetur. Postea Henricus Sidnæus Hi-

[36] Johannes Clynn, ad ann. 1344. [37] Idem, ad ann. 1348. [38] Davis, p. 197.

[j] Neither Grace's Annals nor Pembridge record the deposition of Henry O'Neill, though they state, A. D. 1344, that Ufford *escaped* by the aid of the men of Oriel into Ulster from MacCartan, who took all his baggage, gold, and silver, and some of his soldiers, in the pass of Emerdullam. This defeat of the King's representavive by a Mac Cartan was a strange preliminary to the deposition of an O'Neill, the great Lord of the North. The Four Masters do not record Ufford's expedition. In 1345 they record an unsuccessful expedition of Hugh O'Neill against the Clannaboy, and, in 1346, the slaughter of 300 English by Mac Mahon. Ufford's interposition, whatever it was, was certainly exceptional in those times, and its nature may be understood from the fact, that the same Hugh O'Neill appears fighting against the English in 1354.—*Ibid.*

[k] Not recorded in Grace or the Four Masters. The case exhibits rather the weakness than the power of the English Crown; for, in 1346, the O'Moore had burned the castles of Ley and Kilmehede, and all the counties of Leinster and Munster were assessed to reduce him. He made a gallant resistance.—*Grace's Annals.* Rory O'Moore, the English nominee, was slain by his own men in 1354.—*Four Masters.*

[l] There must be some error in the text here. Dr. Lynch cannot mean that the King's and Queen's Counties were the *first* counties established in Ireland, and governed by English law.—See *suprà*, p. 200.

[m] Leix proper is the present Queen's County, except the Barony of Upper Ossory, which belonged to the Fitzpatricks of Ossory, and the baronies of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, which were part of Offaly, and belonged to O'Dunne and O'Dempsey. —*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 105. Leix, as part of the lordship of Leinster, fell to the lot of Eva de Braosa (grand-daughter of Eva Mac Murrough), at the partition made

posed Henry King of Ulster, and placed Aedh O'Neill[j] on the throne." Again: "After the savage murder of Conall O'Mordha, lord and chieftain of his land, the English, with the consent of the natives, elected his eldest son, Rory, and brought an army to his support, against his uncle, David, a wealthy man and the most powerful in the country, who had treacherously seized on the principality[k]."

The truth is, there were no means in those times of enforcing the English laws in the administration of justice, because the provinces had not as yet been reduced into the regular and defined forms of English counties. The first example of the institution of an English county was in the year 1556[l], the third of Philip and Mary, when Lord Thomas Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, reduced Leix[m] and Offaly[n], the countries of the O'Mores and O'Conors, into English shire-ground, calling the former the Queen's, the latter the King's County. Henry Sydney,

between the five daughters of William Earl Marshall, A. D. 1247. — *Cox*, p. 45. But it recovered its independence in the year 1327 (*Clynn's Annals*) under Lisagh. O'More, who took eight castles in one night, razed the fort of Dunamase; and it maintained that independence, with occasional reverses, down to 1556. Davis and Baron Finglas both date the fall of the English power in Leinster from this revolution in Leix.—*Davis, Discovery*, p. 156; *Harris, Hib.*, p. 81; see note [r], *suprà*, p. 20. Very few O'Mores are now in the Queen's County, the whole race having been either cut off by the sword during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, or banished by James I. A manuscript history of the Irish Franciscans, in my possession, written in 1617, states that no O'More was allowed to come within a certain distance of the Queen's County.

[n] Offaly, the land of O'Conor Failghe, before the English invasion, included the baronies of East and West Offaly in Kildare, and those of Upper and Lower Philipstown, Geashill, Warrenstown, and Coolestown, in the King's; and those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's County. The Kildare portion was seized by Fitzgerald after the invasion.—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 44. O'Conor was hemmed in on the north and north-east, by the English of Meath, from Durrow Castle, and by the Birminghams of Carbury. His demesnes must indeed have been confined to the derries of the Bog of Allen, and the tract around Killeigh and Tullamore. There was an English castle at Geashill; yet the O'Conors were not contemptible even when English power was strongest. In 1284 they burned the castle of Ley; and, in 1294 they burned the rolls and tallies of the county [of Kildare?]. In 1305, the King and his brother were treacherously murdered in the house of Birmingham in Carbury; but, in 1307, the Offaly Irish burned Leix, and, in 1308, Athy. — *Grace's Annals*. From Bruce's invasion, their power, like that of their fellow-countrymen, was generally on the increase. There is no proof that the King's writ ever ran in O'Conor Offaly before 1556. Not so in Leix.

berniæ prorex, Annaliam O'Farelliorum[39] in Lageniâ ditionem Elizabethâ Reginâ comitatus Longfordiæ nomine affecit. Eidem quoque Sidnæo comitatuum in Conaciâ institutionem Davisius ascribit[40], illo, qui res in Hiberniâ, Joanne Perrotto Prorege, gestas scripsit[41] reclamante, ac dicente: posse quidem fieri ut a Sidnæo excogitati fuerint; sed extra controversiam a Perrotto sex in Conaciâ comitatus, Clarensem, Galviensem, Sligoensem, Mayoensem, Roscomanensem, et Letrimensem, sub annum a Virginis partu 1586 constitutos fuisse. Idem scriptor addit[42] eundem quoque Perrottum, septem in Ultoniâ comitatus erexisse, nominatim Ardmachanum, Manachanensem, Tyronensem, Coleranensem, Donegallensem, Fermanachensem, et Cavanensem. Video tamen in Camdeno Ultoniam duos præterea comitatus complecti Dunensem et Antrimensem. Nec in hos, aut illos Ultoniæ co-

[39] Davis, p. 199. [40] Ibid., p. 199. [41] Pag. 86. [42] Pag. 41, et Davis, p. 203.

[o] The English castellated part of Longford at a very early period; but the O'Farrells, its lords, were not crushed.—See *Four Mast.*, A. D. 1262, 1282, vol. i. pp. 387, 437.

[p] Davis states that, though Sidney divided Connaught into six counties, he never sent any justices of assize to visit that province; but placed commissioners there, who governed it only in a course of discretion—part martial, part civil.—p. 201.

[q] The author referred to claims the perfecting of the division for Sir John Perrott, who named judges, justices of the peace, and sheriffs, and effected the great composition.—See the documents fully abstracted, and for the first time printed, in *Hardiman's Iar-Connacht*, pp. 299–362.

[r] Clare was then placed under the same President as Connaught; but it was reunited to Munster, at the request of the Earl of Thomond, after the battle of Kinsale. Finglas says he had read that the O'Briens of Clare never yielded obedience to the King's laws; but he could prove they had paid tribute during 100 years.—*Har. Hib.*, p. 83. According to Davis, except Felim O'Conor, O'Brien was the only Irish chieftain, before the sixteenth century, who had his lands under a grant from the Crown. The grant was given, in 1221, in the minority of Henry III.—p. 111. Dating from that period, the 100 years mentioned by Finglas bring us to Bruce's invasion. But it is highly improbable that the tribute was paid regularly, if at all. Before 1221, namely, in 1185 and 1192, the English had carried off some plunder from Thomond. In 1207 they attempted to build a castle at Killaloe, but were defeated; and O'Brien an Tleyve destroyed the castles of Birr, Kinetty, Lorrah, and Ballyroan. In 1213[0?], the English built a castle at Roscrea, rebuilt those of Kinetty and Birr in 1214, and succeeded, in 1216, in building the castle of Killaloe, and compelling the people to take an English bishop. In 1225 we find Donough Cairheach O'Brien in alliance with the English against the Irish of Connaught; but ten years later he opposes them, but is defeated, and gives hostages. In 1257, the O'Briens defeat the English of Munster and Connaught.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, afterwards, in the reign of Elizabeth, formed Annaly, the country of the O'Farrells[o] in Leinster, into an English county, which he called Longford. Davis ascribes[p] to the same governor the establishment of the Connaught counties. But in this he is opposed by the authority of the author of the "Life and Deeds of Sir John Perrott," who admits that Sydney may have had such an intention[q]; but asserts that the six counties, Clare[r], Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim, were formed by Perrott in the year 1586[s]. He also attributes to Perrott the institution of seven Ulster counties: Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan. But Camden, I find, includes in Ulster two other counties, Down and Antrim[t]. It is, however, beyond a doubt, that English law

In 1258 one of them forms at Cael-uisge, on Lough Erne, a national league with O'Conor and O'Neill against the English. In 1260 Fitzgerald invades Thomond, but is defeated. In 1261 one of the O'Briens sacks Castleconnell. In 1269, in conjunction with O'Conor, they gave a bloody defeat to the English at Carrick-on-Shannon. In 1270 they destroyed the English castle of Clare, but, in 1273, were subdued by Fitzgerald, and compelled to give hostages. In 1277 the O'Brien was treacherously slain by De Clare; but, in 1278, the invader's forces were cut off, and himself taken prisoner.—*Moore*, vol. iii. p. 34. These facts enable the reader to judge of the assertion of Baron Finglas. Few English settled in Clare before Cromwell's time.

[s] Dr. Lynch omits the fact that, before the Parliament of Kilkenny, A. D. 1296, Connaught had been divided into two counties, namely, Connaught and Roscommon; the latter, it is thought, lying north, the former south, of an undefined line from the Shannon to the sea. See *Miscellany of Irish Arch. Soc.*, p. 25, and *Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 106. According to Finglas, all the land from Sligo to Thomond was not merely tributary but obedient to English law during forty years, to the reign of Edward III.—*Harris, Hib.*, p. 86. These forty years, no doubt, end in 1333, when the Earl of Ulster was murdered, and commence, probably, about 1286, when an Earl of Ulster took the hostages of all Connaught. But a glance at the Four Masters (pp. 447, 457) shows what sort of obedience to English law prevailed in the interim. It would be easy to prove that the authority of an English sheriff, without an army, was of no weight in a large portion of Connaught at any time previous to the close of the sixteenth century, though the English had made extensive settlements there. Mr. O'Donovan has supplied the following list of places in Connaught, where the Irish always maintained their ground, even before Bruce's invasion: 1. The plains of Rathcroghan; 2. The plains of Boyle; 3. The forests of Sliabh Badhna in Roscommon; 4. Iar-Connaught, from Lough Corrib to the ocean, where the O'Flahertys remained unconquered. So late as 1610, a lease of part of this district was made to two persons for having reduced it to English law.—*Stat. of Kilkenny*, p. 36.

[t] The history of Antrim and Down is

mitatus legum Anglicarum administrationi, Perrotto ad Hiberniæ gubernacula sedente, accessus patuit. Etenim Guillelmo Fitz-Williams Perrottum in Proregis dignitate secuto, se Farmanachensi comitatui vicecomitem ad jus administrandum præfecturum indicanti, Maguirum respondisse Davisius refert[43]: "vicecomitis quidem adventum sibi gra-

[43] Davis, p. 166.

different from that of the other Ulster counties. De Courcy, at the cost of some bloody defeats, *plundered* all; he castellated and colonized the greater part of Antrim and Down only. With the exception of an occasional invasion of an O'Neill or an O'Donnell, the latter counties lived under English law until the Clan Hugh-Boy O'Neill established themselves firmly east of Lough Neagh and the Bann, and hemmed in the English in the Ards, where they lived under tribute or black mail. As to the other counties, there is no proof that the English made any *permanent* settlement in them previous to the year 1600, with the exception perhaps of the borders of Cavan, and Monaghan, and part of Armagh, and the banks of the Bann. In Monaghan, Davis found only four names (Mac Mahon, O'Connelly, M'Kena, and Mac Cabe) so late as 1607 (*Hist. Tracts*, p. 249), "and of those the Mac Mahons were the proudest sept among the Irish, and do ever soonest repine, and kick, and spurn at English government."—*Ibid.*, p. 241. This county was confiscated by the attainder of Shane O'Neill.—p. 242. The Four Masters do not record the erection of any English castle in it for centuries after the invasion, except one at Clones in 1212, which was thrown down in 1213 by Hugh O'Neill. Fermanagh was never reduced to the Crown by "attainder, surrender, or other resumption whatever," before the administration of Sir J. Perrott.—*Ibid.*, p. 233. Cavan was the land of the O'Reillys; and "its possessions were never well distinguished and established" before the reign of Elizabeth (*Ibid.*, p. 235), that is, we may say, it had been in the hands of the Irish almost exclusively. Its chieftains appear several times giving hostages to O'Neill or O'Donnell during the thirteenth century. Cathal O'Reilly destroyed the castle of Kilmore in 1226, and in 1233 defeated the invaders, and gave them "neither pledge nor hostage."—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 269. One thing appears certain, that the English expeditions against Tyrone and Tyrconnell were generally made, not through Cavan, Armagh, or Monaghan, but from Coleraine, Cael-uisge, and the castle of Sligo.

With regard to Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Baron Finglas states that both were left under tribute, but does not say when or how long.—*Harris, Hib.*, p. 83. O'Muldorry, lord of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, died in the thirtieth year of his reign, 1197. He fought to the death against De Courcy. In 1199 the English penetrated as far as Dungannon, but suffered a bloody defeat from Hugh O'Neill. De Lacy was also repelled in 1206, without hostage or submission. Hugh O'Neill visits King John at Carrickfergus in 1210, but makes no submission (*Lib. Munerum*, vol. i. c. iv. p. 14); burns Carlingford 1214; gets his own demands from the English in 1221; plunders the English of Connaught in 1225; and dies a natural death in 1230; though, says the annalist, all believed that such a destroyer

was not received in any of these counties during the reign of Elizabeth. For when William Fitzwilliam, the successor of Perrott, proposed to send a sheriff into the county Fermanagh, to administer justice, Davis says that Maguire answered he would be most happy to receive the sheriff, but that he wished to know the amount of his eric,

of the invaders could not die but by the hands of the English. In 1232 Tyrone and Tyrconnell are at feud, and Maurice Fitzgerald and the Earl of Ulster take hostages from both in 1238; but the English nominee in Tyrone was deposed; and, in 1241, Brian O'Neill and O'Donnell formed a league. Fitzgerald defeated both chieftains in 1247; slew O'Donnell; partitioned Tyrconnell; was resisted immediately by his own nominee, O'Canannain, whom he deposed. He gave the country to Godfrey O'Donnell, and took hostages from O'Neill in 1248; but, in 1253, O'Neill defeated the Lord Justice Fitzgerald with great slaughter, and burned Dundalk; while, in 1257, Godfrey O'Donnell met the Lord Justice in single combat at the battle of Drumcliff, wounded him severely, defeated his army, and drove the Geraldines from Lower Connaught. Fitzgerald did not survive this defeat. The first terrible blow to the O'Neills was the battle of Down, in 1259; but the O'Donnells had more than their former power down to the year 1281, when Donnell og O'Donnell was defeated by Tyrone and the Ulster English,—a defeat which broke the power of both O'Neill and O'Donnell. It is manifest from the preceding sketch that, during 100 years after the invasion, there was no regular tribute from these princes. But in 1286 they were compelled to give hostages to the Red Earl of Ulster; and from that period to 1333 is the lowest state of native power, when the O'Neills, though often resisting, were driven to the bogs and mountains of Tyrone (*Remonstrance of Donald O'Neill to Pope John XXII.*), and the O'Donnells were awed by the great castle of Inishowen, which was erected in 1305, and was in the hands of the English down to 1332, at least. If the King's writ ran, or tribute was regularly paid, in Tyrone or Tyrconnell, it must have been only during that short period, interrupted, of course, by the episode of Bruce's invasion. The Red Earl, according to Dr. Lynch (p. [249]), was great-grandson, by the maternal line, of Cathal O'Conor Crobhdearg. A daughter of the Earl was married to Robert Bruce, and another to Maurice Fitzthomas—two powerful aliances. Some loose statements in modern and respectable works, regarding the power of England in Ireland during the reign of Henry III. and the greater part of that of Edward I., will, it is hoped, excuse the length of this note. The Irish, as Lord Coke said, "had always a back-door in the North" before James I.

On the murder of the Earl of Ulster in 1333, royal sheriffs were appointed in his Ulster palatinate for the counties of Down and Newtown, of Coleraine, and of Carrickfergus and Antrim.—*Rot. Pat.*, 20 Ed. II., 7, 8, 9; *apud Grace's Annals*, p. 103. Baron Finglas, for Down and Coleraine, has Lekale and Tyrone (*Harris, Hib.*, p. 103), probably because Coleraine included the baronies of Keenaght and Tirkeevan, west of the Bann, granted to the Earl of Athol in 1215 by King John.—See *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 324.

tissimum fore, sed etiam se percupidum esse noscendi, quod pretium ejus capiti statuat, ut constet, si fato aliquo iniquo ei manus inferatur, quâ mulctâ cædes ejus expiari debeat, ut eam faciliùs a suis viritim exigat. Nostrâ verò memoriâ ager inter Dubliniensem et Wexfordiensem comitatus positus, ad O'Brinnos et O'Tothelios olim spectans, Wicloensis comitatus, et Hibernicè de Kilmantain dictus est[44]. Ut non falsò Davisius dixerit: "duos Hiberniæ trientes ad avitarum legum normam administratas nondum comitatuum formam, aut nomen induisse, adeo ut jus in iis more Anglico nullo pacto dici potuerit." Nec minus æquè mox idem, adjecit, "legum Anglicanarum in Hiberniâ observationem exiguis viginti milliarium finibus circumscribi, et hinc, tum vulgò dictum fuisse eos, qui ultra Barham amnem Dublino triginta mille passus dissitum commorabantur, extra legum limites versari[45]."

Quid quòd Angli suarum legum copiam Hibernis facere renuerint[46], et non solùm pro alienigenis illos sed etiam pro hostibus habuerint, cum universim Hibernos omnes, præter quinque familias, et privatos quosdam suæ adscriptionis inter Anglos tabulas nominatim consecutos, a suæ Reip. communione non secus ac si peregrini essent, arcuerunt. Quinque familias immunitatem inter Anglos nactas Davisius his verbis e publico tabulario decerptis nominat. "Qui gaudent," inquit, "lege Anglicanâ quoad brevia portanda, sunt, O'Neil de Ultoniâ, O'Molaghlain de Midiâ, O'Connoghor de Conaciâ, O'Brian de Thomoniâ, et MacMorogh de Lageniâ[47]." Quod indultum inde nutare arguitur, quòd O'Nellus Kildariæ comitis filiæ, Edwardi IV. vigesimo, et Christi nati 1480 anno, matrimonio jungendus, lege a comitiis latâ, civis inter Anglos jus, nullâ memorati privilegii ratione habitâ, consecutus fuerit?
[21] Quid autem | Hibernos in advenarum numero ab Anglis collocatos, et a

[44] Davis, p. 211. [45] Pag. 188, 189. [46] Ibid., p. 83, et seq. [47] Pag. 84.

[u] The English had, from an early period, castles at Arklow, Castlekevin, Baltinglass, and Wicklow. The last, in one of the rolls of Edward III., is called a frontier.

[v] The precise limits of the counties at various epochs are not exactly known. The truth of Davis's assertion may be tested by the preceding notes.

[w] See notes [t], [s], *suprà*, p. 200.

[x] The date of these grants, the Editor believes, has not been ascertained. The five bloods are mentioned in the Plea Rolls, A. D. 1310.—*Davis*, p. 84. Yet the remonstrance of O'Neill to the Pope before Edward Bruce's invasion, 1315, complains that *no Irishman*, lay or clerical, is entitled to English law, "prælatis exceptis." But some Irishmen were certainly entitled to

or sum to be levied in penalty of his death, in order that it might be the more easily recovered, in the event of the sheriff being slain. It was within my own days that the territories of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, lying between Dublin and Wexford, were formed into the county called, in English, Wicklow, in Irish, Kilmantain[u]. Truly, therefore, has Davis declared, "that two-thirds of Ireland were governed by the ancient laws, and had not been reduced to shire-ground[v], either in reality or name; so that in them the laws of England could not possibly be put in execution." And with equal truth, he adds, immediately after, "that, in Ireland, the King's laws were not obeyed within twenty miles compass. Whereupon grew that byword used by the Irish, 'that they dwelt bywest the law who dwelt beyond the river Barrow,' which is within thirty miles of Dublin[w]."

The English, moreover, treating the native Irish not merely as aliens, but as enemies, refused to extend to them the benefit of English laws. All the Irish indiscriminately, with the exception of five families, and a few individuals registered by name in the public records, were excluded, like aliens, from the rights of English citizenship. Davis thus gives, from the public records, the names of the five families which had acquired the rights of English law: "Those who are entitled to English law" (quoad brevia portanda) "are, O'Neill of Ulster, O'Melaghlin of Meath, O'Conor of Connaught, O'Brian of Thomond, and Mac Murrough of Leinster[x]." This privilege, as some say, can hardly be reconciled with the fact that, when O'Neill was about to be married to a daughter of the Earl of Kildare in the year 1480, the twentieth of Edward IV., he obtained from Parliament permission to marry any of the English he pleased, without any mention being made of the former privilege[y]. But what more convincing proof of the alien

English law so early as 1216. — *Moore*, vol. iii. p. 14. Similar grants occur in succeeding reigns; and, in 1355, a defendant pleads that a plaintiff Neale is not of the five bloods.—*Hist. Dis.*, p. 84. O'Neill's remonstrance, perhaps, exaggerates the undoubted fact of the general exclusion of the Irish.

[y] The extent of English liberty granted varied in different charters, and may not have included the right of intermarriage (see note [c], *infrà*, p. 215); or such right, if granted, was perhaps revoked by the Statute of Kilkenny, 1367, which prohibits such intermarriage without distinction. Intermarriage with the natives certainly took place in the early period of English connexion, and, no doubt, facilitated the invasion.

civium classe exclusos fuisse luculentiùs ostendit, quàm quòd Anglici juris beneficio potiri antè non poterant, quàm suæ inter Anglicos inquilinos adscriptionis diploma impetrârunt[48]. Aliquot ejusmodi diplomata Davisius exhibet: additque, si omnia ejusmodi scripta quæ in tabulariis prostant, suo libro inserere aggrederetur, spississimum ex iis volumen se conflaturum, cùm eorum usus post Henricum Secundum ad Jacobum regem continuè cohærenterque frequentaretur.

Hujusmodi concessionem a Thomâ Butlero Kilmenaniæ Priore, et Hiberniæ prorege (qui Henricum Quintum Harfluam obsidione cingentem mille quingentorum Hibernorum subsidio juvit[49]) collatam, in membrano, situ et charactere vetustatem indicante nactus sum, quam hìc subjicio:

"Henricus Dei gratiâ rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus balivis, et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes hæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd nos volentes Symonem O'Kellii, Joannem filium Rogeri Hassan, Joannem filium Hugonis Hassan, et Richardum filium Rogeri Hassan, de natione Hibernicale existentes favore prosequi gratioso, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali de avisamento dilecti nobis in Christo fratris Thomæ de Bottiler Prioris Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem in Hiberniâ Deputati; charissimi fratris nostri Thomæ de Lancastræ, Senescalli Angliæ, locum nostrum tenentis terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, et consilii sui concessimus, quòd ipsi, et exitus sui, procreati et procreandi, liberi sint statûs, et liberæ conditionis, et quòd ipsi leges Anglicanas habere, et iis gaudere, ac per eas respondere et responderi et liberè emere et vendere, ac terras, tenementa et alias possessiones quascumque inter Anglicos in feodo simplici, aut alio modo quocunque adquirere, necnon ad dignitates et beneficia ecclesiastica tam spiritualia quàm temporalia promoveri, eaque habere et tenere, ac eis ut verè Anglici gaudere possint absque impetitione nostrâ, hæredum vel ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque, volentes quòd ipsi aut eorum aliquis vel hæredes sui, pro aliquibus terris seu tenementis, per ipsos, seu eorum aliquem, ante hæc tempora adquisitis, per nos, vel hæredes nostros seu ministros quoscunque impetantur, turbentur in aliquo, seu graventur. Et ulteriùs statum, et possessionem, quam dicti Symon, Joannes, Joannes, et Richardus habent in hujusmodi terris, per eos

[48] Davis, pp. 85, 86. [49] Ibid., p. 72.

exclusion of the Irish from the rights of English laws than the fact, that no Irishman could enjoy them until he had been denizened by special charter among the English colonists. Davis gives some of those charters, and observes, at the same time, that, were he to publish all of the same kind, he would require a large volume, as the practice of issuing such charters was kept up without any interruption from Henry II. to James the First.

One of those charters has come into my possession. It was given by Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham, and Lord Justice of Ireland; the same who commanded fifteen hundred Irish under Henry V. at the siege of Harfleur. The form, paper, and characters are old:

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all his sheriffs and faithful subjects in Ireland, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know that, wishing to confer some token of our favor on Simon O'Kelly; John, son of Roger Hassan; John, son of Hugh Hassan; and Richard, son of Roger Hassan,—all being of the Irish nation,—we, by our special grace, with the advice of our beloved brother in Christ, Thomas de Bottiler, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, our Deputy in Ireland, and of our most dear brother, Thomas de Lancaster, Seneschal of England, our Lieutenant in our land of Ireland, as also of his council, have granted, that they and their issue, born and to be born, shall be of free state and free condition, and may have and enjoy the English laws, and thereby plead and be impleaded, and freely buy and sell, and acquire lands and tenements, and all other possessions whatsoever, among the English, in fee simple or in any other manner; also that they may be promoted to benefices and ecclesiastical dignities[a], whether spiritual or temporal, and may have and hold and possess them, as very Englishmen, without hindrance from us or any of our heirs or ministers; willing that they, or any of them, or their heirs, should not be sued or molested, or disturbed, by us or any of our heirs or ministers, for any lands or tenements acquired by them, or any of them, before this time. And also the state and possession which the said Simon, John, John, and Richard, have in the said lands by them, or any of them, acquired, we ratify and confirm,

[a] These patents were required to qualify the Irish for Anglo-Irish benefices. — See *Statute of Kilkenny* for the same practice under Henry VIII. and his three children.

seu eorum aliquem acquisitis, ratificamus, quibuscunque statutis aut ordinationibus in contrarium ante hæc tempora factis non obstantibus. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, teste præfato Deputato apud Caterlagh 27 die Aprilis anno Regni nostri duodecimo. Sutton. Per petitionem per ipsum Deputatum in Do? et privato suo sigillo consignatum, et pro viginti solidis solutis in hamperio."

Si ad Anglorum tribunalia de illatis sibi injuriis querelas Hiberni deferent, non impetrârunt ut sarcirentur injuriæ, nisi tabulis immunitatis suæ productis[50], aut generis sui origine ex aliquo quinque suprà memoratorum tribuum deducto; quæ si eum præsidia defecissent, litem ultrà prosequi prohibitus causâ protinus cecidit: quam rem probatis affatim exemplis Davisius validè corroborat[51]. Ita ut multò pejor fuerit Hibernorum, in suo natali solo conditio, quàm cujusvis advenæ huc undecunque profecti, cui de accepto damno conquerenti ubique terrarum aditus ad justitiam patuit.

Itaque puriputi Hiberni non in advenarum tantùm, sed et in hostium numerum ab Anglis relati sunt[52]. Hinc meri Hiberni contra regem arma capientes, "hostium," Anglici verò idem facere aggressi "rebellium" nomine affecti sunt. Vetabantur nimirum Angli legum, connubiorum, aut commercii societate cum Hibernis jungi. Imò "graves illis poenæ indictæ sunt[53], si vel liberos suos enutriendos traderent aut compaternitates (ut vulgò dicitur) cum iis, aut mercandi consuetudinem inirent, aut aditum his ad sua fora et nundinas aperirent." Et

[50] Davis, p. 84. [51] Ibid., pp. 84, 86, 88. [52] Ibid., pp. 89, 92. [53] Ibid.

[a] To understand our author's reasoning on this point, the reader must distinguish the two classes of native Irish, namely, those who lived, or had occasion to demand legal redress, in districts subject to English law, and those who lived under their own independent princes and the Irish law.

[b] "In all the Parliament rolls which are extant, from the 40 Edward III., when the Statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, till the reign of Henry VIII.," these distinctive epithets were applied to the King's armed opponents in Ireland.—*Davis, ibid.* After the Statute of Kilkenny, the "Irish enemie" or "Enemys Irroies," is the ordinary phrase. "Felones" is also the usual term for the Irish in arms in the Close and Pat. Rolls during the same period; but under and before Edward II., "Hibernici qui de guerrâ insurrexerunt" is much more common than "felones." Is it that government waxed strong in language as its real power diminished, or that the undoubted ascendancy of the English, under the Red Earl, had taught them to use harsh names to the Irish more liberally?

all statutes and ordinances made before this time to the contrary notwithstanding. In testimony of which we have caused these our letters patent to be drawn; witness, the aforesaid Deputy, at Carlow, the 27th day of April, in the twelfth year of our reign. Sutton. On petition by said Deputy himself indorsed and sealed with his privy seal, and for twenty shillings paid into the hanaper."

If the Irish demanded redress from an English tribunal for injuries done to them, they could have no redress unless they produced charters of freedom, or traced their descent from one of the five above-mentioned families. Without such titles they could not proceed; their case was dismissed. Davis cites several cases which place this custom beyond a doubt. Thus was the condition of the native Irish, even on their own soil, infinitely worse than that of a settler, from whatsoever quarter of the globe he might come, for no nation ever refused him some legal mode of redress for his wrongs[a].

The mere Irish were therefore regarded not merely as aliens, but as enemies, by the English. Whenever the Irish appear in arms against the King, they are styled the "Irish enemy;" while, in similar circumstances, the English colonists are called "rebels[b]." For the English were forbidden to marry[c] or trade with the Irish, or adopt their laws; "nay, by divers heavy penal laws, they were forbidden to foster, or to make gossips[d] with the Irish, or to have any trade or commerce with them in the markets or fairs[e]." The killing of an Irishman was not

[c] Dr. Lynch proves (chap. xxviii. p. [269]) that the Lacys, De Burgos, Fitzgeralds, &c. &c., had intermarried with the Irish during the thirteenth century. These intermarriages are not cited as proofs of English degeneracy in the Statute of Kilkenny, A. D. 1295. — *Miscellany, Irish Arch. Soc.*, p. 22. Whence we may infer that they were not then considered so dangerous to English interests. But by the Statute of Kilkenny, 1367, and all subsequent enactments, they were prohibited under penalty of treason. So late as the 28 Henry VIII., it was enacted that even a charter of denization did not, of itself, qualify the mere Irish for intermarriage with the English.—*Davis*, p. 92. A report presented to the Queen, A. D. 1599, complains of the prevalence of intermarriages.—*Nugæ Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 295.

[d] See a dissertation on Irish gossipred and fosterage in our Author.—Chap. xi. p. [105]. It was made penal for the English by the Statute of Kilkenny, A. D. 1367.

[e] This prohibition was specially and by a constant policy directed against the sale of arms to the Irish, even in times of peace. —*Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 10. The same statute forbade commercial intercourse with the Irish.—p. 11. And, in later ages, any

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Siquidem per ea tempora judiciis ex Anglicarum legum præscripto exercendis via strata non fuit; necdum enim in provinciis comitatus certis regionibus definiti fuerunt[38]; nam primorum comitatuum institutio in Christi nati annum 1556, Philippo et Mariâ tertium regni annum transgressis, incidit; Thomâ Sussexiæ comite et Hiberniæ prorege statuente ut Laighsia O'Morhi et Huifalgia O'Conchauri ditiones pro duobus comitatibus deinde haberentur, et illa Reginæ, hæc Regis comitatus nuncuparetur. Postea Henricus Sidnæus Hi-

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The truth is, there were no means in those times of enforcing the English laws in the administration of justice, because the provinces had not as yet been reduced into the regular and defined forms of English counties. The first example of the institution of an English county was in the year 1556[l], the third of Philip and Mary, when Lord Thomas Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, reduced Leix[m] and Offaly[n], the countries of the O'Mores and O'Conors, into English shire-ground, calling the former the Queen's, the latter the King's County. Henry Sydney,

between the five daughters of William Earl Marshall, A. D. 1247. — *Cox*, p. 45. But it recovered its independence in the year 1327 (*Clynn's Annals*) under Lisagh. O'More, who took eight castles in one night, razed the fort of Dunamase; and it maintained that independence, with occasional reverses, down to 1556. Davis and Baron Finglas both date the fall of the English power in Leinster from this revolution in Leix.—*Davis, Discovery*, p. 156; *Harris, Hib.*, p. 81; see note [r], *suprà*, p. 20. Very few O'Mores are now in the Queen's County, the whole race having been either cut off by the sword during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, or banished by James I. A manuscript history of the Irish Franciscans, in my possession, written in 1617, states that no O'More was allowed to come within a certain distance of the Queen's County.

[n] Offaly, the land of O'Conor Failghe, before the English invasion, included the baronies of East and West Offaly in Kildare, and those of Upper and Lower Philipstown, Geashill, Warrenstown, and Coolestown, in the King's; and those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's County. The Kildare portion was seized by Fitzgerald after the invasion.—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 44. O'Conor was hemmed in on the north and north-east, by the English of Meath, from Durrow Castle, and by the Birminghams of Carbury. His demesnes must indeed have been confined to the derries of the Bog of Allen, and the tract around Killeigh and Tullamore. There was an English castle at Geashill; yet the O'Conors were not contemptible even when English power was strongest. In 1284 they burned the castle of Ley; and, in 1294 they burned the rolls and tallies of the county [of Kildare?]. In 1305, the King and his brother were treacherously murdered in the house of Birmingham in Carbury; but, in 1307, the Offaly Irish burned Leix, and, in 1308, Athy. — *Grace's Annals*. From Bruce's invasion, their power, like that of their fellow-countrymen, was generally on the increase. There is no proof that the King's writ ever ran in O'Conor Offaly before 1556. Not so in Leix.

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[n] Offaly, the land of O'Conor Failghe, before the English invasion, included the baronies of East and West Offaly in Kildare, and those of Upper and Lower Philipstown, Geashill, Warrenstown, and Coolestown, in the King's; and those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's County. The Kildare portion was seized by Fitzgerald after the invasion.—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 44. O'Conor was hemmed in on the north and north-east, by the English of Meath, from Durrow Castle, and by the Birminghams of Carbury. His demesnes must indeed have been confined to the derries of the Bog of Allen, and the tract around Killeigh and Tullamore. There was an English castle at Geashill; yet the O'Conors were not contemptible even when English power was strongest. In 1284 they burned the castle of Ley; and, in 1294 they burned the rolls and tallies of the county [of Kildare?]. In 1305, the King and his brother were treacherously murdered in the house of Birmingham in Carbury; but, in 1307, the Offaly Irish burned Leix, and, in 1308, Athy. — *Grace's Annals*. From Bruce's invasion, their power, like that of their fellow-countrymen, was generally on the increase. There is no proof that the King's writ ever ran in O'Conor Offaly before 1556. Not so in Leix.

Romani certè coloniis alioque deductis septimam tantùm agri partem indigenis ademptam inter colonos partiti sunt. Coloniæ verò leges vel a populo Romano acceperunt, vel ipsæ sibi per senatum aut populum condiderunt, prout incolarum, quorum contubernio deinde illos uti oportuit, moribus accommodatius esset. Romanorum vestigiis Christiani quoque, in societate cum victis ineundâ, institerunt. Lusitani, post Indias Orientales sub ditionem suam armis redactas, et colonias in iis ritè constitutas, matrimonii, et fœderum vinculis, amorisque nexu adeo sibi indigenas obstrinxerunt, ut hi iam ultro sub illorum imperio concesserint, imò in unam cum illis gentem coaluerint, et non inviti leges illorum amplexi fuerint.

Castellani etiam Indos Occidentales in simile quoque legum connubiorumque consortium pari eventu adsciverunt. Ut non immeritò Davisius conqueratur: "Anglicam Hibernicæ Reipub. administrationem turpi labe fœdatam fuisse, quòd suas leges cum Hibernis, quinquaginta supra trecentos annos, non communicârunt, et in eorum præsidio perfugium illos nanscisci non permiserunt. Etenim juris tutelâ non muniti, injuriis quibuscunque toti patuerunt; ita ut Anglis in eorum vitam, et fortunas impunè grassari licuerit. Non ergo in reprehensionem ullam Hiberni venire poterunt, si, sui sarti tectique conservandi
[23] causâ, hostes se quàm | acerrimos Anglorum præbuerint, si ei regi tanquam supremo suo domino deferre obsequium renuerunt. Si Anglorum congressu et mœnibus Hiberni prohibiti fuerint, et illorum urbes subeuntibus capitis et bonorum jactura impenderit, quò se aliò quàm in sylvarum, paludum, ac montium recessus recipere poterant, ubi potiùs barbariem quàm ullam morum culturam imbibere proclive habebant?"

Facessant igitur isti scriptores Anglici, qui fucum apertè lectoribus faciunt dum in libris et geographicarum tabularum oris nihil crebriùs

[k] This is not strictly exact. For the murder of the Irish in the English country there was, in theory at least, a fine imposed.—See note [g], *suprà*, p. 216, and *Misc. Irish Arch. Soc.*, p. 32. And as to the independent Irish, the Anglo-Irish were prohibited under heavy penalties from injuring or molesting them in time of peace.—*Ibid.*, p. 20.

[l] The Anglo-Irish law, in Church and State, was in many respects strikingly similar to the penal code of later ages, if you substitute "Catholic" for "mere Irish."—See notes to Dedication, *suprà*, p. 54.

[m] Stanihurst describes, as existing in the sixteenth century, a class of Irish who owned no subjection either to the native

When colonies were planted by Rome, not more than a seventh of the lands was taken from the natives and conferred on the colonists. The laws of the colony were either adopted from the Roman people, or enacted by the colonial senate and democracy, according to the peculiar character of the people amongst whom the colony was planted. Christian states carried out these sound principles of Roman colonization. When the Portuguese had conquered the East Indies, and planted colonies, they won the affections of the natives to such a degree, by intermarriages and other social ties, that India gladly submitted to a foreign sceptre, became one people with her conquerors, and willingly embraced their laws.

The Castilians were equally fortunate in the West Indies. They intermarried with the natives, and gave them the rights of Spanish citizenship. Justly, therefore, does Davis complain: "This I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this kingdom, in that, for the space of three hundred and fifty years, at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them. For as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without control[k], how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? When they might not enter into any town or city[l] without peril of their lives, whither should they fly but into the mountains and woods, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner[m]."

Contempt on those English writers, who shamelessly attempt to fool their readers into the belief that Irish civilization was derived exclusively from England. They may write the cheat in their books, and register

Irish princes or the English lords, but confederated in the woods and bogs, and lived by rapine and plunder.—*De Rebus Hiber.*, p. 52. In an ancient Life of St. Ita, a similar class is described as "sylvestres Hiberni."—*Colgan, Acta Sanct.*, Jan. 15. Probably they were the "wood kerns" of the English writers, called ceiċirn coille among the native Irish. — *Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 1547; and see note [c] there. The Irish chieftains of the Anglo-Norman period had their market-towns and castles (*suprà*, note [e], p. 215); but their principal fortresses were the bogs, islands, and forests, to which English law and civilization had driven them.

inculcant, quàm Hibernos Anglis cultiores suos mores acceptos referre debere, cum omnes potiùs virium ac ingenii nervos ad barbariem illis altiùs inserendam hi sæpe intenderint, nihil magis in votis habentes, quàm ut indomitam illi feritatem semper spirarent. Imò spurcitiem omnem illis Anglorum conatus infixisse dicendus est, qui per priora illa tempora, Hibernos a cultiorum hominum contubernio ad incultos recessus; per posteriora, a Catholicâ fide ad hæresim abigere contendebant. Ut qui religionis Catholicæ scita, non ab Anglis, sed aliunde suâ nuper industriâ perceperunt; neque cultiorem institutionem ab Anglis olim, sed aliunde quoque suâ solertiâ comparâsse dicendi sunt. Ut rectè Analectes, "illis se assentiri negaverit, qui in hâc totâ gente (Hibernicâ) si quid laudis aut honoris; si quid honestatis aut virtutis; si quid ingenii, cultûs, aut literaturæ; si quid urbani, decori, splendidi, reperire sit, id totum refundant in Anglicani imperii moderamen, et prudentiam" cujus rei rationes deinde promit[60]. Nec Angli de Hibernis aliquâ culturâ imbuendis laborâsse olim visi sunt: cùm ab Academiis (quæ cultiore quâque institutione juventutem excolunt) in Hiberniâ constituendis

[60] Pars 1ª, p. 156, et sequen.

[n] This is still, as it has ever been, a favorite theme with English writers, and with those natives of this island, who, in the language of the old Parliaments of the Pale, regard themselves as "Englishmen born in Ireland." Dr. Lynch, himself, though he does full justice to the native Irish in this work, expresses the feelings of the *degenerate* English colonist, in his *Alithonologia*. Thus, after extolling the magnificence and piety of the chief Anglo-Irish nobles, he writes: "Nec memoratæ tantùm familiæ sed et aliæ pleræque, coloniis ex Angliâ ductis procreatæ, condendis cœnobiis et Hiberniæ cultioribus ædificiis exornandæ curam et opes impenderunt. Ecclesiæ antiquitùs in Hiberniâ e robore fieri consueverunt: nec alia materia ad ædes extruendas adhibita fuisse videtur. Non verò diu ante Anglos Hiberniam aggressos fabricarum e lapide construendarum, mirantibus et obsistentibus Hibernis, initium a monasteriis ductum est. Sicut autem Octavianus Cæsar Romanam urbem lateritiam reperit, reliquit marmoream sic majores eorum quos ille "recentiores Hiberniæ habitatores" appellat, Hiberniæ domos et ecclesias quas ligneas repererant saxeas et marmoreas fecerunt et per eosdem 'cultiores seu civiliores multo quàm antea fuerant mores sunt inducti atque artes in illa loca quæ erant occupata ab Anglorum colonis.'" —(*Lombard, in Commen.*) "Ita ut apposité cum Cajetano episcopo dici possit 'inhumanum esse peregrinos eos appellare qui de civitate optimè meriti sibi patriam obnoxiam beneficiis fecerunt.'" Dr. Lynch wrote this passage in 1656; but he takes a different view of the influence of the English on Irish civilization in our Cambrensis Eversus.

[o] Stephen White has a strong passage

it over and over in their geographical statistics[n]; but facts speak otherwise. All the might of English arms, all the devices of English policy, were called into play to plunge the Irish into the abyss of the worst barbarism. The grand object of the English appears to have been to evoke in the native Irish a spirit of tameless ferocity. Nay, all the blemishes of Irish character are the spawn of that English barbarism, which, in former times, hunted the natives from the walks of civilized man to savage lurking-places[o], and, in those days, would dragoon them into heresy from the Catholic faith. As well might you attribute to English missionaries that Catholic faith which, in those modern times, is imbibed by the Irish from a different source, as attribute to English intercourse the Irish civilization of former times, which was the genial growth of the Irish soil. The author of the Analecta justly ridiculed those who asserted, "that if the Irish nation had anything worthy of praise or honor, any decency or virtue, any genius, mental culture, or civilization, any refinement, renown, or glory; all was to be attributed to English government and influence." He assigns the grounds of his position. In former ages the English took no trouble to develope the resources of Ireland in any department[p]; for so hostile were they to col-

on this subject (*Apologia*, MSS. cap. v. fol. 27): "Denique universim monstrabo quidquid a 400 aut ampliùs annis postremis istis in Iberniâ fuit sive ruditatis in fide sive remissionis in pietate et cæteris rebus sinceræ religionis, sive defectûs in studio bonarum litterarum, totum id natum atque profectum ex tyrannicâ invasione, vastatione, occupatione Iberniæ factâ primùm circa annum Sal. 1170 per fratres, patres, affines Silvestri Gyraldi Cambrensis et alios prædones plurimos qui illis sese spe lucri et fundendi sanguinis Ibernorum adjunxerunt—ejusdem Gyraldi cognati ferro, flammâ et merâ dominandi aliis libidine—Iberniam, invaserunt." Indeed, no person can rise from the perusal of Mr. Petrie's Essay on the Round Towers without feeling the truth of his assertion: "That the struggle for dominion, which ensued between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish chieftains, and which was for so many ages continued in Ireland, was fatal to the progress of the arts; and, with very few exceptions, the architecture, sculpture, and—as exhibited in our illuminated manuscripts—painting, not merely ceased to keep pace in improvement with those arts in England, and other Christian countries, but, as our monuments prove, gradually declined almost to utter extinction.—p. 315. See also in *O'Neill's Remonstrance*, an appalling picture of the demoralizing effects of Anglo-Irish dominion.

[p] Dr. Lynch does not allude to the Statute of Kilkenny, 1367, which excluded the native Irish from all churches, benefices, and monasteries, wherever England had power. That statute, which was constantly enforced, must have operated against the

tantopere abhorruerint, ut, "dum aliquando eâ de re, etiam Catholico tempore, in Concilio Angliæ propositio fieret, obstiterit acerrimè unus e primariis Senatoribus, et ipse quidem celebris Episcopus; quem cùm postea alius quidam admoneret, "mirari, se quòd is utpote Episcopus Catholicus tam sanctum atque salutare opus impediret;" respondit ille "se, non ut Episcopum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, sed ut Senatorem Regni Angliæ, sententiam istam in concilio protulisse, quâ opus istud impediretur." Quod benè se fortè haberet, si in concilio Dei et Sanctorum, quando de Episcopo severior daretur sententia, ab eâ, pari possit acumine senator liberari[61]." Sed ad Davisium denuo auditum vertamus. "Quòd si," inquit, "Angli advenæ eâdem Reip. compage secum Hibernos necti, et earundem legum usu potiri, rebus pacatis, noluerint, nec bello eos comprimere valuerint, hi profectò non poterant non esse continuò in illorum oculis stimuli, et in lateribus aculei: ita ut Hiberniæ expugnandæ nullus unquam finis fieri potuerit[62]."

Nec tamen diuturni dissidii culpa in Hibernos conferenda est qui ab Angliæ Rege demissis precibus multoties efflagitârunt[63], ut universi

[61] Commen., p. 257. [62] Pag. 97. [63] Pag. 93, et seq.

native Irish, as the Penal Laws against education in modern times operated against Catholics, the Church being, in the middle ages, almost the sole repository of learning, civilization, and art. The law did not extend to the native Irish establishments; but, in the prostrate state of the country, they, being always exposed to a royal hosting, could not enjoy any security, nor do more than keep alive a faint gleam of religion and learning.

[q] The Irish also adopted this exclusive system; but whether in self-defence, or as its originators, does not appear. So early as 1250, the monks of Mellifont excluded from their house all English. Of the many attempts made to found a university in Ireland before the sixteenth century, the Editor knows not to which Lombard alludes. This grievance, the want of literary institutions, pressed on the Anglo-Irish; for they, like all colonies or garrisons, had their grievances, and it is probable they would confine to themselves all the benefits of an Irish university. They oppressed the native Irish, and were in turn oppressed by England, a system which, under different forms and names, was re-established or perpetuated by the Reformation. Like the sun in the *Carmen Sæculare*, but not with his genial influence, the fate of Ireland, under England, ever varies, and is still the same:

"———— aliusque et idem
Nasceris."

It appears clearly from O'Neill's Remonstrance, that, though such men as Nicholas Mac Maelisa, Archbishop of Armagh, A. D. 1272, 1303, occasionally resisted the oppressors of Ireland, the clergy were generally too obsequious. Though they were robbed of their lands and privileges, and

leges in which the Irish youth would have cultivated their talents, that when a proposal was made on that subject, in the English Council, even in Catholic times, it was vehemently opposed by one of the principal members of Parliament, who was himself a celebrated Catholic bishop. When interrogated on the matter, by a person who expressed his astonishment, how a Catholic bishop could obstruct so useful and holy a project, he answered, "that when he gave his vote in Council against the project, he acted not as a Catholic bishop, but as a member of the English Parliament[q]." This, perhaps, might answer very well; if, when the Council of God and his saints pronounced the severe sentence on the bishop, the same subtle distinction could save the senator. But to return to Davis: "If," he says, "the English could neither in peace govern the Irish by law, nor could in war root them out by the sword, must they not need be pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides till the world's end: and so the conquest be never brought to perfection."

The blame of this perennial discord cannot be thrown upon the Irish, who often petitioned the King of England[r] most earnestly to be

arrested and imprisoned by the royal officers, they were sunk, says O'Neill, in such abject fear, that they dared not complain to the Pope. — *Moore, Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 74.

[r] That the Irish would voluntarily surrender their own laws for those of England, no man, who knows their history, can believe. The numerous patents of denization cited by Davis, as granted by the Crown to native Irish at their request, are no proofs of any such general wish, until it is proved that the petitioners were not natives of the English districts. In those districts, men would naturally wish to have the protection of English law; but that all the native Irish sighed, as Dr. Lynch says, during centuries, to be delivered from the yoke of the Brehons, does not appear from our history. Davis, whom Dr. Lynch follows, asserts, that for "200 years, *at least*," after the Invasion, that is, until 1372, the Irish would gladly have embraced English law, implying thereby that they were not of the same opinion in subsequent times. But it would be more true to say that, from the early part of the reign of Edward I., A. D. 1272, down to the murder of the Earl of Ulster in 1333, the Irish would generally accept with gratitude English law, because, during that period, they were reduced very low. They offered 8000 marks to Edward I. for the benefit of English law; similar petitions were addressed to Edward II. and Edward III., but without effect; the Anglo-Irish nobles, to whom the kings referred the petitions, being opposed to the concession for reasons stated, *infrà*. O'Neill, in his Remonstrance, refers to a petition which the Irish sent over in his time, for a fair distribution of the lands between the two races. He also com-

legum Anglicarum patrocinio, non secus ac Angli Hiberniam incolentes, exciperentur: etiam tum cùm multò maximam Hiberniæ partem non solùm dominatione, sed etiam possessione tenerent, quatuor tantùm comitatibus Anglorum imperio parentibus aliis triginta in Hibernorum potestate positis[64]. Imò ducentos post expugnationem Hiberniæ ab Henrico II. inchoatam annos, solicitationem eandem impigrè, irrito semper eventu, continuârunt. Altero post regnum ab Edwardo III. initum anno[65], qui in annum Christi 1327 incidit, Regem Edwardum enixè orant, ut habitis in Hiberniâ comitiis, lege sanciretur, legum Anglicarum beneficium æquo jure ad genuinos Hibernos et inquilinos Anglos emanaret, quo singulis immunitatis suæ tabulas nominatim postea impetrare opus non esset: quam rem literis ad Proregem Hiberniæ Joannem Darcæum datis, Rex ad procerum Hiberniæ concilium retulit[66]. Nec alio spectârunt Hiberni cùm Richardo II. fasces submitterent[67], ac Thomæ de Lancastriâ, Leonardo Graio, Antonio Saintleger Hiberniæ proregibus obsequium deferrent, quàm ut legum Angliæ communionem ab iis referrent. Henrico VIII. trigesimum quartum regni annum agente O'Donellus Willelmo Skeffingtono[68] Hiberniæ proregi
[24] significavit sibi, suisque clientibus gratissimum esse ut legum | Angliæ administratio ipsis gubernandis adhiberetur. Eodem quoque

[64] Davis, p. 101. [65] Ibid., p. 93. [66] Ibid., p. 94. [67] Ibid., p. 95. [68] Ibid., p. 95.

plains that the English, then in the height of their power, had deprived them of nearly all their native laws, and substituted the frightful code of which he gives some provisions.—See *Moore*, vol. iii. p. 75.

[s] This refers probably to the time of Leonard Grey and Anthony St. Leger, under Henry VIII. I know not what our author means by thirty-*four* counties.

[t] The King's answer is given by Davis, p. 94. The petition was made, *ex parte*, "*quorundam* hominum de Hiberniâ,"—a form which does not resemble a general appeal of the nation. Neither did petitioners beg that English law be enforced, but that all who wished might enjoy it. The petition to Edward I. was from the "Communitas" of Ireland, which Mr. Moore understands of those only who lived under the English, or near their marches.—*Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 35.

[u] It would be difficult to prove that the Irish had a serious notion of embracing English law under Richard II., though they certainly acknowledged him as their liege lord. His visits to Ireland produced very little effect on the natives. They consented to hold their lands under him; but I know not on what authority Davis asserts they asked for the general promulgation of English law. A royal grant for their lands would be a security for them against their Anglo-Irish enemies; but English law would deprive them of many

received under the protection of the same laws as his English subjects in Ireland; and that at a time when the Irish enjoyed not only the sovereignty, but the actual possession of far the greater part of Ireland, namely, thirty counties, the English being confined to the other four[s]. Even about two hundred years after the invasion of Ireland by Henry II. they presented the same earnest petition, but always with the same results. In the second year of Edward III. they humbly petitioned that monarch, that a law might be enacted in the Irish Parliament, conferring on the native Irish the benefits of English laws enjoyed by the English colonists, and thus dispensing with the necessity of special charters of denization[t]. The King, in a letter to John Darcy, Lord Justice of Ireland, referred the matter to the council of his Irish barons. In all the submissions, both to Richard II.[u] and to the Lords Justices, Thomas of Lancaster[v], Leonard Grey[w], and Anthony St. Leger[x], the Irish stipulated for the rights of English law. In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII., O'Donnell intimated to William Skeffington[y], Lord Justice of Ireland, that he and his subjects would be most happy to have the administration of English laws introduced into their country. The

profitable rights of the Irish chieftain. So far from abolishing Irish law, the King stipulated that O'Neill should restore the "bonnaght" to the Earl of Ulster; he also mentions two distinct classes of Irish, "the Irish enemy" and "the Irish rebels," of which the former, we may believe, had no wish to receive any favor at His Majesty's hands.—*Moore's History*, vol. iii.

[v] The Rolls merely mention that a few Irish chieftains, Mac Mahon, O'Conor, &c. &c., bound themselves by indenture before Lancaster, to be liege-men of the King of England, which does not of itself imply any other *English* law than that of political subjection to the English Crown.

[w] Lord Grey made a military progress through a considerable part of Ireland, and extorted indentures of submission from several Irish chiefs; but their desire for English law may be estimated from the fact, that "Ormonde counted on their loyalty just so long as the royal army remained amongst them."—*Moore*, vol. iii. p. 278.

[x] St. Leger was more fortunate than most of his predecessors. He saw Irish lords accepting English titles, and sitting in the Irish Parliament, and renouncing the authority of Rome, in 1541. But the subsequent history of most of them, or of their successors, does not exhibit a deep attachment for the new order of things. The sort of English law established by St. Leger in the Irish districts may be known from note [g], *suprà*, p. 203.

[y] This act of O'Donnell is represented by the Four Masters as a league with Skeffington. The covenant, according to Davis, implied a promise to adopt English laws: "Si Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam." O'Donnell was then in league against O'Neill.

Henrico VIII. trigesimum quartum regni annum nondum prætergresso, O'Briinni rogârunt ut sua ditio ad comitatûs formam revocaretur et comitatûs Wickloensis nomen gereret[69], sed tantam Hibernorum sedulitatem Anglicorum in Hiberniâ procerum summa pertinacia cassam fecit, qui regem Angliæ adduxerunt ut crederet "exitiosum esse si legum Anglicarum communio Hibernis impertiretur, et magis e re suâ esse ut pro alienigenis et hostibus haberentur, continuoque bello infestarentur[70]."

Nonnulli fortasse dicent proceres istos ideo dissuasisse ne cum Hibernis pax iniretur ut continuæ contentionis cote ferrum suæ virtutis acuerent, ne sitim scilicet et rubiginem arma sentirent, veriti ut ipsos vel desidia faceret imbelles, vel pugnandi dissuetudo militiæ imperitos, Scipionis Nasicæ sententiam amplexi Carthaginis eversionem dissuadentis, ne illâ dirutâ Romanæ juventutis industria potiùs languesceret, quàm stante acueretur : cùm præsertim in sacris literis moneantur Israælitæ "ut discerent filii eorum certare et habere consuetudinem prælliandi[71]." Verùm de hujusmodi causis ne cogitatio quidem eorum animis insedit. Consilii verò jam memorati auctores ideo regi fuerunt ut quæstui suo maximè prospicerent "Hibernis enim cum rege Angliæ obsequii et amicitiæ fœdere coeuntibus, pertimuerunt ne immunitatem illi non sciscirentur et inter Regis subditos relati eâdem omnino conditione cum Anglis in Hiberniâ commorantibus fruerentur, tum fore ut

[69] Davis, p. 95. [70] Ibid., p. 117. [71] Ind., c. iii. v. 2.

[z] The petition, if seriously made, was not at that time, nor before half a century later, carried into effect; and during that period, the most valiant opponents of English power, their means and numbers considered, were the O'Byrnes of the Mountains.

[a] It must be stated that Davis (whose object was to flatter King James) declares that, except the great Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, no Irish prince, in making terms, stipulated that a sheriff should not be admitted into his territory, and that *all* were anxious to be governed by the laws of England. But it does not follow that they wished for English laws because they made no stipulation against a sheriff, the appointment of such an officer in an Irish district, before the middle of the sixteenth century, being a measure not contemplated by English or Irish. Political subjection, or treaties of peace, or simple tribute, were generally the subject of the international diplomacy between them before the compositions and surrenders accomplished in the reign of Elizabeth.

[b] Historians unanimously ascribe the exclusion of the natives from English law to the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, who constantly resisted every such petition, even

O'Byrnes petitioned Henry VIII. also, about the same period, that their country might be formed into an English county, with the style and title of Wicklow county[z]. But these anxious wishes of the Irish[a] were blasted by the persevering hostility of the Anglo-Irish barons, who persuaded the King "that it was unwise to communicate the laws of England to the Irish; that it was the best policy to hold them as aliens and enemies, and to prosecute them with a continual war[b]."

Perhaps some person may suggest that the object of these lords, in dissuading conciliatory measures, was, to have a permanent battle-field for the exercise of their military virtue, and keep away the rust and bluntness from their swords. They feared, perhaps, that idleness might make them effeminate, and a long cessation of war unfit them for the field; like Scipio Nasica, who voted against the destruction of Carthage, lest the Roman youth, after its fall, might lose that incitement to military virtue which a rival city would inspire. We may be referred also to the exhortation addressed to the Israelites in Scripture, "that their sons should learn to fight, and to accustom themselves to battle." But motives of this kind had not the slightest influence on those Irish lords. Self-interest, the advancement of their own sordid views, were the real motives of the advice they gave to the King. They were afraid that if the Irish were received into the King's protection, and made liege-men and free subjects, and placed on the same footing as the English of Ireland[c], the laws of England would establish them in their possessions by

when recommended by the authority of the Crown. The motives of this policy are variously accounted for. Some are stated by Dr. Lynch in the words of Davis, who, together with all the English writers of his day, was as severe on the Anglo-Irish aristocracy as other English writers have been on the Irish aristocracy created by Elizabeth, James, Cromwell, and William III.

[c] A valuable note to Grace's Annals, p. 84, assigns some of the principal motives on which the Anglo-Irish lords resisted the extension of English law to the natives. The Brehon law, with its erics, and bonaghts, and cuddies, and cusherings, and other tributes, was more profitable to the lord than English law. He considered himself invested with all the rights of the dispossessed Irish chieftain, and sometimes obtained a confirmation of that right by royal charter; that is, the King authorized him to govern the Irish by Irish law. A passage of an old writer (cited in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 139), is peculiarly valuable, because it describes the condition of the tributary Irish, when English power was in the ascendant, before Bruce's invasion. During that war, O'Madden had been faithful to his chief lord, the Earl of Ulster, and obtained, as the reward of his fidelity,

indigenis avitorum agrorum possessio concessione regiâ confirmaretur: eorum ditiones certis limitibus definitæ comitatûs formam induerent; eorum aliqui ad honores et dignitates veherentur, omnes in libertatem vendicarentur, et legibus obnoxii fierent[72]. Quare cùm eam potestatis amplitudinem quam sibi cogitatione fingebant, majoribus angustiis coercitum iri, et arva ab Hibernis tum insessa quibus inhiabant, largitione regis, et diplomate in se pridem collata ex unguibus ereptum iri præviderent (Rex enim Angliæ Hiberniam universam inter decem optimates Anglos exciscebatur, qui licèt possessione ne tertiam quidem Hiberniæ partem, titulo tamen totam complectebantur, ut nihil reliquum fuit quod in indigenas conferretur[73]) in perturbatâ republicâ, se dominari quàm in pacatâ dignitatis et emolumenti jacturam facere malebant." Quare rationibus hactenùs fusè adductis liquidò patet genuinos Hibernos legibus Angliæ non nisi tardissimè obtemperâsse.

Quòd si quispiam in Stanihursti sententiam pertinaciùs abeat dicentis exploratissimum peractæ expugnationis indicium esse, si gens victa vincentis vestitui, linguæ, ac legibus se accomodet, eumdem fateri oportet Anglos potiùs sub Hibernorum, quàm Hibernos sub Anglorum imperium concessisse; quandoquidem Hibernis nulla vestium, linguæ, aut legum communio cum Anglis intercessit, Angli verò sermonem, vestitum et leges Hibernis familiares sic amplexi sunt ut Angliæ consuetudinem in tribus hisce capitibus penitùs dereliquerint; Davisio dicente "magnates Anglicos legum Anglicanarum administrationem suis ditionibus

[72] Davis, p. 117. [73] Ibid., p. 110.

"that the third of his province should be under the control of himself and his sons; that no English steward should preside over his Gaels; and that his stewards should be over the English of the entire territory,"—privileges not granted to the other Gaels of Erin; also, "that O'Madden and his tribes should have equal nobility (of blood) with his chief lords and their heirs;" the principle usually enforced by those lords having been, "that the Gael was ignoble, though a landholder; and that the Saxon was noble, though without education or lands."—p. 142.

[a] Davis boasts that this principle was established by James I., who admitted all to the benefits of English law. But the old spirit survived, as in modern times it has often survived, though the law that created it had been repealed. When Bedell made zealous exertions to draw over the native Irish to the established religion, "he was violently opposed by many," says his contemporary biographer, "because he endeavoured to make the conquered and enslaved Irish capable of preferment in Church and State, which was the portion of the conquerors; which no man did ever so much as once attempt before

grants from the crown, reduce their countries into counties, ennoble some of them, and enfranchise all, and make them amenable to the law[d]; all which would have abridged and cut off a great part of that greatness which those Anglo-Irish lords promised to themselves. They foresaw that the lands then held by the Irish, and which had formerly been conferred on themselves by royal favor and patent[e], would never come into their possession. (The King of England had cantonized all Ireland among ten persons of the English nation; and, though they had not gained possession of one-third part of the whole kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives). Thus these lords preferred playing the tyrant in a troubled state, rather than suffer any loss of dignity or profit in a peaceful one[f]." From the copious evidence already adduced, it is very evident that the native Irish were not subjected to the laws of England until within a very late period.

Should any person obstinately maintain Stanihurst's opinion, that the most unequivocal evidence of a complete conquest is found in the adoption, by the conquered, of the laws, dress, and language of the conquerors, it will follow that the English were conquered by the Irish, not the Irish by the English; because the Irish did not adopt the laws, language, or dress of the English, while the English did adopt the laws, language, and dress of the Irish, and completely renounced English habits in those three departments. The English lords "would not suffer the English laws to be put in execution within their seigniories; but, in

his lordship." — *Mason's Bedell*, p. 275. The assertion may be a little exaggerated; "but the question (the equal rights of Irishmen), under various forms and phases, has remained essentially, down to the present day, in almost the same state in which Edward I. found and left it."—*Moore*, vol. iii. p. 36.

[e] And these grants were cited in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. against the native Irish, who, during two and three centuries, had been in peaceful possession of their lands.

[f] Davis, who was a court lawyer in an age of absolutism, attributes all sorts of bad motives to those Anglo-Irish nobles, who, according to his notion, possessed far too much power for subjects. But admitting that self-interest was one of the main-springs of their policy, some allowance must be also made for the influence of Irish example, which might make them prefer Irish or Brehon law for its own sake. They were certainly an energetic race; and in a very short space of time struck deep and lasting root into the Irish soil, on which they have left splendid fruits of baronial grandeur and religious munificence.

abegisse et leges Hibernicas admisisse quibus ipsi eorumque clientes ultro adhærebant. Ita ut Angli qui expugnare Hibernos decreverunt ab his planè ac penitùs expugnati fuerint[74] quâ victi victoribus legem dedere." Angli etiam linguam Anglicam non solùm oblivioni tradiderunt, sed et eam loqui dedignati sunt, ut tandem linguâ, nominibus, veste, ac totâ vivendi ratione, meri Hiberni evaserint et legibus Anglicis repudiatis ad Hibernicas se accomodarint et plurima conjugia affinitatesque cum Hibernis contraxerint[75].

Nimirum ut frugum semina ex originis solo in alienam educta indolem mutant, et naturam, terræque cui noviter inseruntur, et in quâ ad justam maturitatem adolescunt conditionem referunt, sic coloniæ aliquò deductæ post domicilii ac fortunarum sedem in eo loco fixam [25] sobolemque propagatam majori ejus amore tenentur quàm | regionis unde ortæ sunt. Hinc est quòd coloniæ olim Italiam acolentes ad subveniendum urbis Romæ (unde generis originem ipsi traxerunt) difficultatibus in secundo bello Punico adduci non potuerunt.

Porro cùm Hiberni neque veste, linguâ, aut lege Anglorum similitudinem retulerint, non video quâ ratione in subjectionem ad quam se demiserunt justæ expugnationis appellatio cadere potuerit. Nec alio ullo præterea documento in Anglorum ditionem Hiberni venisse ostenduntur. Frustra enim huc a Bodino subsidium accersetur dicente, "individuas esse summi imperii tesseras ut ei soli penes quem suprema potestas est bellum aut pacem indicere et reum pœnis addicere aut subducere pro arbitratu suo liceat[76]." Nam rege Angliæ inconsulto suas Hiberni leges ad suæ reipublicæ administrationem adhibebant, magistratus instituebant, flagitiosos in suis ditionibus vel pœnâ vel veniâ prosequebantur, bellum aut pacem nullo alio in concilium adhibito,

[74] Davis, p. 133. [75] Ibid., p. 143. [76] Lib. i. de Repub. c. ult.

[g] We have already seen (note [p], *suprà*, p. 223) that the Anglo-Irish prelates endeavoured to check the amalgamation of the two races by the censures of the Church. Popular prophecies were employed for the same purpose. Baron Finglass mourned over the approaching ruin of English dominion in Ireland, because the four saints, Patrick, Columba, Moling, and Braghane [Berchan?], who had foretold the coming of the English, had also stated that English power would last only as long as they observed their own laws."—*Harris, Hibernica*, p. 88.

[h] According to a singular passage in O'Sullivan's *Historiæ Catholicæ*, p. 35, many of the Anglo-Irish of his day carried to such lengths their hatred of England

place thereof, both they and their people embraced the Irish customs: so that the English, who hoped to make a conquest of the Irish, were by them perfectly and absolutely conquered, because 'victi victoribus legem dedere[g].'" For the English not only forgot the English language, but scorned the use thereof, and became mere Irish in language, surnames, dress, and in all their manners. They renounced English laws, and adopted those of the Irish, with whom they formed intermarriages and other alliances[h].

As seeds transplanted from their native climate to a foreign soil change their nature and qualities, and imbibe the properties of the new land in which they are planted and grow to maturity, so when the colonist fixes his home and embarks his hopes, and sees his children growing around him under a foreign sky, the land of his adoption becomes more dear to him than the mother country. Hence the colonies, planted in Italy in ancient times, could not be induced to arm in defence of Rome, their mother country, when she was brought to the verge of ruin, in the second Punic war.

As the Irish never conformed to English laws, language, or dress, I am at a loss to know how their voluntary submission can be with truth called a conquest. There is no other evidence to prove that the Irish were conquered by the English. It is of no avail to cite Bodinus, "that the inseparable marks of supreme dominion are, that he, in whom the supreme power is vested, should alone have the right to make peace or war, and to pardon or punish the accused, according to his pleasure." For, without the consent of the English King, the Irish governed their people by the Brehon law; they made their own magistrates; they pardoned and punished all malefactors, within their several countries; they made war and peace with each other without controlment[i]; and this they did not only during the reign of King

that they would trace their descent from Dane, or Gaul, or Etruscan, rather than from English blood. So early as 1367, the animosity between English by birth and English by descent was so violent that Parliament interfered and enacted that henceforward there should be no distinction between "English hobbe" [clown] and "Irish dogge," such being the soubriquets of the English and Anglo-Irish.—*Statute of Kilkenny*, p. 114. "New" and "old" English were the epithets employed in later ages, to distinguish the families planted under Elizabeth and her successors from the former colonists.

[i] Most of those attributes of sovereign

inibant. Nec solùm Henrico II. rege ista præstabant, sed etiam hujusce potestatis exercitium ad Elizabethæ reginæ tempora protrahebant[77], ita ut apposité Davisius alibi dixerit, "cùm per duos Hiberniæ trientes, Rex Angliæ in perduelles, homicidas, aut latrones animadvertere nisi armis eo illatis, non potuerit, et legum administratores ad jus dicendum et injurias ab incolis propulsandas, pedem inferre ausi non fuerint, nec etiam ulla emolumenta, vectigalium, fisci, aut proscriptionum princeps inde perceperit[78]; jure affirmare Davisius non potuit ejusmodi ditionem in regionum penitùs expugnatarum numerum venisse." Additque Waræus, "hoc constat quòd etiamsi multæ bonæ leges ad reipublicæ salutem spectantes sancitæ fuerint, vim tamen et virtutem anno Domini 1494 et diu postea non extenderunt ultra regiones ab Anglicâ gente habitatas[79]."

Cùm igitur nullo hactenùs memorato expugnationis titulo, Hiberniam Angli sibi vindicaverint: reliquum est ut inspiciamus si Angli, indigenis natali solo eliminatis, summâ rerum in Hiberniâ potiti fuerint: sed hâc quoque ratione justè Hiberniæ expugnatores Angli non dicentur, cùm eædem familiæ, quæ, stante Pentarchiâ, ante Anglos Hiberniam adortos, Hiberniam insederunt, sedes suas etiamnum in eâ collocatos habeant. Nec stirpium Hiberniam, ante arma illuc ab Anglis illata, incolentium nomenclaturam aliunde meliùs haurire poterimus, quàm ex illo insigni Joannis O'Duvegani poëmate, cui melioris notæ

[77] Davis, p. 12. [78] Ibid. p. 15. [79] Annales Hib. Henrico VII. regnante, p. 15.

power were possessed even by the Anglo-Irish lords, but by patent of the Crown. At one period there were not less than eight counties palatine in Ireland, five in Leinster,—namely, Leix, Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, Kildare, Meath, Ulster, and Desmond, all as old as King John.—*Davis, His. Dis.*, p. 113. These palatines made barons and knights, erected courts for criminal and civil causes, and for their own revenues, in the same form as the King's courts were established at Dublin; made their own judges, seneschals, and sheriffs: so that the King's writ did not run except in the *crocea* or church lands, called "the cross," lying within the palatines.—*Ibid.*, p. 114. Statutes were frequently enacted, prohibiting those palatines to make private war,—a restriction which did not apply to the Irish chieftains.

[k] In the reign of Edward III., some asserted that Ireland had yielded a surplus revenue in preceding ages; but Davis asserts, "that in all the ancient Pipe Rolls in the time of Henry III., Edward I., Edward II., as well as of Edward III., between the receipts and allowances, there is this entry, 'in Thesauro nihil:' the officers of the State and army spent all, and even all was not enough for the expenses of

Henry II., but afterwards in all times, even to the reign of Elizabeth. Hence Davis has in another place truly observed, that since "the King of England could not punish treasons, murders, or thefts, in two-third parts of Ireland unless he sent an army to do it, since the jurisdiction of his courts of justice did not extend to those parts to protect the people from wrong and oppression, since he had no certain revenue, no escheats or forfeitures[k], out of the same, the writer cannot justly say that such a country is wholly conquered." And Ware adds: "It is manifest that, though many salutary laws had been enacted for the government of the kingdom, their force and authority did not extend in 1494, and for a long time after, beyond the district inhabited by the English race."

When, therefore, the English vindicated their claim to Ireland by no title of conquest as yet mentioned, it remains that we examine whether the English, having driven the aborigines from the natal soil, enjoyed chief authority in Ireland; but in this view also the English cannot be justly called the conquerors of Ireland[l], because the same families which inhabited Ireland during the existence of the Pentarchy, before the English had invaded Ireland, still retained their habitations after that event. Nor can we obtain the nomenclature of the tribes inhabiting Ireland before the English had carried their arms hither from any better source than that remarkable poem[m] by Seaan O'Dubhagain,

government."—*Hist. Dist.*, p. 21.

[l] For the translation of the abstract of O'Dugan's topographical poem, and the accompanying notes, the reader is indebted to Mr. O'Donovan, without whose invaluable aid the Editor could not give either the correct orthography of the names of the Irish families, nor the precise limits of their ancient territories, except in as far as such knowledge could be derived from works already published by Mr. O'Donovan. Even in its contracted state, the poem, under his care, will present the most comprehensive topographical and genealogical sketch of ancient Ireland that has yet been published. The publication of the original is contemplated by the Irish Archæological Society.

[m] Of this poem there are several copies on paper, but none on vellum has yet been discovered. It is very probable that Dr. Lynch had a copy of it from the Book of O'Dubhagain or Ui-Maine, which he quotes very frequently. There are two good copies of this poem in Dublin, one in the handwriting of Cucoigcriche O'Clerigh, or Peregrine O'Clery, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and the other in Mac Firbisigh's genealogical work in the same library. The original in Lord Roden's possession, from which the latter copy was taken, though bound up with Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh's work, is in the hand-

stemmata, quæ suo ambitu antiquitùs Hibernia complexa est, inseruit, Illius autem Hibernici scripti est: Τριαllam τimcheall na Foὸhla, &c., quæ verba hunc sensum referunt. "O socii pulchræ fines obeamus Iernes." A Midiâ enumerationem inchoat, cujus regem fuisse dicit O'Moelseachlinum, proceres O'Hairt, O'Riagain, O'Kelli, O'Comgalach, O'Ruadhry dominum, de Finfochla, O'Coindhealbhain Leogariæ dominum, O'Bruin dominum Luighniæ, O'Ænghus dominum de Vamacuais, O'Haogh dominum de Odhba, O'Dubain dominum de Enodhba [Cnodhbæ], O'Hanbith dominum de Fearbile, O'Cahasi dominum Saithnii, O'Leochain dominum de Galing, O'Dongchu dominum de Theallachmodharn, O'Hianradan dominum de Corcoraddii O'Moel-

writing of Michel O'Clerigh, the chief of the Four Masters. Both copies differ in many important particulars, but that in the handwriting of Cucoigcriche O'Clerigh is found to be generally the more correct. Seaan O'Dubhagain, the author of this poem, was chief historical ollamh, or chronicler, of Ui Maine, and, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, died in the monastery of Rinn-duin, now St. John's, in the county of Roscommon, in the year 1372. —See note [p] under that year, *O'Don. ed.* p. 655; also *O'Reilly's Descriptive Catalogue of Irish Writers*, pp. 89, 100, 101.

[n] This family, the head of the southern Ui Neill, derived their name and lineage from Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 1022. It was usually anglicized O'Melaghlin till the reign of Queen Anne, when the gentlemen of the name began to spell it Mac Laughlin, which is the form now in use. According to the tradition in the barony of Clonlonan, in Westmeath, the head of this great family removed to the county of Roscommon, where some of the name still remain. Conn Mac Laughlin, Esq., of Dublin, is of this race, but his pedigree has not been made out. The name Maelseachlainn signifies servant of Seachlann, or St. Secundinus (disciple of St. Patrick), who founded the church of Domhnach-Seachlainn, now called Dunshaughlin, in Meath.

[o] These four families, now *anglicè* O'Hart, O'Regan, O'Kelly, and O'Conolly, were called the four tribes of Tara.—See *Battle of Magh-Rath*, p. 9, note [d]. After the English invasion these families were deprived of their possessions in the vicinity of Tara, and O'Hart settled in the territory of Cairbre in the now county of Sligo; O'Kelly and O'Regan lingered in obscurity; and O'Conolly settled in the now county of Monaghan, where the head of the name became notorious in 1641.

[p] Now anglicized Rogers. The position of Finnfochla has not been yet determined. Fochla is explained Suiὸe na Flaτa, "seat of the chief," by O'Clerigh.

[q] A territory in Meath, comprising the barony of Upper Navan and some portion of the barony of Lower Navan also, but its exact limits cannot be defined.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 178, note [c]. The name O'Coindealbhain is now anglicized Kindellan and Quinlan.

[r] A territory in Meath, the name of

in which he has inserted the families of better note, which Ireland anciently comprised within its ambit. The beginning of that poem, which is written in Irish, is, "Triallam timcheall na Fodhla," &c., which words convey this meaning: "O companions! let us traverse the territories of beauteous Ierne." From Meath the enumeration begins, whose king, he says, had been O'Maelsheachlainn[n]; the dynasts O'h-Airt[o], O'Riagain, O'Ceallaigh, O'Conghalaigh; O'Ruaidhri[p], lord of Finnfochla; O'Coindhealbhain, lord of Laeghaire[q]; O'Braein, lord of Luighne[r]; O'hAenghusa, lord of Ui-Mac-Uais[s]; O'h-Aedha, lord of Odhbha[t]; O'Dubhain, lord of Cnodhbha[u]; O'hAinbheith, lord of Feara-Bile[w]; O'Caitheasaigh, lord of Saithne[x]; O'Leochain, lord of Gaileanga[y]; O'Donnchadha, lord of Teallach Modharain[z]; O'hInradhain, lord of

which is preserved in the present barony of Lune, but it was originally more extensive than the barony.—*Ibid.*, p. 186. This family of O'Braein is now unknown.—See note on Breaghmhaine.

[s] That is Ui Mic Uais Breagh, as stated in the poem itself. This tribe was seated to the south-west of Tara Hill, and there is reason to suppose that they occupied the present barony of Lower Moyfenrath in east Meath. O'hAenghusa, now always Hennessy, without the O'.

[t] See this referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters at A. M. 3502. 4415, A. D. 607, 890, 1016, 1072. It derived its name, according to the bardic history of Ireland, from Odhbha, the first wife of Eireamhon [Heremon], who was buried in a mound here. The moat near the town of Navan is still called an Oбба; and the lordship of O'h-Aedha, now Hughes, was probably comprised in the present barony of Skreen, in the county of Meath.

[u] Now Knowth, in the parish of Monksnewtown, near Slane, in the county of Meath. O'Dubhain is now anglicized Duane, Dwan, Divan, and Downes.

[w] Now the barony of Farbil, in the county of Westmeath.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1095. The surname O'hAinbheith is now anglicized Hanvey and Hannafy. This family was dispossessed by the followers of Hugh de Lacy.

[x] A territory in the Fine Gall or Fingall, north of Dublin, comprising the parish of Holywood, and other lands mentioned in Alan's Register, fol. 110. — See *Book of Rights*, p. 187, note [s]. O'Caitheasaigh is now anglicised Casey, the prefix O' never used. This chief was dispossessed and his lands sold by Sir Hugh de Lacy.

[y] That is Gaileanga-Mora. The name of this territory is still preserved in that of the barony of Morgallion in the north of the county of Meath, but it originally included a part of the county of Cavan.—*Ibid.*, p. 188. O'Leochain is now anglicised Logan by some, and by others ridiculously translated "Ducks," *quasi* Lachain.

[z] This tribe was probably seated in the barony of Upper Moyfenrath, in the south-east of Westmeath. It has nothing to do with the town of Tullamore, which is modern, and called after the English family of Moore; and in O'Molloy's country

muaidhum, sive ut nunc loquimur O'Molloyum Faracalliæ dominum, O'Dubhlaidsi dominum de Fartulagch, O'Finnalain dominum Dalvniæ majoris, O'Maoluighdhum seu ut hodierna fert pronuntiatio O'Muledium dominum de Brogha, Maccoghlanium dominum Dalvniæ Baætri, O'Tolarg dominum Curcniæ. Nobilibus Midiæ majorum gentium hactenus recensitis, nunc ad nobiles ejusdem Midiæ minorum gentium sive dynastas enumerandos transeamus. Qui fuerunt Mageochaganus Kinelfiachræ dynasta, Magruarcus Kenelnendæ dynasta, O'Eochii Kenelneughusæ dynasta, O'Moelcallus Dalbhnæ minoris dynasta. Optimates Taffiæ fuerunt O'Cahairn, O'Cuinn, Maconfiacha, O'Lachtnan, O'Muragan ; O'Flanagan dominus de Comar, O'Brain dominus de Breaghmaine, Macconin dominus de Muntirlidagan, Macaodha dominus

of Feara-Ceall. O'Donnchadha, O'Donoghy, or Dunphy, of this place, is now unknown.

[a] Now the barony of Corcaree, in the county of Westmeath.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1185, p. 66, note [n]. O'Hinradhain or Hanrahan of this place was early dispossessed.

[b] Now preserved in the barony of Fircall, but the territory comprised this barony as well as those of Ballycowan and Ballyboy, in the King's County.—*Book of Rights*, p. 180. Present head of this family of O'Molloy is unknown.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1585.

[c] Now Fertullagh, a barony in the south-east of the county of Westmeath. D. Mac Firbisigh says that the O'Dooleys were driven out of this territory by the O'Melaghlins at an early period, and that they settled in Ely-O'Carroll (where they are still numerous). The Tyrrels got possession of their territory soon after the English invasion.

[d] Now Delvin, a barony in the county of Westmeath. The O'Finnalans were dispossessed by De Lacy, who gave their territory to Nugent.

[e] This was the name of a place on the Boyne, near Stackallan Bridge, but Dr. Lynch is clearly wrong in making O'Maellughach, O'Mulledy, which is in Irish O'Maeleidigh. The family of O'Maellughach of this place is now unknown. O'Mulledy was seated at Ballymaledy, near Kilbeggan, in the county of Westmeath.

[f] Now the barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County. The last head of this family, who was locally called The *Maw*, died without issue, and his estates passed to the late Denis Bowes Daly, Esq., M. P., Armstrong, &c. General Coghlan was of an obscure branch of the family, but reared by The Maw, &c.

[g] Cuircne is still the Irish name of the barony of Kilkenny West, in Westmeath ; but the name O'Tolairg is now unknown in that barony and everywhere else, unless it be the Norbury name of Toler, which is not improbable.

[h] *Anglicè* Mageoghegan of Kineleaghe. This territory comprised the barony of Moycashel in Westmeath. Sir Richard Nagle represents the senior branch of this family; and John A. O'Neill [Mageoghegan], of Bunowen Castle, in the west of the county of Galway, represents the second

Corca-Raidhe[a]; O'Maelmhuaidh, or, as we now call him, O'Molloy, lord of Feara-Ceall[b]; O'Dubhlaidhe, lord of Feara-Tulach[c]; O'Finnallain, lord of Deabhna-mor[d]; O'Maellughach, or, as it is at this day pronounced, O'Muledy, lord of Brogh[e]; Mac Cochlain, lord of Dealbhna-Beathra[f]; O'Tolairg, lord of Cuircne[g]. The nobles of the larger tribes of Meath being now enumerated, let us next turn to the enumeration of the nobles of the smaller septs, or dynasts, who were: Mag Eochagain, dynast of Cineal-Fhiachach[h]; Mag Ruairc, dynast of Cineal-Eanna[i]; O'hEochadha, dynast of Cineal-Aenghusa[k]; O'Maelchallainn, dynast of Dealbhna-Beag[l]. The chiefs of Teathbha[m]: O'Catharnaigh, Mag Cuinn, O'Coinfiacla, O'Lachtnain, O'Muireagain; O'Flannagain, lord of Comar[n]; O'Braein, lord of Breaghmhaine[o]; Mac Coinmead-

senior branch, which was transplanted into Connaught by Cromwell.

[i] A territory in the barony of Rathconrath, adjoining the hill of Uisneach, in the county of Westmeath.—See *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*, part iii. c. 85; and the *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*, pp. 234, 287. The family of Mag Ruairc is now unknown.

[k] Nothing has been yet discovered to determine the situation of this sept. The name O'hEochaidh is still numerous in Meath, and variously anglicized Houghey, Hoey, Hoy, Howe, but generally Hoey.

[l] That is, Little Delvin, now the barony of Demi-Fore, in east Meath.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 183. O'Maelchallainn is now always anglicized Mulholland, without the O'.

[m] Usually latinized Teffia, and anglicised Teaffa, and Teffa-land, by Connell Mageohegan, in his translation of the Annals of Cluain mic Nois. In St. Patrick's time this was applied to a large territory in the present counties of Westmeath and Longford, and divided by the River Eithne (Inny) into two parts, the north and south; the former including nearly all the county of Longford, and the latter the western half of the present county of Westmeath. Its chief lord was O'Catharnaigh, O'Caharny, who afterwards took the name of Sinnach, or Fox, which they still retain. Darcy Fox, of Foxville, in the county of Meath, is believed to be the present head of this family. The family of Foxhall are also of this race. The name Mag Cuinn is more usually written O'Cuinn, and now always made Quin without the O'. The name O'Coinfhiacla is obsolete. O'Lachtnain is anglicized Loughnan, and by some Loftus. O'Muireagain is made Morgan.—See the *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*, p. 187, *et seq.*

[n] This was probably the Comar, or Cumar, near Clonard. The O'Flanagans of this place are unknown.—*Book of Rights*, p. 12.

[o] Now the barony of Brawney, in Westmeath. The O'Breens of this territory are still extant, but they have changed their name to O'Brien. The infamous Jemmy O'Brien, of '98 notoriety, was of this sept, and not of the O'Briens of Clare, as was universally asserted in '98. This fact is worth recording. Terence O'Brien, of Glen-

[26] de Muntirflamain, | Macteggus dominus de Muntirsiortachain, Macamhalgaidh dominus Calriæ, Macargamni dominus de Muntirmoelsinni, O'Dalii dynasta de Corcaduin, O'Muraedhus de Kenelflamain, O'Scolaigh de Davlniâ Occidentali, O'Comruigh dominus de Macuaius, O'Haodha de Tirteaffa, O'Carvellus de Temoriâ, O'Dunnius dominus in finibus Temoriæ, Macgillesachlain de Australi Breighâ, O'Ronain de Carbrigabhra, O'Haonghusse de Galingiis minoribus; duo domini de Fingalliâ fuerunt Macgillacholmog et Odunchuus, O'Murchertaachus dominus Omaniæ et O'Mugdonius dominus Kineloniæ [Tir Eochain] et Breathniæ.

E Midiâ in Ultoniam orationem deinde transfert, et in Ultoniæ regione, quam Hibernicè Oiligh, Latinè Ulidiam dicimus, Onello pri-

columbkille, county of Clare, can prove the fact.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, note [l], p. 395, A. D. 1264.

[p] Now Mac Namee. The sept of Muinter Laedhucain were seated near the River Shannon, in the barony of Cuircne, now Kilkenny west. Mac Aedha, now Magee, and his sept of Muinter Tlamain, were in the barony of Rathconrath, as was Mac Teige and the tribe of Muinter Sirthachain.

[q] The parish of Ballyloughloe, in the barony of Clonlonan, county of Westmeath, is still so called.—See note [o] on "Baile-locha-luatha," in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1475, p. 1095. The name Mag Amhalghadha is now anglicized Magawley, in Westmeath. The late Count Magawley, of Frankford, in the King's county, was the head of this family.

[r] Anglicized Mac Carroon. This sept was seated in Cuircne, now the barony of Kilkenny West, near the River Shannon.—See *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*, part iii., c. 85, p. 401.

[s] Sometimes called Corca-Adain. This territory adjoined Corcaree, in Westmeath, and is very probably, if not certainly, included in the present barony of Magheradernon, in the county of Westmeath.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'Don.*, A. D. 1185, note [o], p. 67, and note [e], A. D. 1213, p. 180. Mr. Owen Daly, of Moningtown, in the barony of Corcaree, is believed to be the senior of the O'Dalys of Corca-Adain.

[t] Situation unknown. The name O'Muireadhaigh is now anglicised Murray, without the O', in every part of Ireland.

[u] Now Scully. Position unknown. The western Dealbhna was otherwise called Dealbhna Teannmhuighe. — See *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 82.

[w] This is a repetition.

[x] O'Carroll of Tara. A repetition.

[y] O'Doyne or O'Dunne, now Dunne. This is a repetition.

[z] Including the barony of Deece, or Deise-Teamhrach.

[a] Now the barony of Granard, in the county of Longford.—See the *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*, p. 144, note [c], where the situation of this territory is proved. The O'Ronans, or race of Cairbre mac Neill, were subdued at an early period by the Anghaile or O'Farrells, who retained possession of this territory and

ha[p], lord of Muintir-Laedhucain; Mac Aedha, lord of Muinter-Tlamain; Mac Taidhg, lord of Muintir-Sirthachain; Mag Amhalgadha, lord of Calraidhe-an-Chala[q]; Mac Carghamhna[r], lord of Muinter-Maelsinna; O'Dalaigh, lord of Corca-Adain[s]; O'Muireadhaigh of Cineal-Tlamain[t]; O'Scolaidhe of western Dealbhna[u]; O'Comhraidhe, lord of Ui-Mic-Uais; O'hAedha of Tir-Teathbha, east[w]; O'Cearbhaill[x] of Teamhair; O'Duinn[y], lord in the district of Teamhair; Mac Gillaseachlainn of south Breagh[z]; O'Ronain of Cairbre-Gabhra[a]; O'hAenghusa of Gaileanga Beaga[b]. The two lords of Fine-Gall[c] were Mac Gillamocholmog and O'Dunchadha; O'Muircheartaigh[d], lord of Ui-Maine; O'Modhairn, lord of Tir-Eochain and of the Welshmen.

From Midhe [Meath] he next transfers his description, to that part of Ulster which we call in Irish [the district of] Aileach, and in Latin Ulidia[e], where he mentions O'Neill[f] as the first and O'Mag Lach-

adjoining baronies for several centuries, in despite of the English family of Tuite, and others, who attempted to wrest it from them.

[b] The position of this territory is determined from O'Clerigh's Irish Calendar, which places Glais Naeidhin, now Glasnevin, in it. The family name, O'hAenghusa, is now anglicised Hennessy.

[c] That is, the tribe of the foreigners, now called Fingall, a district extending to the north of Dublin. Mac Gillamocholmog was lord of the territory of Ui-Dunchadha, through which the River Dothair [the Dodder] flows, as appears from the Irish Annals and Calendars; and hence it is not difficult to believe that O'Dubhagain has turned the tribe-name of Mac Gillamocholmog into a second chieftain.

[d] Now anglicised Murtagh throughout Meath. Dr. Lynch does not seem to have understood O'Dubhagain in this place, for the latter says that the three septs of Tuilean, the congregation of St. Cairneach, are of Meath, though they are not Meathmen; viz.: the Sil-Domhnaill, O'Muircheartaigh, lord of Ui-Maine, and O'Modhairn, chief of Cineal-Eochain, "A mbreaṫnaiġ féin fúṫa-san." These were Welshmen whose ancestors had come over with St. Cairneach, at Tuilean, now the parish of Dunlane, near Kells, in Meath.—See Dr. Todd's edition of the *Irish Nennius*.

[e] This is not correctly stated, because Aileach was not in Ulidia, which was applied by the writers of Dr. Lynch's period to that part of Ulster east of Loch n-Eathach [Lough Neagh] and Gleann Righe. He should have written:—"From Meath he transfers his description to Aileach, the palace of that part of the province of Ultonia which belonged to the race of Niall Naeighiallach, where he mentions O'Neill," &c.

[f] This is in accordance with the notions which were prevalent in Ireland in O'Dubhagain's time, not in Henry the Second's time, for at the English invasion O'Maelseachnaill [Mag Loughlin] was far more powerful than O'Neill.

mas, O'Maglachlinno secundas defert, quas sequitur O'Cahanus Kiannechtæ dominus, O'Conchabhar, et O'Gormlaidh Kenelmoighnæ domini, O'Farghail (sive ut nunc loquimur O'Farrell) O'Donellanus, O'Donaganus, Macmurchi, Macdunchuani, et Macruadhrii in Tallachuambith, et in Muintirbhirn; O'Cæally, sive O'Kelly dynasta de Corcaetach; O'Tigarnaidh, et O'Kiernan in Farnmaigh, O'Moelbrassuill, O'Baoighil, O'Cuinn et O'Caonaith, in Maighnithâ; O'Donell in Kenelminnâ de gleann in Aquilone, et Kenellochdrochoit, O'Dubhdannaidh, O'Haghmallaidh, et O'Heddinein in tribus Tellachis, scilicet Tellachcathlain, Teallachdubrailbhe, et Teallachmbruinain; O'Moelfoghartaidh, O'Heoghasa, et O'Hogain in Keneltiacharna; O'Cuanach et O'Baothghalius in Clanfargusâ; O'Bruadar, O'Moelfabhil, et O'Hoganus in Kiarrienibrachindh; O'Murchus et O'Meallain in Siolaodheanaidh; Macfiachrach

[g] This should not have the O' prefixed, for the name is Mag, or Mac Lachluinn, or O'Lachluinn, as the Four Masters sometimes write it. This family sunk under the O'Neills in the thirteenth century. They are still very numerous in the barony of Inishowen, county of Donegal.

[h] That is, Cianachta-Glinne-Geimhin, now the barony of Keenaght, in the county of Londonderry. O'Cathain, now O'Kane. We have a Sir Robert and a Sir Richard of this race at present. Sir Richard Cane, of the county of Waterford, is not of the O'Ceins of the River Mahon, in that county, but of the Ulster family of Cianachta Glianne Geimhin. His grandfather, who was an Ulster attorney, settled in the city of Waterford.

[i] Now O'Conor. This is a mistake of Dr. Lynch's. O'Dubhagin says: "The fair king of Cianachta, of the race of valorous Eoghan, is O'Cathain; but O'Conchobair of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian of Caiseal, was its first king." The O'Conors are still in this barony.

[k] This tribe of the O'Gairmleadhaighs or O'Gormleys, originally seated in the barony of Raphoe, in the present county of Donegal, but being driven out by the Cineal Conaill they established themselves on the east side of what is now called the River Foyle. On an old map of Ulster preserved in the State Papers' Office, London, O'Gormley's country is shown as extending from near Derry to Strabane.

[l] These tribes were seated in the present barony of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone. Munter-Birne, which is still the name of a district and Presbyterian parish, is shown on an old map of Ulster in the State Papers' Office, as adjoining Trough in the county of Monaghan.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1172, note [o]. These surnames are now anglicised Freel, Donnellan, Donegan, Mac Murragh or Mac Morrow, Duncan, and Macrory or Rogers. These families, who are of the great race of Eoghan, son of the monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages, are now poor, and reduced to cottiers or small farmers.

[m] That is, race of Eochaidh, a sept seated in the barony of Loughinsholin, county of Londonderry, where the O'Kellys of this race are still numerous.

[n] That is, men of the plain. Situation

luinn[g] as second, next to whom follows O'Cathain, lord of Cianachta[h], O'Conchobhair[i], and O'Gairmleadhagh, lords of Cineal-Moain[k] [*rectè* O'Cathain, and before him O'Conchobhair, lord of Cianachta; O'Gairmleadhaigh, lord of Cineal-Moain]; O'Fearghail, or, as we now say, O'Farrell, O'Domhnallain, O'Donnagain, Mag Murchadha, Mac Duinnchuan, and Mag Ruaidhri, in Teallach-nAinbhith and Muintir-Birn[l]; O'Cealaigh or O'Kelly, chief of Corca-Eathach[m]; O'Tighearnaigh and O'Ciarain in Fearmaighe[n]; O'Maelbresail, O'Baeighill, O'Cuinn, and O'Cinaetha, in Magh-Itha[o]; O'Domhnaill in Cineal-Binnigh of the valley, Cineal-Binnigh of Tuath-Rois, and Cineal-Binnigh of Loch-Drochaid[p]; O'Duibhduana, O'hAghmaill, O'h-Eitigean over the three teallachs [tribes[q]], namely, Teallach-Cathalain, Teallach-Duibhrailbhe, and Teallach-Braenain; O'Maelfothartaigh, O'h-Eoghasa, and O'hOgain, in Cineal-Tighearnaigh; O'Cuanach and O'Baethghalaigh, in Clann-Fearghusa; O'Bruadair, O'Maelfabhaill, and O'hOgain, in Carraig-Brachaidhe[r]; O'Murchadha and O'Meallain, in Sil-Aedha-Eanaigh[s]; Mag Fiachrach in [the southern part of] Cineal-Fearadhaigh[t]; the race of Airnin, the race of Maelfhabhaill, and the Clann-

unknown. The names O'Tighearnaigh and O'Ciarain are now anglicised Tierny, and Kerrin or Kearns.

[o] A plain along the River Finn, in the barony of Raphoe and county of Donegal. —See *Book of Rights*, p. 124, note [q].

[p] These tribes were seated in the valley of Glenconkeine, in the barony of Loughinsholin, in the county of Londonderry, and in the barony of Strabane, in the county of Tyrone.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, at A. D. 1053, 1076, 1078, 1081, 1181. The O'Domhnaill or O'Donnell of these territories is now unknown.

[q] The three Teallachs, Cineal-Tighearnaigh and Clann-Fearghusa were seated in the present baronies of Dungannon and Omagh. The name of O'Dubhduana is now unknown; O'hAghmaill is now anglicised Hamill; O'hEitigein is anglicised Magettigan, by a commutation of O' for Mac which is not uncommon; O'Maelfothartaigh is unknown; O'h-Eoghasa is anglicised Hosey and Hussey; and O'Hogain is made Hagan, and O'Hagan. This latter family remained very distinguished till Cromwell's time, and was seated at Tullyhoge, in the barony of Dungannon. Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q. C., is of this family.

[r] A territory comprising the north-western part of the barony of Inishowen, county of Donegal. The surname O'Bruadair is now made Broder, Broderick, and Brothers; and O'Maelfabhaill is now anglicised Mulfaal, and sometimes incorrectly MacPaul. O'Dubhagain mentions O'Duibhdhirma, now Diarmitt, as chief of Breadach, which comprised the eastern part of the barony of Inishowen.

[s] Situation uncertain. Probably at Enagh, to the north-east of Londonderry.

[t] This tribe occupied the whole of the

in Kenelforaidh, Siolarmin, Sialmoelfabhail et Clancathmhaoil sive Cavelli in Septentrionali plagâ, duæ regiunculæ Teallachmuilghembre, et Teallachmaelpatrig pertinebant ad Kenelfaradhios.

In Orgalliâ primi ordinis nobiles fuerunt O'Carbhullius O'Dubhdara, O'Lairgnenus, et Macmahonius; O'Flathry nonnunquam supremus Ultoniæ rex; O'Floinn et O'Donellan domini Tuirtriæ; O'Harc [h-Erc] in Ubhfiachrachfin, O'Cridan dominus de Machaire; O'Haodha in Fearaibhfarmeigh; O'Caomain Mwighleamnæ dominus; O'Machen Mughdorniæ dominus, O'Hir et O'Hanluain duo domini de Oirther: O'Coscridh dominus de Fearraois, O'Hionrachtaidh dominus de Vameithmacha; O'Baoighellan Dartriæ dominus; Muntirtathleach et Muni-

barony of Clogher, in the county of Tyrone.

[u] Latinized Cavellus. This family, so illustrious in Irish history for the many dignitaries it supplied to the Church, is now very much reduced. The name is usually anglicised Mac Cawell, but some have made it Camphill, some Campbell, and others Caulfield and Howell. The name Mac Fhiachraigh is anglicised Mac Keighry and Carey.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, note [m], under the year 1185, p. 65.

[w] Anglicised Oriel or Uriel: a large territory in Ulster comprising the counties of Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, and Fermanagh.—See *Book of Rights.*

[x] Now O'Carroll and Carroll. This family sunk under Mac Mathghamhna or Mac Mahon early in the thirteenth century. The names O'Dubhdara and O'Lairgnean are now obsolete.

[y] Now made Flurry, Flury, and Flattery.

[z] In St. Patrick's time this tribe was seated in the present baronies of Dungannon, county of Tyrone, and Loughinsholin, in the county of Londonderry; but at the period to which O'Dubhagain refers they were seated in the present baronies of Upper and Lower Toome, in the county of Antrim.—See *Colgan's Tr. Thaum.*, p. 148; *Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Dioceses of Down and Connor*, &c., pp. 292–297; and *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 668, note [k].

[a] These are otherwise called Ui-Fiachrach Arda-Stratha, and were seated along the River Dearg, in the north-west of the county of Tyrone.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 121, note [l]; and *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, note [b], p. 95.

[b] Now Magheracregan, situated to the south of the River Dearg, and south-west of Newtown-Stewart, in Tyrone. O'hEirc is now made Ercke, and O'Cridhain is anglicised Cregan. Martin Cregan, Esq., the President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, is of this family.

[c] That is, the alder plain, now the barony of Farney, in the county of Monaghan. See *Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney, by P. Ev. Shirley, Esq., M. P.* The name O'h-Aedha is now anglicised Hughes in the county of Monaghan.

[d] This was the ancient name of a territory in the county of Tyrone, now called Closach.—See *Colgan's Trias Thaum.*, p. 149, col. 2; p. 184, note 11. The position of this territory is shown on an old map of

Cathmhaeil or Mac Cawells[u], in the north part of the same territory; the tribes (or districts) of Teallach Maelgeimhridh and Teallach-Maelpadraig belonged to the [southern] Cineal-Fearadhaigh.

In Oirghialla[w] the nobles of the first rank were O'Cearbhaill[x], O'Dubhdara, O'Lairgnean, and Mac Mathghamhna; O'Flaithne[y], sometimes supreme king of Uladh; O'Floinn and O'Domhnallain, lords of Ui-Tuirtre[z]; Oh-Eirc in Ui Fiachrach Finn[a]; O'Cridhain, lord of Machaire[b]; O'h-Aedha, over the men of Fearnmhagh[c]; O'Caemhain, lord of Magh-Leamhna[d]; O'Machoidhean, lord of Mughdhorna[e]; O'hIr and O'hAnluain, two lords of Oirtheara[f]; O'Coscraigh, lord of Feara-Rois[g]; O'h-Innreachtaigh, lord of Ui-Meith-Macha[h]; O'Baeigheallain, lord of Dartraidhe[i]; the race of Taithleach and the race of Maelduin[k] were the

a part of Ulster preserved in the State Papers' Office, London, whereon it is called "Cornocke mac Barone's countrie." The River Blackwater is represented as flowing through it; the fort of Augher and the village of Ballygawley within it; the town of Clogher its western, and the church of Errigal Keroge on its northern boundary. The name O'Caemhain is now anglicised Keevan.

[e] More usually written Crich Mughdhorna, now the barony of Cremorne, in the county of Monaghan.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, note on "Sliabh Mughdhorn," at A. D. 1457. O'Machaidhean is now made Maughon and Mahon.

[f] More usually called Crich na n-Oirthear, *regio Orientalium*, so called because it formed the eastern portion of the territory of Oirghialla. This name is still preserved in the baronies of Orior, in the east of the county of Armagh.—See *Book of Rights*, pp. 147, 148, note [y]. The family name O'Hir is now anglicised O'Hare or Hare, and O'h-Anluain, sometimes O'Hanlon, but more usually Hanlon without the O'.

[g] A territory comprising the parish of Carrickmacross, in the county of Monaghan, and parts of the adjoining counties of Meath and Louth, but its exact limits cannot be defined.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 154, note [m]; and *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 322, *Ed. J. O'D.*, note [l], p. 122. O'Coscraigh is now made Cosgrove and Cosgrave.

[h] Now the barony of Monaghan, county of Monaghan.—See *Book of Rights*, pp. 148, 149, note [a]. The surname O'h-Innreachtaigh is now made Hanratty, and sometimes Enright.

[i] That is Dartraidhe-Coininnse, i. e. Dartry of Dog-island, now the barony of Dartry, in the county of Monaghan. — See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1593; and *Book of Rights*, p. 153, n. [l]. O'Baeigheallain is now anglicised Boylan. The family sank at an early period under a branch of the Mac Mahons.

[k] That is, the family of O'Maelduin. Dr. Lynch has given the list here imperfectly. O'Dubhagain writes: "Of Ui Laeghaire, of Loch Lir, the O'Taithlighs are the chieftains; the O'Maelduins, of Lurg, not weak, deep they sink their daggers in the conflict." Lurg is still the name of a barony in the north of the county of Ferma-

tirmoelduin dynastæ Leoghariæ [et Lurg], Mactieghernain in Clanfearghulâ; O'Flanagan dynasta de Tuaithratha, Macgillefinnen dynasta de Muntirpeodochain, Macgillemichil dynasta de Oconghaile; Muintirmoelruann et O'Heagnii duo domini de Farmanagh; Mackinaoth dominus de Triuchechead, O'Cormac in Ubmhmaccharthin; O'Garbith in Ubhbrassalmachâ; O'Longain, O'Duibhdamhny, et O'Conchobhar in Ubhbrassail occidentali [O'Lorcain in Uibh Brassail orientali], O'Heagny in Clancarniâ; O'Donellus et O'Ruadagan duo domini de Uieachach; O'Dubhtirius in Clandamhin, O'Melchroibhe in Clanduibhsinaigh; O'Lochtnain in Mogdornâ minore, O'Hanbith in Ubhseain, Macguirus in Farmanach; O'Colgan et O'Conoeill in Ubmaccartain.

Craobhrodham incoluerunt O'Dunslebha, O'Heochaidh, O'Aidth, O'Heochain, O'Labhraidh, O'Loinghsidh, O'Mordhaidh, et O'Mathghamnaidh; O'Garbith, O'Hambith [fuerunt] *orrighaith O'Neachach.*

nagh; the territory of Ui-Laeghaire adjoined it on the east, and is now included in the barony of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone. O'Taichligh is now made Tully and Tilly.

[l] Situation not determined. Mac Tighearnain is now made Kernan.

[m] This territory still retains its name, *anglicè* Tooraah, and is included in the barony of Magheraboy, in the north-west of the county of Fermanagh. The Puıð-ulc of Tuath-ratha, a remarkable cliff on the south side of Lough Erne, will preserve this name for ever.

[n] This territory still retains this name, and is included in the barony of Clanawley, in the same county. It extends from the mouth of the Arney river to the western extremity of Belmore mountain. The Mac Gillafinneins or Mac Gillinnins are still numerous in this district, and they are beginning to anglicise their name to Leonard.

[o] This sept was seated in the present barony of Knockninny, adjoining the Muinter-Pheodachain, to the south. These septs were dispossessed by the Clann-Awley and Clann-Caffrey Maguire early in the fifteenth century.

[p] These families, who had been in their turn the supreme lords of Fermanagh till about the year 1205, totally sunk under the Maguires in the thirteenth century, and are now unknown in Fermanagh. The name Mulrony still exists, but O'Hegny is obsolete.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1198, note [i], p. 116.

[q] Now Mac Kenna, a name still very numerous in the barony of Triucha [Trough], in the north of the county of Monaghan. Alderman Mac Kenna, of Dublin, is of the second senior branch of this family. O'Dubhagain says that Mac Kenna was originally a Midheach or Meathman, though now an Oirghiallach.

[r] This sept was seated in the present barony of Tirkeeran, in the county of Londonderry, whence they were driven at an early period by O'Kane and other families of the dominant race of Eoghan, son of Niall-Naeighiallach.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 122, note [k].

[s] Otherwise called Clann Breasail, *an-*

dynasts of Ui Laeghaire [and of Lurg]; Mac Tighearnain in Clann-Fearghaile[l]; O'Flannagain, dynast of Tuath-ratha[m]; Mac Gillafinnein, dynast of Muintir-Pheodachain[n]; Mac Gillamichil, dynast of Ui-Conghaile[o]; O'Maelruanaidh and O'h-Eignigh[p], two lords of Feara-Manach; Mac Cinaith[q], lord of the Triucha-chead; O'Cormaic in Ui-Mic-Carthainn[r]; O'Gairbhith in Ui-Breasail-Macha[s]; O'Longain, O'Duibheamhna, and O'Conchobhair, in Western Ui-Breasail [O'Lorcain in Eastern Ui Breasail]; O'hEignigh in Clann-Cearnaigh; O'Domhnaill and O'Ruadhagain, two lords of Ui-Eachach[t]; O'Duibhthire in Clann-Daimhin[u]; O'Maelcraeibhe [now Rice] in Clann-Duibsinnaigh; O'Lachtnain in Modharn-Beag; O'h-Ainbhith in Ui-Seaghain; Mag Uidhir in Feara-Manach[w]; O'Colgain and O'Conaill[x] in Ui-Mic Carthainn.

In the (region of the) Craebh Ruadh[y] dwelt O'Duinnsleibhe[z], O'hEochadha[a], O'hAidith[b], O'hEochadhain[c]; O'Labhradha[d], O'Loingsigh[e], O'Morna[f], O'Mathghamhna[g]; O'Gairbith[h], O'hAinbith[i]; Mag Aengh-

glicè Clanbrazil. This tribe was seated in the present barony of O'Neilland East, in the county of Armagh. See *Book of Rights*, pp. 147, 148, note [y]. O'Gairbhith is now made Garvey. The subdivisions of this territory cannot now be distinguished. The family of O'Longain is now made Long; O'Duibheamhna, Devany; O'Conchobhair, Conor; O'Lorcain, Larkin.

[t] That is, race of Eochaidh, a sept seated in the barony of Armagh.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 148, note [z]. O'Domhnaill of this territory is now unknown; O'Ruadhagain is made in English Rogan and Roggan.

[u] Situation unknown. The tribes of Oirghialla are here irregularly named by O'Dubhagain.

[w] Now Maguire. This is out of place.

[x] Now Colgan and Connell. This is a repetition, for the sept of Ui Mic Carthainn have been already mentioned. *Vide* note [r], p. 246, *suprà*.

[y] The Clanna-Rudhraighe, or ancient Ulstermen, continued to be called of the Craebh Ruadh, or Red Branch, by the Irish poets, though they had been driven from Teach na Creaibhe Ruaidhe by the Oirghialla, as early as A. D. 332.

[z] O'Duinnsleve, now Dunlevy.

[a] Now Houghey, Hoey, and Haugh.

[b] Now unknown. Hatty or Haddy would be the anglicised form.

[c] Now Haughian, and sometimes Haughton: still in the county of Down.

[d] Now Lavery, very numerous and all Catholics; not Lowry, which is Scotch and Presbyterian.

[e] Now Linchy, still numerous in Leath Cathail [Lecale].

[f] Now Gilmore, i. e. Mac Gillamuire [O'Morna].

[g] Now Manghon, Mahon, Matthews.

[h] Now Garvey. See an interesting notice of this family in *O'Brien's Irish Dictionary*. The townland of Aughnagon, in the parish of Cloncallon, was part of their patrimony, and continued in their possession till about thirty years since.—*Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor, &c.* p. 367.

[i] Now Hannafy and Hanvey.

[Oirrigha O'nEachach i. e. dynastæ Iveachiæ] Maccenghusaidh in Clanaodhâ; Maccartain in Clanfogartaid, O'Morna et Macduillechain [in Clanbresail; Mac Duibheamhna] in Clannambalghaigh, O'Coltarain in Dailcuib.

Tirconnalliæ primores fuerunt O'Moeldorius, O'Cannanain Clanalii sive O'Donellii, O'Boighil in Clankinshila [Cloch Rinfhila], Tiranmria, et Tirmaghania; O'Meelmoghna in Muidhsearad, O'Haodha in Asroa, Magdubham in Kenelssedna, Maglonsechain in Gleanmbinne; O'Breslain in Fanait; O'Dochartii in Ardmiohair; Macgillesamhais id Rosgil, O'Kearnachain et O'Dalachain in Tuadhnablaidhuigh, O'Maolagaine in Tirmaccarthuin, O'Donnagain in Tirmbrassail, *et Tirtoile*

[k] Now Magennis.

[l] A part of Ui Eathach [Iveagh], county of Down.

[m] Now Mac Carton.

[n] This name is still pronounced exactly as written by O'Dubhagain, but it is anglicised Kinelarty. It is a barony in the county of Down.

[o] In Dubourdieu's Statistical Account of the county of Antrim, this territory is described as follows from an old MS.: "Clanbrassel Mac Coolechan [Clann bpeapail Meg Dhuileċain] (so called for a difference betwixt it and one other country of the same name in the county of Armagh) is a very fast country of wood and bog, inhabited with a sept called the O'Kellies, a very savage and barbarous people, and given altogether to spoils and robberies."—p. 627. The Mag Duileachains are evidently the sept called the O'Kellies in the extract.

[p] Mr. Reeves conjectures that O'Coltarian gave name to the parish of Ballyculter, Strangford, in the county of Down.—pp. 41, 368.

[q] That is, the county of Conall, i. e. of Conall Gulban, ancestor of the Cineal-Conaill. The present county of Donegal is nearly co-extensive with this territory.

[r] These families sank under the O'Donnells in the very beginning of the thirteenth century.—See *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 337, 338.

[s] That is, Ceannfaeladh's stone, a district in the north-west of the barony of Kilmacrenan, and county of Donegal. It comprises the parishes of Raymunterdoney and Tullaghobegly. For a curious legend connected with the stone which gives name to this district, see *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. M. 3338, p. 18.

[t] Now the barony of Boylagh, in the west of the same county.—See *Annals of Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1343, note [f], p. 582.

[u] Now the barony of Banagh, in the west of the same county.—See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 156, note [p].

[w] This was the ancient name of the northern part of the barony of Tirhugh, same county.

[x] That is, the Triucha Chead of Eas Ruaidh, or the Salmon Leap, at Ballyshannon. This is described in a poem preserved in the Book of Fenagh, fol. 47, *b*, *a*, as extending from the River Erne to the River Eidhneach.—See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 158. O'hAedh is now made Hughes, but

usa[k] in Clann-Aedha[l]; Mac Artain[m] in Cineal-Fhaghartaigh[n]; O'Morna and Mag Duileachain in Clann-Breasail[o]; Mac Duibhreamhna in Cinel Amhalghadha; O'Coltarain in DalCuirb[p].

The chief families of Tir-Chonaill[q] were, O'Maeldoraidh; O'Canannain[r], the Clann-Dalaigh or O'Donnells; O'Baeighill in Cloch Cinnfhaelaidh[s], Tir-Anmireach[t], and Tir-Boghaine[u]; O'Maelmaghna in Magh-Seiridh[w]; O'hAedha at Eas-Ruaidh[x]; Mag-Dubhain in Cineal n-Eanna[y]; Mag-Loingseachain in Gleannmbinne[z]; O'Breslean in Fanaid[a]; O'Dochartaigh in Ard-Midhair[b]; Mac Gillasamhais in Ros-Guill[c]; O'Cearnachain and O'Dalachain in Tuath-Bladhaigh[d]; O'Maelagain in

the family sank at an early period under the O'Donnells and their favorite followers, the O'Gallaghers and others.

[y] That is, the race of Eanna or Enda, the sixth son of Conall Gulban, a territory in the barony of Raphoe, county of Donegal, lying to the south of Inishowen, and between the arms of Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 131, note [x]; *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, note [d], p. 19, A. D. 1175; *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 156, note [o]. Mag Dubhain is now anglicised Mac Guane.

[z] Now Glenfinn, in the parish of Kilteevoge, to the west of Stranorlar, in the same county. Mag Loingseachain is now anglicised Lynch, though the family is always called by their ancient name by the natives when speaking Irish.

[a] *Anglicè* Fanat. This territory is still well known by this name. It forms the north-east of the barony of Kilmacrenan, and extends (according to an old map of Ulster in the State Papers' Office, London) from Lough Swilly to Mulroy Lough, and from the sea to Rathmelton.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1186, p. 70, note [s]. O'Breslein was afterwards driven from this territory, and the family of Mac Sweeney Fanaid settled therein by consent of O'Donnell.

[b] O'Doherty was chief of Cineal Eanna and Ardmidhair, in the year 1199. See "Kineal-Enda," already defined in note [y], *suprà*. Ardmidhair lies westwards of Cineal Eanna, in the direction of Glenfinn. On the increasing power and population of the Kinel-Connell, O'Doherty became lord of Inishowen, and expelled or subdued the families of the Kinel Owen, who had been lords of that territory before him.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1199, p. 118, note [s].

[c] That is, Promontorium Golli, now Rossguill, a well-known promontory in the parish of Mevagh, barony of Kilmacrenan, and county of Donegal. It lies between Mulroy Lough and Sheephaven. The name Mac Gillasamhais is now obsolete, or disguised under some anglicised form.

[d] Now Tuath, and *anglicè* Doe, a district in the north of the barony of Kilmacrenan, lying between Cloghineely and Sheephaven. The northern extremity of it was anciently called Ros-Irguill. This is one of the three tuaths or districts from which O'Boyle, and after him Mac Sweeny, was called na d-tuath, i. e. of the districts.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1515, p. 1332, note [d].

[*recte* tír toṙtaṁail, "fertile terra"]; O'Maolgaotha in Muntirmaolgaotha, Mactieghernain in Tirfarghile.

[27] | O'Conchaurus fuit supremus Connaciæ rex; quatuor dynastæ de Cloincathail fuerunt, O'Flannagan, O'Moemordha O'Cartaidh et O'Muroin, O'Moelbrenain in Clanchnobhair, O'Cahain in Cloinfhaghartaigh, O'Maonaidh in Clanhurtuile, Magorachtaidh in Muntirodoibh, O'Finnachtaidh in Clannconmhaig et alter O'Finnachtan in Cloenmhurchu, O'Conchanain in Ibhdiarmada, Macmurchus in Clointomaltaidin O'Fallumhoin sive O'Fallonus in Cloinnuadach, Macdiarmadha in Tirvollia Tirvaithbh, Tirnoachtain, Tirnenda, Chrichfartire et Cloinchvain.

Brefinæ princeps fuit O'Ruairc, Mactieghernain dominus in Teallachinduncha, Magsamhradain in Teallachnachach; Macconsnamha in

[e] This was the country of the race of Caerthann, son of Fergus, son of Conall-Gulban. The Abbe Mageoghegan places this territory to the east of Boylagh, as if in the barony of Raphoe. O'Maelagain is now made Mulligan and Molyneux.

[f], [g], [h] There is no reference to these three tribes in any of the Irish Annals, or in the genealogies of the Cineal Conaill. O'Dubhagain seems to apologize for giving the Sil-Maelagain a place in his poem: A c-cur im duain ar'í ar m-breaṫ, do ḃí uair nar ba aiṫreaḋ, "to put them in my poem it is our decision; there was a time when I should not regret it." They must have been landless at the period he was writing. These tribes were probably seated in the north-east of the present barony of Tirhugh, and south-west of that of Raphoe.

[i] Now O'Conor. This family is now represented by the son of the late O'Conor Don, aged about twelve years; and his brother, aged about ten. The next to these, in point of seniority, are Denis O'Conor, of Mount Druid, and his brothers, Arthur O'Conor, of Elphin Palace-House, and Matthew O'Conor, Esquires. These five individuals, with the venerable Thomas O'Conor, of New York, are the only descendants, whose pedigree is, to a certainty, known, of Turlough More O'Conor, King of Connacht, and sole monarch of Ireland.

[k] This territory extended from Belanagare to Elphin, in the present county of Roscommon, and comprised the parishes of Kilmacumshy, Kilcorkey, Shankill, and the greater part of Elphin.—See *Annals of Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1289, p. 448, note [s]. The "O'Flanagans" of this race are still numerous in this territory, but poor and obscure. O'Mughroin is now made Moran. There are some respectable families of the name in Connaught. O'Maelmordha and O'Carthy are obsolete.

[l] This territory comprised the parish of Baslick, near Tulsk, in the county of Roscommon. O'Maelbhreanainn is now anglicised Mulrenin. There are many poor families of this name in the county of Roscommon, and Mr. Mulrenin, the artist, of Dublin, is of this family.

[m], [n], These tribes were seated in Machaire-Chonnacht, or Campus Connaciæ; but their exact position in that plain has

in Tir Mic Carthainn[e]; O'Donnagain in Tir mBreasail[f]; O'Maelgaeithe in Muintir Maelgaeithe[g]; Mag Tighearnain in Clann-Fearghaile[h].

O'Conchobhair[i] was supreme King of Connacht; the four dynasts of Clann-Cathail[k] were O'Flannagain, O'Maelmordha, O'Carthaigh, and O'Mughroin; O'Maelbhreanainn in Clann-Conchobhair[l]; O'Cathalain in Clann-Fhaghartaigh[m]; O'Maenaigh in Clann-Murthuile[n]; Mag-Oireachtaigh in Muintir-Rodhuibh; O'Finnachtaigh in Clann-Conmhaigh[o] and another O'Finnachtaigh in Clann-Murchadha; O'Coincheannainn in Ui-Diarmada[p]; Mac Murchadha in Clann-Tomaltaigh; O'Fallamhain or Fallon, in Clann-Uadach[q]; Mac Diarmada[r] in [Magh-Luirg, Airteach], Tir-Tuathail, Tir-Neachtain, Tir-Eanna, Crich-Fear-tire, and Clann-Chuain.

The Prince of Breifne[s] was O'Ruairc; Mac-Tighearnain, lord of Teallach-Dunchadha[t]; Mag Samhradhain, lord of Teallach Eachach[u];

not been determined. O'Cathalain is now made Callan; O'Maenaigh is made Mooney; and Mag Oireachtaigh, Mageraghty or Geraghty. Some of these tribes were removed from the plain at an early period. Mageraghty was found to be in O'Kelly's country in 1585. — See *Tribes and Customs, &c., of Ui Maine*, p. 19.

[o] Now *anglicè* Clanconway. A territory comprised in the barony of Ballymoe, on the west side of the River Suck, in the county of Galway. Muinter Murchadha was on the east side of that river.

[p] This tribe, who took the surname of O'Concannon, was seated in the district of Corca-Mogha, now Corcamoe, comprising Kilkerrin parish, in the barony of Killian and county of Galway. — See *Ann. Four Masters*, A. D. 1382, p. 687, note [u]. The head of this family (Henry Concannon, Esq.) still retains some ancient property.

[q] The country of O'Fallon or Fallon, a territory in the barony of Athlone and county of Roscommon, comprising the entire of the parish of Camma, and the greater part, if not the entire, of that of Dysart. O'Fallon is still respectable.

[r] Now Mac Dermot. The territories here mentioned as belonging to Mac Dermot are included in the old barony of Boyle (now Boyle and "Frenchpark"), in the county of Roscommon, except Clann-Chuain and Firthire, which are in the barony of Carra and county of Mayo. — See *Genealogies, Tribes, &c., of Ui-Fiachrach*, pp. 161, 163, 204, 205, 212, 213. Tir-Tuathail still retains that name, and is now applied to a district comprising the parish of Kilronan, in the north-east of the barony of Boyle.— See *Ann. Four Masters*, A. D. 1411, p. 807, note [w]. Airteach is also still in local use among the peasantry, and is included in the modern fiscal barony of "Frenchpark," and comprises the parishes of Tibohine and Kilnamannagh.—See *Ib.*, A. D. 681, 1297.

[s] O'Rourke was lord of all the county of Leitrim, which was called West Breifne; and of the now county of Cavan, called East Breifne; but for some centuries O'Reilly, lord of the Eastern Breifne, was independent of O'Rourke.

[t] This territory still retains this name,

Cloincoimdh; Maccagadon in Cloinfearnmoigh; Magdorchaidh in Kenneluachain, Magfhlanchaidh in Dartria, Oflim, et O'Carbhaill in Calria, O'Raghallaidh in Muntirmaolmordha.

O'Cuin in Muntirugillogain, Magmaolisa [in Magh Breacraighe], et Magraighnil in Muntirmeolis; O'Moelmaiach in Maigneassa, O'Cuinn in Muntirfhargaile.

O'Melchluicca in duabus Carbriis, O'Headhra, O'Huathmurain, O'Gadhra, et O'Kearnachain domini Luigniæ; O'Doibhelein, et Dunchnus domini de Corrun, Mageochaidh Muighmaonaidh, et Magriabhaidh, tres prisci dynastæ de Muighloirg, O'Dubhda sive O'Doude domi-

and is a barony in the west of the county of Cavan, now anglicised Tullaghunco, Tullahonoho, and Tullyhunco. Mac Tighearnain is now anglicised Mac Kiernan and Kernan.—*Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1282, 1294, 1317.

[u] Still retains this name. It is a barony in the north-west of the county of Cavan, now anglicised Tullaghagh, or Tullyhaw. Mac Shamhradhain is now anglicised Magauran and Magovern. The family is now very numerous in the barony.

[w] More usually called Muintir-Chinaith, and now anglicised Munterkenny. It is still in use among the peasantry, who apply it to a district in the county of Leitrim, lying west and north-west of Lough Allen, and between that lake and the River Arigna.—See *Ann. Four Masters*, *Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1252, p. 345, note [x]. Mac Consnamha is now made Makinnaw, and more generally Forde.

[x] A territory in the county of Leitrim, containing twenty-one quarters of land, and stretching to the east and north-east of Lough Allen. Mac Cagadhain is now Mac Coggan and Cogan. W. Forde Cogan, Esq., Rathmines Mall, Dublin, is of this family, and represents the Mac Kinaws or Fordes on the mother's side.

[y] A territory in the same county, comprising the parish of Oughteragh or Ballinamore, at the foot of Sliabh-an-Iarainn, in the county of Leitrim. The last of this family, who was chief of this territory, died in the year 1403.—See *Ann. Four Masters*, *Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1403, p. 778, note [t].

[z] This name is still in use, and applied to a district co-extensive with the barony of Rossclogher, in the county of Leitrim. The name Mac Flannchadha or Mac Flannchaidh is now anglicised Clancy.

[a] That is, Calraidhe-Laithim, a district in the present barony of Carbury, county of Sligo, the name of which is still preserved in that of the parish of Calry, near the town of Sligo.—See *Genealogies*, *Tribes*, *&c.*, *of Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 482, and the map to that work. The O'Cearbhaills or O'Carrolls of this place are unknown. The O'Finns are still numerous.

[b] This was the tribe-name of the O'Reillys, who were for many centuries supreme lords or chieftains of the entire of the present county of Cavan, except the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco, which belonged originally to West Breifny.

[c] This territory was distributed among the baronies of Ardagh, Moydow, and Shrule, in the county of Longford. O'Cuinn is now called Quin, without the O'. The O'Quins of this race were dispossessed by

Mac Conshnamha in Clann-Chinaeith[w]; Mac Cagadhain in Clann-Fearnmaighe[x]; Mac Dorchaidh in Cineal-Luachain[y]; Mag-Fhlannchadha in Dartraidhe[z]; O'Finn and O'Cearbhaill in Calraidhe[a]; O'Raghallaigh in Muintir-Maelmordha[b].

O'Cuinn in Muintir-Gillagain[c]; Mag Maelisa in Magh-Breacraighe[d]; Mag Raghnaill in Muintir-Eoluis[e]; O'Maelmhiadhaigh in Magh-Nise[f]; O'Cuinn[g] (is the senior) of Muintir Fearghaile.

O'Maelcluiche in the two Cairbries[h]; O'hEaghra, O'hUathmharain, O'Gadhra, and O'Cearnachain, lords of Luighne[i]; O'Dobhailean and O'Duinnchathaigh, lords of Corann[k]; Mag Eoach, Mag Maenaigh, and Mag Riabhaigh, the three ancient dynasts of Mag Luirg[l]; O'Dubhda

the O'Farrells in the fourteenth century. An inquisition taken at Ardagh on the 4th April, in the tenth year of James I., found that thirty-five small cartrons of Montergalgan then belonged to O'Farrall Bane, and seventeen and a half cartrons, of like measure, to O'Farrall Boye's part of the county Longford.

[d] A plain, comprising a part of the barony of Moygoish, in the county of Westmeath, extending also into the county of Longford. The name Mag Maelisa is now obsolete.

[e] This comprised the southern or level part of the present county of Leitrim. It was called also Magh Rein. Mag Raghnaill is now made Mac Rannall, and Reynolds.

[f] This was otherwise called Muintir-Eolais Uachtrach, or Upper Munterolish, and comprised the south-west part of the county of Leitrim, adjoining the Shannon. For its extent, see Hardiman's edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht*, p. 349. O'Maelmhiadhaigh is now anglicised Mulvey, without the O'.

[g] Dr. Lynch has misunderstood this. O'Dubhagain merely remarks that O'Quin is of a branch of the Conmhaicne or Anghaile senior to the O'Farrells. The latter, however, became the absolute or supreme lords of all the region now called the county of Longford.

[h] Now included in the barony of Carbury, in the north of the county of Sligo. O'Maelcluiche is now anglicised, incorrectly, *Stone*. — See *Origin, &c., of Surnames in Ireland*, in *Irish P. Journal*, 1841. It might be made Gamble, from *cluiche*, a game.

[i] Now Leyny, a barony in the county of Sligo. O-hEaghra is now made O'Hara; O-hUathmharain is obsolete; O'Gadhra is anglicized O'Gara; and O'Cearnachain is made Kernaghan, or Kernan.

[k] Now Corran, a barony in the county of Sligo. O'Dobhailen is now anglicised Devlin, and Doncathaigh, Duncahy.

[l] *Anglicè* Moylurg. This was the ancient name of the old barony of Boyle, now including the modern fiscal baronies of Boyle and Frenchpark. The families of Mageoach, Mag Maenaigh, and Mag Riabhaigh, whose names might be anglicised Mageogh or Keogh, Mac Meeny or Mooney, and Magreevy, the ancient chieftains of Moylurg, sank at an early period under the Mac Dermots, an offset of the royal family of the O'Conors of Connacht.

nus Ofiochrachæ Septentrionalis, à Roba ad Conaigh, O'Muireidh, O'Gormog, O'Tieghernaidh in Keara, O'Brinnus in Muntirmanchain, Mac Branain et O'Moelmichil in Corceachlain.

Oceallaidh sive O'Kelly fuit Manachæ princeps; O'Conaill, dominus agri, qui a Grein extenditur ad Conmuighe; O'Neachtain, et O'Moelalaidh duo domini de Maonmhuigh. Deinde nominat O'Mannine Clananbhard, quos nunc Wardæos appellamus; Osgura, O'Lennain, O'Cassain, O'Gialaidh, O'Maighin, O'Cathail, O'Muroin, et O'Moelrunhaidh tres domini de Crumthaind, et O'Laodhaigh dominus de Catthlamh id est de portu Sinnæi Amnis.

O'Madadhain sive O'Maddin Siolanmchiæ princeps, proximus illi Macuallachain, Macedidhain in Clandiarmada Septentrionali, et Australi; Macgiolleuaine, et O'Cionaidh sive O'Kennii in Cloinlaithemhain,

[m] The country of this great sept comprised the baronies of Carra, Erris, and Tirawley, in the county of Mayo, and that of Tireragh in the county of Sligo, besides that part of the barony of Carbury lying south of Drumcliff. O'Dubhda is now anglicised O'Dowda. The present representative of this family is Tadhg O'Dubhda, Thaddæus O'Dowda, Esq., of Bunnyconnellan, in the co. of Mayo. His brother, Robert O'Dowda, Esq., is Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.—See *Genealogies, Tribes, &c., of Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 372.

[n] Now the river "Robe," flowing through the south of the county of Mayo, and through the town of Ballinrobe, to which it gives name, and discharges itself into Lough Mask. — See *Genealogies, Tribes, &c., of Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 143, note [x].

[o] This was the name of a small stream which flows into the Bay of Sligo at the village of Drumcliff, in the barony of Carbury and county of Sligo.—*Ib.*, note [y].

[p] Now Carra, a barony in the county of Sligo. The inhabitants of the northern part of this barony placed themselves under Mac Diarmada of Magh Luirg, before the English invasion. — *Ib.* pp. 163, 204, 205, 208. The surnames O'Muireadhaigh, O'Gormog, and O'Tighearnaigh, are still extant in the barony of Carra, but anglicized respectively Murray, Gorman, and Tierney or Tiernan, without the O'. These families are now very poor.—*Ib.*, pp. 186, 187.

[q] That is, over the family of O'Manchain, now *anglicè* Monahan. The real name of the territory was Tir-Briuin-na-Sinna, which is still retained. The place where O'Beirne slew the last O'Monahan is still pointed out at Lissadorn, near Elphin. Mr. O'Beirne, of Dangan, in the parish of Kilmore, in this territory, is the head of this family. The peasantry of the name are beginning to change the name to Bruin or Broone.

[r] A territory in the east of the county Roscommon, comprising the parishes of Bumlin, Kiltrustan, Cloonfinlough, and the western half of the parish of Lissonuffey. — See *Ann. Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1256, p. 358, note [l].

[s] Ui Maine included the one-third of the province of Connacht. — See *Tribes and*

or O'Doude, lord of North Ui-Fiachrach[m] from the Rodhba[n] to the Codhnach[o]; O'Muireadhaigh, O'Gormog, and O'Tighearnaigh, in Ceara[p]; O'Birn in Muintir-Manchain[q]; Mac Branain and O'Maelmichil in Corcachlann[r].

O'Ceallaigh or O'Kelly was Prince of Ui-Maine[s]; O'Conaill, lord of the land which extends from Grian to Ceann-Maighe[t]; O'Neachtain and O'Maelalaidh, two lords of Maenmhagh[u]. He next names O'Mainnin and Clann-an-Bhaird, whom we now call Wards; O'Squarra, O'Leannain, O'Cassain, O'Giallaidh, O'Maighin[w]; O'Cathail, O'Mughroin, O'Maelruanaidh, three lords of Crumhthann[x]; O'Laedhog, lord of Caladh[y], that is of the port of the River Sinainn.

O'Madadhain or O'Maddin, Prince of Sil-Anmchadha[z]; the next to him was Mac Uallachain[a]; Mac Edidhain in north and south Clann-Diarmada[b]; Mac Gillafinnagain and O'Cinaeith or O'Kenny in Clann-

Territories of Ui Maine, passim, for its limits at various periods.

[t] That is, the head of the plain, i. e. the plain of Maenmhagh. The O'Connells of Ui Maine, who were of the same race as the Mac Nevins, originally possessed a territory in the south of Ui Maine, extending from the river Grian, on the confines of Connacht and Thomond, to the head or southern limits of the plain of Maenmhagh, *q. v.*

[u] This was the ancient name of a plain lying round the town of Loughrea, in the county of Galway.—See *Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine*, pp. 70, 130, 176. For the present heads of the families of O'Naughton and O'Mullally, or Lally, see *idem*, pp. 33, 70, 71, 117–183.

[w] The name of the territory of this sept was Sodhan, and is now included in the barony of Tiaquin, county Galway.—*Ib.*, pp. 72, 159, 188. These families are now little known, except the O'Mainnins, now *anglicè* Mannion or Manning, and Mac Wards or Wards, who are very numerous in the county of Galway.

[x] A territory in Ui Maine, containing the present barony of Killian, and part of that of Ballymoe, in the east of the county of Galway.—*Ib.*, p. 73, note [e].

[y] A territory in the county of Galway, now supposed to be co-extensive with the barony of Kilconnell. The word *caladh* should not have been translated *portus* by Dr. Lynch, for in that part of Ireland it signifies now (as it did then) a low flat district, extending along a lake or river, like the word *srath*, or *strath*, in Ulster or Scotland.—See *Tribes, &c., of Ui Maine*, p. 74, note [j]. The family name of O'Laedhog is now obsolete. Mr. Kelly, of Castle-Kelly, thinks it may be the name now made Lee; but this is far from certain.

[z] A territory comprising the barony of Longford, on the west side of the Shannon, in the county of Galway, and the parish of Lusmagh, on the east side of the same river, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County.—*Vide Ib.*, p. 69, note [x].

[a] Now Cuolahan, without the prefix Mac. *Vide Ib.*, pp. 41, 183–188. Henry Cuolahan, Esq., of Cogran House, in the barony of Garrycastle, King's County, is the pre-

O'Donellanus in Cloinmbrassail, O'Danchaidh in Cloincormacmaanmhuigh, O'Dubhginn in duodecem villis de O'Duibhgin; O'Docomhlain in Eidhnigh, O'Gabhrain in Dailndruithne, O'Maolbrighae in Magh Finn.

Et O'Kierin in Kiarriâ, O'Moelmuaida in Clointeg, O'Floin in Corcamodha, O'Bruin in Lochgealgosa; O'Mallius in duabus Umhalliis, O'Talcarain in Conmacniacvile, O'Cadhla sive Quælly in Conmacniamara, Macconrii in Gnomor; O'Hagnaidh in Gnobeg, Macaodha in Cloinchosgrii; O'Flabhertie sive O'Flahertie in Muntirmhurchu.

O'Heidhin, sive O'Hein, Macgillechallaidh, et O'Clerigh in Ubhfiachra*sinn* [Aidhne], O'Dubhgialla in Kinnellkinghamhua, Mach-

sent head of this family.—*Ib.*, p. 186.

[b] The position of this sept has not been clearly determined.

[c] The position of this tribe is determined by Ballydonnellan, midway between Ballinasloe and Loughrea, in the county of Galway, where O'Donnellan, the chief of the sept of the Clann Breasail, resided.

[d] This sept was seated in the plain near Loughrea, but its exact position has not been determined.

[e] The situation of O'Duibhginn, in Ui Maine, is unknown, unless it be determined by Ballydoogan.

[f] Otherwise called Breadach, a territory in the county of Roscommon, containing forty quarters of land, and comprising the entire of the parish of Taghmaconnell, in the barony of Athlone. This territory afterwards fell into the possession of a branch of the O'Kellys, who took the name of Mac Eochadha, now Keogh, of whom the father of William Keogh, Esq., M. P., is one of the chief representatives. — See *Tribes, &c., of Ui Maine*, pp. 102, 165.

[g] That is, Ciarraighe of Loch na-nAirneadh, a territory in the county of Mayo, comprising that portion of the barony of Costello which belongs to the archdiocese of Tuam, namely, the parishes of Aghamore, Knock, Bekan, and Annagh. O'Ceirin is now anglicised Kerrin.—See *Genealogies, &c., of Ui Fiachrach*, p. 484, and map to the same work.

[h] The exact situation of this sept, whose country was called *Iochtar-tire*, has not been yet determined. Mr. Molloy, of Oakport, near Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, is the present head of this family.

[i] This sept was seated in the north-west of the county of Roscommon, and their territory comprised the entire of the parish of Kiltullagh, and a part of that of Kilkeevin. It was bounded on the north by Airteach, on the east by Machaire-Chonnacht, on the south by Clann-Chonmhaighe, and on the west by the boundary of the present county of Mayo. The O'Flynns of this territory are still numerous.

[k] Or Coill Fothaidh, the "Wood of Fothadh." Position is not determined; but the O'Rothlains were seated in the barony of Gallen.

[l] Now Corca-Moe, a territory in the north of the territory of Ui Maine, in the county of Galway, comprising the parish of Kilkerrin. This belonged to the Sgaithghils (or Schills, as they are now called) before

Fhlaitheamhain; O'Domhnallain in Clann-Breasail[c]; O'Donnchadha of Ui-Cormaic-Maenmhaighe[d]; O'Duibhgin of the twelve Bailes of O'Duibhginn[e]; O'Docomhlain in Eidhneach; O'Gabhrain in Dal-Druithne; O'Maelbrighde in Magh-Finn[f].

O'Ceirin in Ciarraighe[g]; O'Maelmuaidhe in Clann-Taidhg[h]; O'Floinn in Sil-Maelruain[i]; O'Rothlain in Caille-Fothaidh[k]; Mac Scaithghil in Corca-Mogha[l]; O'Braein in Loch Gealgosa[m]. O'Maille in the two Umhalls[n]; O'Talcharain in Conmhaicne-Cuile[o]; O'Cadhla or Quaelly, in Conmhaicne-mara[p]; Mac Conroi in Gno-Mor[q], O'hAdhnaidh in Gno-Beag[r]; Mac Aedha in Clann-Chosgraigh[s]; O'Flaithbheartaigh or Flahertie, in Muintir-Murchadha[t].

O'h-Eidhin or O'Hein, Mac Gillacheallaigh, and O'Cleirigh, in Ui-Fiachrach-Aidhne[u]; O'Duibhghilla in Cineal-Cinngamhna; Mac Fia-

the English invasion; but they were dispossessed soon after it by the Ui Diarmada, or O'Concannons.

[m] This was probably the ancient name of the lake now called Urlare Lough, situated in the barony of Costello, and county of Mayo. The O'Briens of this race are unknown.

[n] *Anglicè* the two "Owles," i. e. Umhall Iochtrach, and Umhall Uachtrach, or Upper and Lower Owle. The former territory is included in the present barony of Burrishoole, in the county of Mayo, and the latter in the barony of Murrisk, in the same county. O'Maille is now *anglicè* O'Malley.—*Book of Rights*, p. 98.

[o] Now the barony of Kilmone, in the south of the county of Mayo. — See *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 487.

[p] Now Connamara, a district in the west of the county Galway, comprising the barony of Ballynahinch. — See Hardiman's edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht*, p. 29, note [w]. O'Cadhla is now anglicised Kealy. It was latinized *Quælcus* by the R. C. Archbishop of Tuam, of that name, who was contemporary with Colgan (1645.)

[q] A territory in the west of the county of Galway, comprising the northern and larger part of the barony of Moycullen. The Mac Conrois [Mac Conrys], now *anglicè* Kings, are still numerous in this territory.

[r] A territory comprising the southern and smaller part of the same barony. For very curious particulars respecting these territories of Gno-mor and Gno-beg, see Hardiman's edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht*, pp. 52, 54, 62, 156, 252, 255, 391, 392. O hAdhnaidh is now anglicised Hyney.

[s] These were a subsection of the Ui-Briuin Seola, seated on the east side of Lough Corrib, in the south of the present barony of Clare, in the county of Galway. Mac Aedha, Mac Hugh, or Magee, of this race, is now unknown.

[t] Now *anglicè* Muntermorroghoe, the northern part of the barony of Clare.—See Hardiman's edition of *O'Flaherty's Iar-Connacht*, p. 368.

[u] A territory in the south-west of the county of Galway, co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh.—See *Hy-Many*, p. 77; *Ui-Fiachrach*, p. 52, note [l].

fiachra in Oguibheathra, O'Cathain, in Kenelsedna, O'Maghna in Ceanraighe, O'Seachnasaidh, et O'Cathail duo domini de Kenelaodha.

Hinc in Lageniam poëta pergit, cujus supremum regem fuisse dicit O[Mac]Murchuum, O'Fiachraidh fuit dominus de Onenechlais, O'Coscraidh dominus de Fearcualuin, O'Rian dominus Odrona; O'Tuathail dominus de Omuredhaigh; Mac Gorman, dominus O'Mairchi; O'Conchaubhar, O'Duinn, O'Broarain, O'Cionnaidh, O'Diomusaich sive O'Dempsie, O'Haonghusa, O'Amurguin, O'Murchadain, dominus O'Falghiæ, O'Kiardha in Carbriâ, O'Foelan, O'Mairche, O'Conchobar.

[v] *Anglicè* Kinelea, a territory in the barony of Kiltartan, county of Galway.—See map to *Ui-Maine*. For some further notice of the sub-tribes of the southern Ui-Fiachrach, see *Genealogies, &c., of Ui-Fiachrach*, pp. 53, 54, &c.; and in the Appendix (*Ibid.*), for the pedigree of O'Seachnasaigh, or O'Shaughnessy, who dispossessed O'Cahill towards the close of the thirteenth century.

[w] *Anglicè* Mac Murrough. The principal families of this race took the name of Mac Murchadha Caemhanach, and the latter part of the name only is now used, and is now anglicised Kavanagh.

[x] A tribe seated in the present barony of Arklow, in the south-east of the county of Wicklow.—*Book of Rights*, p. 195, note [g]. The name O'Fiachrach is now obsolete.

[y] *Anglicè* Fercuolen, a territory in the north of the county of Wicklow, considered in modern times as co-extensive with the manor of Powerscourt.—*Vide id.*, p. 13, note [b]. O'Coscraigh of this race was dispossessed by the O'Tuathails (O'Tooles) shortly after the English invasion.

[z] A sept which gave name to the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, where they were seated.—*Vide id.*, p. 212, note [k]. The O'Riains of this race now anglicise their name Ryan, without the O'.

[a] A territory in Leinster, comprising about the southern half of the present county of Kildare, whence the O'Tuathails or O'Tooles were driven shortly after the English invasion, when they settled in Imail, and afterwards in Feara Cualann, in the county of Wicklow.—*Vide id.*, p. 210, note [i].

[b] A sept seated in the present barony of Sliabh Mairge, or Slievemargy, in the south-east of the Queen's County.—*Vide id.*, p. 212, note [m].

[c] That is, O'Conchobhair Failghe or O'Conor Faly, lord of Ui-Failghe or Offaly, a large territory in Leinster, extending into the King's and Queen's Counties, and also into that of Kildare, where the baronies of Offaly still retain the name.—*Vide id.*, p. 216, note [r].

[d] Now Dunne. He was chief of Ui-Riagain, or Iregan, *anglicè* Dooregan, a territory in the Queen's County, co-extensive with the barony of Tinnahinch in that county. Colonel Francis Dunne, of Brittas, is the present head of this family.

[e] Now obsolete.

[f] Now Kenny.

[g] Now O'Dempsey, all reduced to poverty and obscurity. He was lord of Clann-Maelughra, and his territory comprised the barony of Portnahinch, in the Queen's County, on the south side of the River Barrow, and that of Upper Philipstown, in the King's County, on the north side of the same river.

chra in Oga-Beathra; O'Cathain in Cineal-Seanna; O'Maghna in Caenraidhe; O'Seachnasaigh and O'Cathail, two lords of Cineal-Aedha[v].

Thence the poet proceeds into Leinster, of which, he says, the supreme king was Mac Murchadha[w]; O'Fiachrach was lord of Ui-nEineachghlais[x]; O'Coscraigh, lord of Feara-Cualann[y]; O'Riain, lord of Ui-Drona[z]; O'Tuathail, lord of Ui-Muireadhaigh[a]; Mac Gormain, lord of Ui-mBairche[b]; O'Conchobhair[c], O'Duinn[d], O'Brogarbhain[e], O'Cinaeith[f], O'Dimasaigh or O'Dempsie[g], O'hAenghusa[h], O'Aimhirgin[i], O'Murchadhain[j], lord of Ui Failghe[k]; O'Ciardha in Cairbre[l]; O'Faelain[m]; O'mBairche[n]; O'Conchobhair[o].

[h] Now Hennessy, a name still numerous in the Queen's County.

[i] Now Bergin. He was chief of Geshill, in the King's County. The name is still very numerous in the King's County. Thomas F. Bergin, Esq., the able engineer, of Dublin, is of this race.

[j] This name does not now exist in the King's County. Their territory of Tuath-da-maigh, *anglicè* Tethmoy, comprised the baronies of Warrenstown and Coolestown, in the east of the King's County.

[k] This is incorrect, because O'Murchadhain was never lord of all Ui-Failghe. He was chief of Magh-Aeife, a territory adjoining the celebrated wood of Fidh-Gaibhle, now Figyle, and included in the present barony of East Offaly, in the county of Kildare. Dr. Lynch should have written the names of the families of Ui Failghe as follows: O'Conchobhair [now O'Conor] was prince, or chief lord of Ui Failghe, under whom were the following dynasts: 1, O'Aimergin, now Bergin, lord of Tuaith-Geisille, now the barony of Geshill; 2, O'Duinn, now Dunne, lord of Ui-Riagain, now the barony of Tinnahinch, in the Queen's County; 3, O'Dimasaigh, now O'Dempsey, lord of Clann-Maeilughra, *anglicè* Clanmaliere, comprising nearly all the barony of Portnahinch, in the Queen's County, on the south side of the River Barrow, and that of Upper Philipstown, in the King's County, on the north side of the same river; 4, O'h-Aenghusa, now Hennessy, of Clann-Cholgain, now the barony of Lower Philipstown; 5, O'Maelchein of Tuath-da-mhaighe, now the baronies of Coolestown and Warrenstown; 6, O'Murchadhain, lord of Magh-Aeife, a district in the barony of East Offaly, adjoining Tethmoy, and the wood of Fidh-Gaibhle; 7, O'Ceallaigh, or Kelly, of Tuath-Leighe, comprising the barony of Western Offaly, and a small portion of the barony of Portnahinch, in which the Castle of Leighe, now *anglicè* Lea, still preserves the name.

[l] Generally called Cairbre Ui Chiardha, i. e. O'Keary's Carbury; now the barony of Carbury, in the county of Kildare. This is clear from O'Dubhagain, who states that the Ui Ciardha are the only sept of the race of Niall Naighiallach seated in Leinster. O'Ciardha is now anglicised Keary and Carey.

[m] This is incorrect. It should be "Mac Eochadha in Ui-Faelain." Ui-Faelain was the name of a tribe which, after the establishment of hereditary surnames, branched into the families of Mac Eochadha, now

Macgillapatrick, O'Caruill, et O'Dunchaidh, Ossoriæ domini; O'Bruadair, Mac Brain, et O'Braonain, in tribus Triuchis, scilicet, Triucha naclanna, Triuchaanchomair, et Triuchahieric.

Series postea Momoniensium optimatum texitur, inter quos familiam ducit O'Brien, nonnunquam duarum Momoniarum et aliquando Hiberniæ Rex; Regis cognatus Mac Mathgamhnius seu Mac Mahonus, dominus

Keogh and Kehoe, of Mac Fhaelain, now obsolete, and of O'Brain, now O'Byrne or Byrne. The Ui-Faelain occupied the plains of Magh Laighean and Magh Liffe, about the northern half of the present county of Kildare.—*Book of Rights*, pp. 205, 206.

[n] This is incorrect. It should be "Mac Gormain, lord of Ui-mBairche." The Ui-mBairche were seated in the present barony of Sliabhe Mairge or Slievemarague, in the Queen's County.—*Ib.*, p. 212, note [m].

[o] Now O'Conor. This name is misplaced by Dr. Lynch. It should precede O'Murchadhain, as remarked in note [k].

[p] Mac Gillaphraduig, now anglicised Fitzpatrick.

[q] Now O'Carroll, or Carroll, without the prefix O'. He was seated in a fertile district, in the barony of Gabhran or Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny, extending from Cill Chainnigh, now Kilkenny, to Sliabh gCaithle. The O'Carrolls of this race cannot now be easily distinguished from those of Eile Ui Chearbhaill, in the King's County.

[r] Now anglicised Dunphy. He was seated in Gabhran, near the River Bearbha, or Barrow. Donnchadh O'Donnchaidh,—a name which would now be anglicised Denis Dunphy,—the head of this family, erected the abbey of Jerpoint in 1180. Ware and Archdall call him "Donogh O'Donoghoe."

[s] Now Ossory. This ancient principality comprised the barony of Upper Ossory in the Queen's County, and nearly the entire of the present county of Kilkenny. There is every reason to believe that, since the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, its limits never extended beyond those of the present diocese of Ossory; but it is stated by Keating and others, that in the time of Aenghus Osraidheach this territory comprised the whole region extending from Sliabh Bladhma to the sea at Waterford, and from the Bearbha or Barrow, westwards, to the Siuir, or River Suir.—See *Book of Rights*, pp. 17, 18, note [a].

[t] Now Broder and Broderick. He was chief of Ui-Eirc, dat. pl. Uibh-Eirc, now the barony of Iverk, in the south of the county of Kilkenny.

[u] Now Breen. The Triucha-na-gClann is included in the present barony of Knocktopher, in the county of Kilkenny.

[w] Now Brennan. He was chief of Ui-Duach, which is designated by Triucha-an-Chomair, from Comar, now Castlecomer, its head residence. Ui-Duach is described by O'h-Uidhrin, in his topographical poem, as Fionnċlár fairsing na Feoire, i.e. the fair extensive plain of the River Feoir, now the Nore. This is the last territory mentioned by O'Dubhagain. The remainder of the list is obtained from Gilla-na-naemh O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, though Dr. Lynch seems to have thought that O'Dubhagain was the author of both poems. O'h-Uidhrin, who died in 1420, states, in the opening of his poem, that O'Dubhagain, who described the tribes and territories of Leath-Chuinn, neglected those of Leath-Mhogha.

Mac Gillaphadruig[p], O'Cearbhaill[q], and O'Donnchaidh[r], lords of Osraidhe[s]; O'Bruadair[t], Mac Braein[u], and O'Braenain[w], in the three cantreds, namely, Triucha na gClann, Triucha-an-Chomair, and Triucha Ui-Eirc.

The list of the Munster chieftains is next composed, among whom he sets down O'Briain[x], as king, sometimes of the two Munsters, and sometimes of all Ireland; the king's relative Mac Mathghamhna[y], or

and the race of Cathaeir Mor, the task of describing whom devolved upon himself.

It should be here remarked that the list of the subdivisions, chieftains, and dynasts of Osraidhe, above given by Dr. Lynch from O'Dubhagain's poem, is very imperfect, and that O'h-Uidhrin gives a much more curious one. He mentions the following in addition to those furnished by O'Dubhagain: 1, O'Dubhshlaine, now Delany of Coill-Uachtarach, now Upper Woods, at the foot of Sliabh Bladhma, or Slieve Bloom; 2, O'Broithe, now Brophy, of Magh-Sedna, in the present barony of Galmoy; 3, O'Faelain, now Phelan, in Magh-Lacha, in the barony of Kells; 4, O'Caibhdheanaigh, now Gaffiny, in Magh-Airbh, in the present barony of Crannagh; 5, O'Gloiairn, in a cantred along the River Callainn, called "a sweet district;" 6, O'Caellujdhe, now Kelly, in Ui-Bearchon, along the River Barrow, now forming the north portion of the barony of Ida, in which Ros-I-Bearchon, *anglicè* Rosbercon, still preserves the name.

It should be also here remarked, that the present barony of Ui-Deaghaidh, or Ida, comprises three ancient baronies shown on old maps, and still distinctly remembered by tradition, namely, Ida, Igrin, and Ibercon, anciently Ui-Deaghaidh, Ui gCruinn, *a quo* Sliabh gCruinn, now Tory-hill, and Ui-Bearchon. The name of the ancient chief of Ui gCruinn is nowhere mentioned, nor is that of the chief of Ui Deaghaidh; but, according to local tradition, the chief of the Ui-Deaghaidh took the hereditary surname of O'Deaghaidh or O'Dea; and this seems true, for, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas O'Dea held a considerable estate in this barony, as of the manor of Graney. —See *Names of the Gentlemen inhabiting the County of Kilkenny, with the Value of their Lands*, in the Carew MSS. at Lambeth, No. 611, p. 87.

[x] O'Briain, now O'Brien. This family is now represented by the Marquis of Thomond, by Sir Lucius O'Brien of Drumoland, Augustus Stafford O'Brien of Blatherwick, Northamptonshire, and Terence O'Brien of Glencolumbkille, Esq., who descends from Donnell Spaineach, the son of Colonel Murtough O'Brien, who capitulated with Waller, and went out to Spain at the head of two thousand men, A. D. 1652. There are various other highly respectable families of the name, but their pedigrees are not made out to a certainty.

[y] Now Mac Mahon. This family descends from Mathghamhain or Mahon, son of Muircheartach, the eldest son of Toirdhealbhach or Turlough More O'Brien, monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 1086. It is for some time extinct in the senior line; but many of the junior branches remain, and Sir Beresford Mac Mahon and O'Gorman Mahon are of this race, but their pedigrees have not been made out.

duarum Corcabaskinnarum; O'Donellus et O'Baskinus duo prisci Corcabaskinæ domini; O'Kennedius, Ormoniæ dominus; O'Dunghallius, dominus de Muscritire; O'Conchobar, dominus Corcomroæ occidentalis; O'Lochlaiun, dominus Corcumroæ orientalis; O'Deadhaigh, dominus de Fearmaic; O'Coinn, dynasta de Cloinifernain; O'Cathail, dynasta de O'Flaithrii[*sic*]; O'Airther, dominus de O'Cormaic, et O'Flanchaidh de Flanchaidh; Macconmara, primus dynasta Silmbrianorum, dominus de Muighaghair et triochached Clanncassin; O'Grada, dynasta de Muntirtire-

[z] The two Corca-Bhaiscinns. These territories still retain their names. Corca-Bhaiscinn, East, is now considered to be co-extensive with the present barony of Clonderalaw, and Corca-Bhaiscinn, West, with the adjoining barony of Moyarta, in the county of Clare. But it appears from the Life of St. Senanus, and many other ancient authorities, that previously to the settlement of the Mac Gormans, or O'Gormans, in the barony of Ibrickan, the country of the Corca-Bhaiscinn comprised that barony also.

[a] Now O'Donnell, a name still extant in these territories. The name O'Baiscinn is obsolete.

[b] Now O'Kennedy. According to O'h-Uidhrin, this family was originally seated in Gleann-Omra, or parish of Cill O gCinneide, *anglicè* Killo-Kennedy, in the east of the county of Clare; but they afterwards settled in Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. The O'Kennedys of this race are all reduced to poverty and obscurity.

[c] This was the ancient name of the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary. O'Donnghalie, now O'Donnelly, and O'Fuirg, now obsolete, were the chieftains of this territory before the O'Kennedys.

[d] More correctly Corc-Meadhruaidh, i. e. the race or progeny of Meadhruaidh; now the barony of Corcomroe, in the west of the county of Clare. The family of O'Conchobhair, or O'Conor, of this race, are all reduced to poverty and obscurity.

[e] This was the ancient name of the barony of Burren, in the north of the county of Clare, where the "Abbey of Corcomroe" still preserves the name. The O'Loughlins of this race, as well as the O'Conors, are descended from Meadhruadh, fifth in descent from Fearghus or Fergus Mac Roigh, ex-King of Ulster in the first century. Lochlainn, the ancestor from whom they took the surname O'Lochlainn, died in the year 983. From his brother, Conchobhar, are descended the O'Conchobhairs, or O'Conors, of West Corcomroe. The O'Lochlainns, or O'Loughlins, are now represented by O'Loughlin Burren of Newtown, in the barony of Burren, and Sir Colman O'Loughlen, Bart.

[f] This, which was the tribe-name of the O'Deas, was also applied to their territory, which comprised the greater portion of the barony of Inchiquin, in the county of Clare. The O'Deas of this race are very numerous. but all reduced to poverty and obscurity.

[g] That is, the race of Iffearnan. This was the tribe-name of the Ui-Cuinn or O'Quins, whose territory was included in the present barony of Inchiquin, and contained the lake of Inis-Ui-Chuinn, that is, O'Quin's island, *anglicè* Inchiquin, and the district lying round the village of Cora-fine, now Corofin. This family is now represented

Mac Mahon, lord of the two Corca-Bhaiscinns[z]; O'Domhnaill[a] and O'Baiscinn were the two ancient lords of Corca-Bhaiscinn; O'Cinneide[b]; lord of Ormond; O'Dunghaile, lord of Muscraidhe-tire[c]; O'Conchobhair, lord of western Corcomruaidh[d]; O'Lochlainn, lord of Eastern Corcumruaidh[e]; O'Deaghaidh, lord of Ui-Fearmaic[f]; O'Cuinn, dynast of Clann-Iffernan[g]; O'Cathail, dynast of Ui-Flaithri[h]; O'Aithchir[i], lord of Ui-Cormaic[k], and O'Flannchaidh of Ui-Flannchaidh[l]; Mac Conmara, the first dynast under the O'Brians, lord of Magh Adhair[m] and the cantred of Clann-Caisin[n]; O'Grada, dynast of Muintir-Tireconlachta[o] [*rectè*

by the Earl of Dunraven.

[h] This tribe adjoined the Clann-Iffernain at Cora-Fine. Their territory is described by O hUidhrin as "a smooth, yew-bearing land." O'Cathail is now *anglicè* Cahill. Dr. Lynch here omits Cinel-mBaith, of whom O'Mulvey [O'Maelmheadha] was the chieftain, seated along the River Eidhneach [Inagh], in the district of Brentre.

[i] Now O'Hehir, Hehir, and sometimes Hare. This family is of the race of Fiacha Fidhgeinte, also the ancestor of O'Donovan, O'Coileain, and Mac Eniry, and were originally seated in the plains of the present county of Limerick, but the period of their settlement among the Dal-gCais has not been yet determined. This family is now reduced to poverty and obscurity.

[k] This, which was the tribe-name of the O'Hehirs, is still locally known, and applied to a district coextensive with the parish of Kilmaley, situated to the west of Ennis, in the county of Clare; but it can be proved from several authentic documents that it originally extended from the mountain of Sliabh Callain to the mouth of the River Fergus. It was bounded on the north by the territory of Cinel-Fearmaic; on the east by the River Fergus, which separated it from the territories of Ui-Caisin and Tradraidhe; on the south and west by East Corca-Bhaiscinn, which it meets at the mountain of Sliabh Callain. — See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1573, p. 1668, note [p].

[l] O'hUidhrin makes these a subsection of the O'Hehirs. They are to be distinguished from the family of Mac Flannchadha, who were an offset of the Mac Namaras.

[m] That is, the plain of Adhar, son of Umor, who possessed this plain in the first century of the Christian era. On a mound in this plain, in which Adhar was interred, the chief of the family of Mac Conmara, now Mac Namara, was wont to inaugurate the chief of the Dal-gCais. It is situated in the townland of Tamhnach (Toonagh), parish of Cloney, barony of Upper Tullagh, and county of Clare.—See Circuit of *Muircheartach Mac Neill*, p. 47, note [138]. For an account of the inauguration of several princes of the O'Brien family on this mound, the reader is referred to Magrath's *Caithreim Toirdhealbhaigh*, or Wars of Turlough O'Brien, at the years 1242, 1367, 1277, and 1311.

[n] Otherwise called Ui-gCaisin. The name and exact extent of the original territory of this tribe are preserved in the deanery of Ogashin, which comprises the parishes of Quin, Tullagh, Cloney, Dowry, Kilraghtis, Kiltalagh, Templemaley, Inchicronan, and Kilmurry-na-Gall, in the eastern portion of the county of Clare. But

conlachta; O'Liodhega, dynasta de Onobarchon; O'Dungling, dynasta de Ogassin; O'Rigny, alius dynasta de O'Cassin; O'Aichiaghearn, dynasta de Oblaithidh; Maccochlain, dominus de Tradraigh, cujus dynastæ fuerunt O'Nellus, O'Bearga, et O'Casselblaidh; O'Moelchaissaill, O'Kearnaidh, O'Ogain, et O'Seanchain, dynastæ de Orongaile; O'Dubhruic, dynasta de O'Congalaidh; O'Mongamain, alius dynasta de Tradraigh; O'Connaing et O'Ceadhfada, duo domini de Triuchachead in Chalaid;

in the year 1318, when, after the defeat of De Clare, and the expulsion of his abettors, the Ui-Bloid, by the triumphant race of Turlough-na-Caithreime, the O'Brien gave the Mac Namaras possession of an extensive territory lying between the River Fergus and the Shannon, the exact limits of which, in 1584, are defined in a MS. account of Thomond, or the county of Clare, preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, E. 2,14.

[o] This is a mistake, for O'Duibhginn (now *anglicè* Duggan and Deegin) was chief of Muintir Connlachtaigh. O'Grada, now O'Grady, was chief of Cinel-Dunghaile, a tribe originally seated in the parish of Killinasoolagh, near the River Fergus; but after the expulsion of the Ui-Bloid, and the killing of De Clare, the Cinel Dunghaile, or O'Gradys, were removed to Tuaim-Greine [Tomgraney], where they obtained possession of a territory comprising the parishes of Tomgraney, Moyno, Iniscaltra, and Clonrush, of which the two latter are now included in the county of Galway, though still belonging to the Dalcassian diocese of Killaloe, and to the deanery of O-mBloid.

[p] Now Liddy. The Ui-Dobharchon, who were a subsection of the Ui-mBloid, were seated in the territory which belonged to the O'Gradys since 1318, *q. v.*

[q, r] This is a mere blunder. There were no such families as O'Dungling or O'Rignaigh, in Dal-gCais. Mac Conmara was chief of Ui-gCaisin.

[s] This should be "O'Echthighern, dynast of Ui-Cearnaigh in Ui-mBloid." O'Echthighern is now anglicised Ahern, Hearne, and Heron. The position of Ui-Cearnaigh appears from Mac Namara's rental, published by Hardiman in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xv. It comprised the parish of Kilfinaghty, and some of the district lying between that parish and the city of Limerick. The name is still locally known, and the position of the territory defined by the Ogarney River, anciently called the *Raitè*, which flows through the little town of Six-Mile-Bridge, and unites with the Shannon at *Bun-Raite*, i. e. Raitè-mouth, now Bunratty. This river flows through the very middle of Ui-Cearnaigh, from a place near the castle of Enaghofloyne to Rossmanagher, after passing which it forms the boundary between the Ui-Cearnaigh and Tradraidhe.

[t] This is certainly a blunder. O'h-Uidhrin makes O'Neill, who was one of the Ui-Bloid, chief of Tradraidhe, and we know from the best authorities that Mac Cochlain, of the race of Dal-gCais, was chief of Dealbhna-Eathra, now the barony of Garrycastle, in the King's County. The name and the exact extent of the fertile and beautiful territory of Tradraidhe, *anglicè* Tradry, is preserved in the deanery of Tradry, which comprises the parishes of Tomfinlough, Killonasoolagh, Kilmaleery, Kilcorney, Clonloghan, Drumline, Feenagh,

Cinel-Dunghaile] O'Lideadha[p], dynast of Ui-Dobharchan; O'Dungling, dynast of Ui-gCaisin[q]; O'Rignaigh[r], another dynast of Ui-gCaissin; O'Echtighern, dynast of Ui-mBloid[s]; Mac Cochlain, lord of Tradraidhe[t], whose dynasts were O'Neill, O'Bearga[u], and O'Casselblaidh[w], O'Maelchaisil[x], O'Cearnaigh[y], and O'hOgain[z]; and O'Seanchain[a], dynast of Ui-Ronghaile; O'Duibhraic[b], dynast of Ui-Conghaile[c]; O'Mongamain[d], another dynast of Tradraidhe; O'Conaing[e] and O'Ceatfhadha, two lords

Bunratty, Killowen, and the island of Inishdadrom, in the south of the county of Clare. This is the best territory in the county of Clare, and was seized upon by De Clare, who, being assisted by Brian Ruadh O'Brien and the Ui-mBloid, erected the castle of Bunratty, to secure it against the assaults of Turlough-na-Caithreine, and his followers, the Mac Namaras. After the defeat of the Ui-mBloid and De Clare in 1318, this territory fell into the possession of the Mac Namaras, and, in 1584, was included in the country of Mac Namara Reagh, which was otherwise called Clann Coileain Iartharach, or the western Clann Callan. The O'Neills of this race are still in the territory, and, according to the tradition in the country, the family of Creagh, in Irish Craebhach, i. e. *Ramifer*, or Mac Gilla-Craeibhe, are a branch of them.

[u], [w] Not named by O'h-Uidhrin.

[x] Now Cashel. This family had their residence at Baile-Ui-Mhaeilchaisil, now Ballymulcashel, near the town of Six-Mile-Bridge, in the territory of Ui-Cearnaigh.

[y] Not named by O'h-Uidhrin. Dr. Lynch has evidently mistaken the tribe-name for a surname here.

[z] Now Hogan. Not mentioned by O'h-Uidhrin. O'Hogain was seated at Ard-Croine, now *anglicè* Ardcrony, in the barony of Lower Ormond, and county of Tipperary.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, p. 2049, note [t].

[a] Now Shanaghan, or Shanahan, and latterly anglicised Shannon by the *poet* who completed Don Juan! The territory of the Ui-Ronghaile is frequently mentioned in Magrath's *Caithreim-Thoirdhealbhaigh* as the country of the O'Seanchans, a very warlike sept of the Ui-Bloid, who espoused the cause of Brian Ruadh O'Brien against Turlough O'Brien and the Mac Namaras. They were driven out of Dal-gCais in 1318 (when they settled in the mountains of the county of Waterford), and their country was added to that of their conquerors, the Mac Namaras. It appears from Mac Namara's Rental, published by Hardiman, that in the fifteenth century Ui-Ronghaile comprised the parishes of Kilno and Killuran; but there can be little doubt that previously to A. D. 1318 it comprised also the entire of Tuath-Echtghe, or the parish of Feakle, and a portion of the country given to O'Grady after 1318; but its exact limits cannot be defined by any documents as yet discovered.

[b] Now Durack. The late Captain Durack of Limerick, remarkable for his benevolence, indomitable courage, and gigantic strength, was of this race.

[c] This name is still locally well known, and applied to a district co-extensive with the parish of Ogonnello, *alias* Eaglais-Sinchill, *anglicè* Aglish-Sinnell, verging on Loch-Deirgdheirc, in the east of the county Clare.

[d] Not in O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem.

O'Hogain, dynasta de Eoganacht, et O'Hogain, dynasta de Furghabhla; O'Kearny, dynasta de O'Gearny[*sic*]; O'Duibhidhir, dynasta de Oamrit; O'Duibhgin, alius dynasta de Tuaithmuntirchonluchta.

Maccartheus quandoque Cassiliæ et utriusque Momoniæ nec non etiam aliquando totius Hiberniæ Rex; O'Duncha, regni Cassiliæ candidatus; O'Carbhail, dominus de Eoganachtlochalein; O'Mathghamna in Ui-Eathach Momoniæ; O'Ceallachain, dominus de Ui-Eathach Momoniæ;

[e] This should be "O'Conaing, lord of Greine, *alias* Aes-tri-Maighe, and O'Ceatfadha, lord of Caladh." The territory of O'Conaing, the chief residence in which was Caislean-Ui-Chonaing, i. e. O'Conaing's Castle, now corruptly Castleconnell, extended from Cnoc-Greine at Palasgreen, to the city of Limerick, and comprised the whole of the barony of Clanwilliam, and a considerable part of the county of the city of Limerick. Castleconnell, Singland, Cnoc-Greine, and Crecora [Cnaob cuinnaibe], are referred to in Irish documents, as being in this territory.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1597, p. 2041, note [z]. O'Conaing was dispossessed shortly after the English invasion by the Clann William De Burgo. The territory of Caladh is on the north side of the Shannon, near Limerick, and extends from the Shannon to the southern boundary of the parish of Kilmurry-na-Gaul. O'Ceatfadha is now anglicised Keating. Dr. Lynch here omits the territory of the Ui-Toirdhealbhaigh, which is described by O'h-Uidhrin as adjoining Killaloe.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1192.

[f] O'h-Ogain, dynast of Eoganacht. This is not mentioned by O'h-Uidhrin, and is probably a blunder for "O'Cinnfhaelaidh, lord of Eoghanacht-Gabhra."

[g] This was the old name of the district lying round Ardcrony, in the county of Tipperary, four miles and a half to the north of the town of Nenagh.—See note [z], p. 265, *suprà*.

[h] This should be O'Echtighern, dynast of Ui-Cearnaigh.—See note [a], p. 264, *suprà*.

[i] Now O'Dwyer. The tribe of Ui-Aimrit was seated in the territory of Coill-na-manach, now the barony of Kilnamanagh, in the county of Tipperary. Colonel Dwyer of Ballyquirk Castle, in the parish of Lorha, in the barony of Lower Ormond, and county of Tipperary, is the present head of this family. He descends from Philip O'Dwyer of Dundrum, who was a member of the General Assembly of Confederate Catholics, who met in Kilkenny on the 10th of January, 1647.

[k] See note [e], p. 264, on O'Grada. Dr. Lynch seems to have had two copies of this poem, which he strangely jumbled together, for he mentions many places and septs twice, apparently without being aware of it.

[l] Now Mac Carthy, and sometimes Carty. This family is now represented by citizen Justin-Marie-Laurent-Robert, late Comte Mac Carthy Reagh, by Justin Mac Carthy, of Carrignavar, who is chief of the Muscraighe branch; and by Charles Justin MacCarthy, Esq., Auditor and Accountant-General at Ceylon, and Daniel Mac Carthy, Esq., of Florence, both of whom are of the Dunmanway branch of this great family. The head of the Dunmanway branch is now living at Cork, but indigent and obscure.

[m] Some of the ancestors of the Mac Car-

of the cantred of Caladh; O'h-Ogain[f], dynast of Eoghanacht, and O'hOgain, dynast of Ui-Forga[g]; O'Cearnaigh, dynast of Ui-Cearnaigh[h]; O'Duibhidhir[i], dynast of Ui-Aimrit; O'Duibhgin[k], another dynast of Tuaith-Muintire-Conlachta.

Mac Carthaigh[l], sometimes king of Caisel [Cashel] and of both Munsters, and also sometimes king of all Ireland[m]; O'Donnchadha[n] candidate for the kingdom of Caisel; O'Cearbhaill[o], lord of Eoghanacht-Locha-Lein[p]; O'Mathghamhna[q], in Ui-Eathach-Mumhan[r]; O'Ceallachain[s], lord of Ui-Eathach-Mumhan[t]; O'hEdirsceoil[u], [chief] lord of

thys were kings of Ireland, but not since the establishment of the surname of MacCarthy.

[n] Now O'Donohoe. O'h-Uidhrin mentions O'Donnchadha of Loch-Lein, and O'Donnchadha of the Fleisc, i. e. of Gleann-Fleisce, *anglicè* O'Donohoe of Glenflesk, who is the only representative of these families whose pedigree is known. O'Donohoe of Loch-Lein, who was otherwise called O'Donnchadha, or O'Donohoe of Ross, and O'Donnchadha Mor, is now unknown.

[o] *Anglicè* O'Carroll. This family was dispossessed at an early period by the O'Donohoes, and is now unknown.

[p] This territory, which was called in modern times Onaght I-Donohoe, is included in the barony of Magunihy, in the south-east of the county of Kerry.

[q] Now *anglicè* O'Mahony, of whom there are many respectable representatives; but O'Mahony of Dunloe, near Killarney, is believed to be the senior now remaining in Ireland. The head of the family is on the Continent.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1585, p. 1837, note [c].

[r] That is, the descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Corc, King of Munster in the fifth century. This name is still locally known in the south-west of the county of Cork. In the MS. entitled "*Carbriæ Notitia*," it is stated that "the whole peninsula from Ballydehab to Dunmanus Bay [in West Carbery], is called Ivagh, and did formerly belong to O'Mahonè Fune, the best man of that name."—*Ib.*, A. D. 1366, p. 633. O'h-Uidhrin mentions another branch of the O'Mahonys in Cinel-mBece, now the barony of Kinelmeaky, in the same county.

[s] Now O'Callaghan. The chief of this family was transplanted from the county of Cork into the county of Clare, by Cromwell, where that branch became extinct in the beginning of this century. Lord Lismore is the present chief of the name in Ireland, and John Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq., author of the Green Book, descends from a branch of this family, who settled in the city of Dublin in the last century.

[t] This is a mere blunder for Cinel-Aedha; for the Ui-Eathach-Mumhan were the O'Mahonys and O'Donohoes. The O'Callaghans and Mac Carthys were the Cinel-Aedha, or race of Aedh Dubh, the father of Failbhe Flann, King of Munster, A. D. 636. It is curious to remark the whim of custom in applying these tribe-names to the territories of these families. The country of the western O'Mahony retained the tribe-name of the whole sept of the O'Donohoes and

O'Hedrisgol, dominus de Corcalaidhe, Icobhtaidh, Idnach, et Ifainnarda; O'Canfaolaidh seu Kennely, dominus Carbriæ; O'Carbhail, dominus Eliæ, O'Meachair, dynasta de Huagerin; O'Flannagan, O'Dubhlaigh, O'Banain, Macgillaphoil, O'Tuachair, et O'Hedigan, dynastæ eorum; O'Fogortaidh,

O'Mahonys, while that of the O'Donohoes received that of Eoghanacht Locha Lein, and that of the eastern O'Mahony received that of Cinel-mBece from Bec, an ancestor less remote than Eochaidh. Before the English invasion, the O'Callaghans were seated in the barony of Cineal-Aedha, now Kinelea, in the south of the county of Cork; but they were driven from thence by Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan, and they settled in the barony of Duhallow, in the north of the same county, where the chief of this family, Conor O'Callaghan, resided at the castle of Drumaneen in 1594, and then enjoyed extensive territorial possessions, as appears from an Inquisition taken at Mallow before Sir Thomas Norris, Vice-President of Munster, on the 25th of October of that year.—See Harris's edition of *Ware's Antiquities*, pp. 71,72.

[u] Now O'Driscoll. Alexander O'Driscoll, J. P., of the county of Cork, is now the principal representative of this family.

[w] This was originally a large territory in the county of Cork, coextensive with the diocese of Ross, but for many centuries it contained only six parishes in the barony of Carbery, namely, Myross, Glanbarahane, Tullagh, Creagh, Kilcoe, Aghadown, and Cleare Island.—*Book of Rights*, p. 46, n. [a].

[x] Now *anglicè* Cowhig, in the south; but the true anglicised form is O'Coffey, or Coffey. This family was seated in the barony of Barryroe, in the south of the county of Cork, called by O'h-Uidhrin An Τριοċα ċéυ meαδonαċ, i. e. the central cantred.—See *O'Brien's Irish Dictionary*, *in voce* COBHTHACH. Dr. O'Brien, speaking of the families of O'Cowhig and O'Floinn-Arda, about the middle of the last century, has the following melancholy remark, which holds good at the present day, after the lapse of 100 years: "But the melancholy remark which remains to be made, is, that of the two families first mentioned, there is not to my knowledge one individual now existing that may be held in the light of a gentleman, having been all dispossessed long since of their very ancient and large properties; which, indeed, is the case of many other Irish families not less illustrious in former times, who are now quite extinct, or reduced to a state of perfect obscurity for the reason now mentioned."

[y] Not mentioned by O'h-Uidhrin.

[z] That is, O'Flynn of Arda. He resided at Arda Castle, situated nearly midway between Skibbereen and Baltimore, in the barony of West Carbery, in the south-west of the county of Cork, and was, according to O'h-Uidhrin, lord of the district of Ui-Baghamhna, in the centre of which the castle of Arda is situated.—See *O'Brien's Irish Dictionary*, *in voce* FLANN. There are some respectable professional men of this race now in Cork, but none possessed of landed property.

[a] That is, of Cairbre Aebhdha. This is a great error, for O'Cinnfhaelaidh, now Kinealy, was never chief of Cairbre, but of the correlative tribe of Ui-Conaill-Gabhra, or Connello, in the county of Limerick.—See *O'Brien's Dictionary*, *in voce* CONALL. The chief lord of Ui Cairbre Aebhdha was

Corca-Laighdhe[w] [whose dynasts were], O'Cobhthaigh[x], O'Duach[y], and O'Floinn-Arda[z]; O'Cinnfhaelaidh or Kinnealy, lord of Cairbre[a]; O'Cearbhaill, lord of Eile[b]; O'Meachair[c], dynast of Ui-Cairin[d]; O'Flannagain[e], O'Dubhlaigh[f], O'Banain[g], Mac Gillaphoil[h], O'Tuachair[i], and

O'Donovan, who had his chief residence at Bruree, and the dynasts were O'Cleirchin, Mac Eniry, O'Maelchallainn, and O'Bearga.

[b] *Anglicè* O'Carroll, lord of Ely. He was the most powerful chieftain of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Olioll Olum, in Ireland, and his territory was anciently of great extent, forming the north-eastern portion of the ancient Munster. It comprised the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybrit, in the present King's County, still in the Munster diocese of Killaloe, and those of Ikerrin and Elyogarty in the county of Tipperary; but for many centuries the territory of Ely-O'Carroll is confined to that portion of it now in the King's County. The senior branch of this family was transplanted to America. The late General O'Carroll was the last senior of the name in Ireland.

[c] Now anglicised O'Meagher, Meagher, and Maher. There are several highly respectable gentleman of this race still in the county of Tipperary, but their descent from the ancient chieftains of Ui-Cairin has not yet been published by any of our antiquaries. Stephen O'Meagher, Esq., of Kilmoyler; Nicholas Maher, Esq., M. P., for the county of Tipperary; and John Maher, Esq., of Ballinkeele, D. L., and sometime M. P. for the county of Wexford; are among the most prominent representatives of the race. Thomas Meagher, Esq., M. P., for the city of Waterford, and father of the eloquent T. F. Meagher, Esq., represents a branch of this family who settled in the city of Waterford in the last century.

[d] Now the barony of Ikerrin, in the north of the county of Tipperary. O'h-Uidhrin writes that O'Meachair was seated at the foot of Bearnan-Eile, i. e. the gapped mountain of Ely, now the Devil's-Bit Mountain.

[e] Now Flanagan. He was of the same descent with O'Carroll, one of the eight dynasts, Uirrigha or sub-chieftains under O'Carroll, King of Ely; and his territory, which was called Cinel-Fhearga, was coextensive with the present barony of Ballybritt, in the present King's County.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1548, p. 1509, note [f].

[f] Now Dooley. He was not of O'Carroll's sept, but of the race of Conn Cedcathach, and had been originally seated in the barony of Feara-Tulach, but being expelled thence by the O'Melaghlins, he removed with his followers to Ely-O'Carroll, where O'Carroll gave him a territory on the west slope of Sliabh Bladhma, now Slieve Bloom.

[g] Now Banan. He was chief of the tribe of Ui-Deci, and had his residence at Leim-Ui-Bhanain, i. e. O'Banan's Leap, now the Leap Castle, in the barony of Clonlisk, King's County.

[h] Now Gilfoyle. He was seated at Suidhe-an-Roin, now Shinrone, in 1567, when Sir William O'Carroll, chief of Ely, made his submission to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1566, p. 1690, note [e]. Ely-O'Carroll was then a part of Munster, as indeed it still is in the ecclesiastical division of the provinces.

dominus Eliæ Australis; O'Conchonne, alius dominus; O'Caoimh, dominus Fearmuigh; O'Sullebhan, dynastarum Cassiliæ primus; O'Deagha, dominus Dessiorum; O'Diarmada, alius dominus de Fermuigh; O'Donnagain, dominus de Aradh; O'Iffernan, dominus de Uaithnefidbheaidh[?]; O'Loinghsegh, dominus de Uaithnetire; Mac Tighernan[?], dynasta de

[i] Now Toher. He was seated in the barony of Clonlisk, adjoining O'Banain on the north.

[k] Called O'Hegane in O'Carroll's Submission. This family is now called *anglicè* Egan, but the name is to be distinguished from Mac Egan of Ui-Maine and Lower Ormond. The Editor knows families of both names, O'Hegan and Mac Egan, who are of a totally different race, but still write the name alike, Egan, without any prefix. These families cannot be distinguished when the Irish language ceases to be spoken.

[l] Now Fogarty, without the O'. The senior branch of this family is now extinct, and their estate of Castle Fogarty devolved to the family of Lanigan, who descend from them in the female line.

[m] That is, Eile-Ui-Fhogartaigh, i. e. O'Fogarty's Ely, now the barony of Eliogarty, in the county of Tipperary. O'h-Uidhrin states that O'Fogartaigh is of the race of Eochaidh Baillderg [King of Thomond, who was baptized by St. Patrick], and, if this be true, he was not of the same tribe with O'Carroll, who was of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum.

[n] This is a blunder of Dr. Lynch's.

[o] Now O'Keeffe, a family of the race of Cathal mac Finguine, King of Munster, and King of Ireland for a time, who died in 742. They were seated originally in Glenn-Amhnach in Feara-Maighe-Feine, and more recently in Pobal-Ui-Chaoimh [Pobble-O'Keeffe], in the north-west of the barony of Duhallow, in the county of Cork. There is still a respectable representative of this name in Ireland; but the chief of the family emigrated to France after the revolution of 1688, where his descendants bore the rank of Count. One of them, Colonel O'Keeffe, still living, distinguished himself in the recent war in Algeria.

[p] This name is preserved in that of the barony of Fermoy, in the north of the county of Cork. — See *Book of Rights*, p. 78, note [g].

[q] Now *anglicè* O'Sullivan, and frequently Sullivan without the prefix O'. There are many respectable families of this name still in Munster, but their pedigrees have not been published or traced. Timothy O'Sullivan, Esq., of Prospect, near Kenmare, in the county of Kerry, is the senior legitimate representative in Ireland, of the line of O'Sullivan More. Sir Charles Sullivan of Thames Ditton, county of Surrey, whose pedigree is given in Burke's Peerage, is traced by Mr. Burke to O'Sullivan More. The head of the family of O'Sullivan Beare emigrated to Spain; but many of the junior branches are still respectable in the original territory, as Timothy O'Sullivan, Esq., of Rhinodonegan; William O'Sullivan, Esq., of Carrickaness; but their pedigrees have not been published or traced by any of our genealogists. The Count O'Sullivan de Grasse and the Baron O'Sullivan de Terdeck, represent respectively branches of the O'Sullivan More and O'Sullivan Beare, who

O'hAedhagain[k], were their dynasts; O'Fogartaigh[l], lord of the southern Eile[m]; O'Conchonne, another lord[n]; O'Caeimh[o], lord of Feara-Maighe[p]; O'Suilleabhain[q], first of the dynasts of Caisel[r]; O'Deagha, lord of the Deisi[s]; O'Diarmada, another lord of Feara-Maighe[t]; O'Donnagain, lord of Aradh[u]; O'Iffernain[w], lord of Uaithne-Cliach[x]; O'Loingsigh[y], lord of Uaithne-Tire[z]; Mac-Inderigh[a], dynast of Corca Muichet in Ui-Conaill;

followed the fortunes of the Stuarts. The line of the Counts of Berehaven was up to a recent period, and is still, perhaps, extant in Spain.

[r] The O'Sullivans were seated at Cluain-meala [Clonmel], and Cnoc-Raffann, now Knockgraffon, in the county of Tipperary, till about the year 1192, when they were driven from thence by the English.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1192, pp. 94, 95, note [a]. After this they removed into the mountains of the now counties of Cork and Kerry, where they acquired new territories in the baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerron, and Glanarough, in the county of Kerry, and in those of Bear and Bantry, in the county of Cork. The O'Sullivans descend from Finghin, elder brother of Failbhe Flann, King of Munster, and Mor-Mumhan, his queen, and are, therefore, senior to the Mac Carthys. — See *O'Brien's Dictionary, in vocibus* GRAFFANN and RAFFAN; also, *Annals of Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 628, p. 251, and A. D. 633, pp. 252, 253, note [l]. Finghin died in 619, and Failbhe Flann in 636.

[s] This is an error. O'Deaghaidh, or O'Dea, now Day, was chief of Sliabh Ardacha, now the barony of Slievardagh, in the east of the county of Tipperary. The late Judge Day was of this family, but his descendants bear the name of Fitzgerald.

[t] This seems to be a blunder. According to O'h-Uidhrin, O'Dubhagain and O'Caeimh were the lords of Feara-Maighe.

[u] This agrees with O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem. Before the expulsion of the O'Briens of the race of Brian Ruadh from Thomond, in 1318, the O'Donagans were lords of Aradh, now the barony of Arra, or Duharra, on the east side of Loch Deirgdheirc, now Lough Derg, in the county of Tipperary.

[w] Now Heffernan, a name still common in Munster.

[x] Now the barony of Ownybeg, in the north-east of the county of Limerick.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 45, note [x].

[y] Now Lynch. The late Mr. Patrick Lynch, of Carrick-on-Suir, author of the Life of St. Patrick, and of various other works of considerable merit, was of this family, as he was wont to boast, and not of the English Lynches of Galway, of whom was the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*. O'h-Uidhrin makes Mac Ceoach another chief of Uaithne Tire. He was seated at Ballymakeogh in this barony.

[z] Now the barony of Owney, in the county of Tipperary, lying between Duharra and Uaithne-Cliach, or Owneybeg. The families of O'Loingsigh and Mac Ceoach were dispossessed by the O'Briens at an early period, and the Leinster family of O'Mulryan, now Ryan, of the race of Catheir Mor, established in their place.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 45, note [x].

[a] Mac Inderigh, now Mac Eniry, was chief of Corca-Muichet, now Corcomohid,

Kenelere in Ibhconaill; O'Ciarmaic, dominus de Onteida[?]; O'Kinfaolaidh, dominus de Uagonaill, et O'Cullein, dominus de Uagonaill; O'Riada, dominus de Aradh; O'Cuire, dominus de Muscribreoghin; O'Kiaran, dominus de Muscrimuighe; O'Dunghaly, dominus Dessiorum Minorum; O'Tulamnaidh, dominus de Ualiathain; O'Longarain, dominus de Uaguanach; O'Tainidhine[?], dominus de Fearmuighe; O'Ruairc, dominus de Muscritire; O'Seaga, dominus de Corcaduibhne; O'Conchabar, dominus

alias Castletown Mac Eniry, in the barony of Upper Connello and county of Limerick. Mac Eniry is descended from Sedna, fourth son of Cairbre Aebhdha, ancestor of O'Donovan, and though his little territory is now a portion of Connello, it was anciently a part of the territory of the rival race of Cairbre Aebhda.

[b] This name is now usually anglicised Kirby in most parts of Ireland, though an analogical anglicised form of it would sound better, namely, *Kerwick*, which is but seldom used.

[c] A territory lying round the hill of Cnoc Aine (Knockany), in the barony of Small County, and county of Limerick. It embraced all the barony of Coonagh, and was divided from the Ui-Cairbre Aebhdha, in Ui-Fidhgeinte, by the River Samhair, now evidently the stream called the Morning-Star River.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 46.

[d] That is, of Ui-Conaill Gabhra, called by O'h-Uidhrin Eoghanacht-Gabhra, now the baronies of Upper and Lower Conello, in the county of Limerick. This is correct. — See note [a], p. 268, *suprà*, where O'Cinnfhaelaidh is erroneously made lord of Cairbre.

[e] Now Collins. This is correct, for O'Cinnfhaelaidh and O'Coilein, now Collins, were rival chiefs of Ui-Conaill Gabhra, which was their tribe-name. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary, *in voce* CONALL, not knowing that Ui-Conaill-Gabhra was a tribe-name and not a separate hereditary family surname, infers from it that Ui-Conaill-Gabhra was the original territory of the family of the O'Connells of Kerry; but he finds himself obliged to observe that the O'Connells were not seated there since before the year 1155: "The O'Conels, it seems, were dispossessed of that territory long before the twelfth century; for we read in the continuator of Tighernach's Annals, at the year 1155, that O'Cinealy and O'Coileain were then the two kings of Ibh Conaill-Gabhra, and that they killed each other in a duel or rencounter on a day of battle." O'Brien should have known that Ui-Conaill-Gabhra was a tribe-name embracing the families of O'Coileain, O'Kinealy, and various other correlative families, in the same way as Cinel-Conaill was the tribe-name of the O'Donnells, O'Dohertys, &c., and Cinel-Eoghain that of the O'Neills, O'Hagans, O'Donnellys, &c. The O'Connells of Kerry are of the same race as the O'Falvys of Corcaguiny, in Kerry, i. e. of the race of King Conary II., and were never seated in Ui-Conaill-Gabhra, or Connello, in the county of Limerick. From the English invasion till the seventeenth century they were followers of Mac Carthy-More, and hereditary constables of his castle of Ballycarbry, in the barony of Iveragh and county of Kerry. One of them, a celebrated Jesuit in the seventeenth century, is spoken of by a contemporary, who must have been ac-

O'Ciarmhaic[b], lord of Eoghanacht-Aine[c]; O'Cinnfaelaidh, lord of Ui-Conaill[d], and O'Coilein[e], lord of Ui-Conaill; O'Riada, lord of [Eoghanacht] Aradh[f]; O'Cuire, lord of Muscraidhe-Breoghain[g]; O'Ciarain [*rectè* O'Donnagain], lord of Muscraidhe-Maighe[h]; O'Donghaile, lord of Deis-Beag[i]; O'Tulamnaidhe [*rectè* O'Hanmchadha], lord of Ui-Liathain[k]; O'Longarain [*rectè* O'Lonnargain], lord of Ui-Cuanach[l]; O'Dubhagain, lord of Feara-Maighe[m]; O'Ruairc [*rectè* O'Fuirg], lord of Muscraidhe-Tire[n]; O'Seagha, lord of Corca-Duibhne[o]; O'Conchobhair, lord of Ciar-

quainted with him, as "*genere nobili oriundus.*"

[f] This is a mistake for O'Cuille, lord of Eoghanacht Aradh, as in O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem.

[g] This was one of the ancient names of the barony of Clanwilliam, in the south-west of the county of Tipperary. — See *Book of Rights*, p. 45. The family-name O'Cuirc is still common in this territory, and now always written Quirk, without the prefix O'.

[h] This is a mistake for "O'Donnagain, lord of Muscraidhe-tri-Maighe," i. e. Muskerry of the Three Plains. This territory, which was otherwise called Muskerry-Donegan, is included in the present barony of Barrymore, in the county of Cork. It was granted by King John to William de Barry. —*Ib.*, p. 45.

[i] There is some unaccountable mistake here. O'h-Uidhrin places three families in Deis-Beag, whom he calls the heroes of *Claire*, namely, O'Luain, O'Duibhrosa, and O'Faircheallaigh [O'Farrelly], the last of whom was seated at the hill of Claire, near Duntryleague, in the county of Limerick. The territory of Deis-Beag lies between the hill of Knockany and Sliabh Claire, in the county of Limerick, and contains the town of Brugh-na-Deise, now the town of Bruff. It may be regarded as coextensive with the barony of Small County.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 1560, p. 1580, note [d], and A. D. 1580, p. 1730, note [y].

[k] This is a mistake for "O'h-Anmchadha, lord of Ui-Liathain." The territory of Ui-Liathain extended round Caislean-Ui-Liathain, now Castle Lyons, in the county of Cork, and comprised the Island of Oileanmor - Arda - Neimhidh, now Barrymore Island, near Cork. — See *Book of Rights*, p. 72, note [a].

[l] Now the barony of Coonagh, in the east of the county of Limerick. The O'Lonnargains (now Lonnergans) were dispossessed at an early period by a branch of the O'Briens of Thomond, who took the surname of Mac Brian Cuanach.

[m] This is correct, but misplaced here. O'Dubhagain is now anglicised Duggan. This family, which descends from the celebrated Cuanna Mac Caelchine, the rival in hospitality of Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, is now represented in the male line by the family of Cronin, of the Park, near Killarney, in the county of Kerry.

[n] This is a mistake for "O'Fuirg of Muscraidhe-Thire," and is out of place here as well as Feara-Maighe. The territory so called anciently comprised the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 29, note [e].

[o] This should be "O'Seagha, lord of

Kiarriæ; O'Carbhuill, dominus a Sinnæ amne ad Cassain; O'Scanlan, dominus de Corcaoichaidh; O'Carbhaill, dominus de Iarmuigh; O'Furghda; dominus de Onenna Muscæ; O'Cuinn, dominus de Oflaindarda; O'Ceallaigh, dominus de Huambruin et Conmaicniæ Maigheai; O'Sinnaidh et O'Anmchadha, duo domini de Liathain; O'Cuirb et O'Breassail, duo dynastæ de Hualiathain; O'Kiarain et Uamactire, duo domini de Uamaccaille, et O'Glassius, alius dominus; O'Duinin et O'Rin, duo dynastæ de Uamaccaile; O'Cuirce, dominus de Kiarrie Cuirche, et O'Cæallachan, dominus de Kenelaodha; O'Fliainardha, dominus de Obagamhna; O'Cobthaidh, dominus de Triuchachedmeadhoni; Hiromain, Ibruanuibh, et Icamail, tres dynastæ; O'Flanarda, O'Fithcheallaigh, O'Dubhdaleth,

Ui-Rathach, and O'Failbhe, lord of Corca Duibhne." O'Seagha is now anglicised O'Shea or O'Shee, and O'Failbhe is made O'Falvy, and both are also very frequently written without the prefix O'. Corca-Dhuibhne is the present barony of Corcaguiny, and Ui-Rathach (dat. plur. Uibh-Rathach) is the barony of Iveragh, in the south-west of the county of Kerry. Dr. Lynch has here omitted the family of O'Conghail, now *anglicè* O'Connell and Connell, which had been seated for centuries in Iveragh, as hereditary constables of the castle of Ballycarbery, under Mac Carthy-More.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 47, note [e].

[p] That is, O'Conor Kerry. Before the English invasion, O'Conor Kerry was lord of that portion of the present county of Kerry, extending from Tralee, northwards, to the Shannon. There are many respectable persons of this family still in Ireland. Maurice O'Connell O'Conor Kerry, of the Austrian service, is brother of the senior representative.

[q] Lord from the Sinainn to the Casan, i. e. O'Carroll, lord of the tract of land extending from the River Shannon, southwards, to the Casan-Ciarraidhe, now the Cashen River. This tract is now called the barony of Iraghticonor, and was O'Conor Kerry's Country for several centuries after the English invasion. This is not mentioned by O'h-Uidhrin, and it would appear from other authorities that O'Cearbhaill of Kerry was seated in the territory which afterwards belonged to the family of O'Donnchadha.

[r] This is a mistake, and entirely out of place here. The Corca-Oiche, of whom was St. Molua of Cluainfearta-Molua, were a sept of the Ui-Fidhgeinte, and were seated in the present barony of Lower Connello, in the county of Limerick. — See *Annals of the Four Masters, Ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 546, p. 184. O'h-Uidhrin makes O'Macasa, now *anglicè* Macasy and Maxey, the chief of this sept.

[s] These three families never existed. For the situation of O'Floinn-Arda, see note [z], p. 268, *suprà*.

[t] This is wrong, and out of place here. Magh-Aei is in the county of Roscommon.

[u], [w] This is a repetition. — See note [k], p. 273, *suprà*. O'Cuire was lord of the adjoining territory of Ciarraidhe Chuirche.

[x] Now the barony of Imokilly, in the

raighe[p]; O'Cearbhaill, lord from the river Sinainn to the Cas-an[q]; O'Scanlain [*recte* O'Macasa], lord of Corca-Oiche[r]; O'Cearbhaill[s], lord of Iarmuigh; O'Furgdha, lord of Ui-Enna-Muscraidhe; O'Cuinn, lord of Ui-Flainn-Arda; O'Ceallaigh, lord of Ui-Briuin and Conmaicne-Maighe-Aei[t]; O'Sinnaigh and O'Anmchadha, two lords of Ui-Liathain[u]; O'Cuirè and O'Breasail, two dynasts of Ui-Liathain[w]; O'Ciarain and O'Mac-Tire, two lords of Ui-Miccaille[x], and O'Glaisin, another lord; O'Duinin[y] and O'Rin[z], two dynasts of Ui Miccaille; O'Cuirc, lord of Ciarraidhe-Chuirche[a], and O'Ceallachain, lord of Cinel-Aedha[b]; O'Flainn-Arda[c], lord of Ui Bagamhna; O'Cobhthaigh, lord of Triucha-chead Meadhonach[d]; Ui Romain[e]; Ui Brianuibh[f], and Ui Camhail, the three dynasts; O'Flainn-Arda[g]; O'Fithcheallaigh[h], O'Dubhdalethe[i], O'Muir-

county of Cork. O'h-Uidhrin makes O'Breagha and O'Glaisin the chiefs of this territory.

[y] Now Dinneen and Downing, without the prefix O'.

[z] Unknown.

[a] Now the barony of Kerrycurrihy, in the county of Cork. O'Cuire is now unknown. It is to be distinguished from O'Comhraidhe of Dal-gCais, which is anglicised Cory, Curry, and Cowry.

[b] *Anglicè* O'Callaghan, lord of Kinelea, now the barony of Kinelea, in the county of Cork. This agrees with O'h-Uidhrin. — See remarks in note [s], p. 267, *suprà*, where O'Ceallachain is erroneously made lord of Ui-Eathach-Mumhan.

[c] This is correct here, though the same name is introduced incorrectly twice before, evidently from bad copies of O'h-Uidhrin's poem.—See note [s], p. 268, *suprà*.

[d] This agrees with O'h-Uidhrin's poem. —See note [x], p. 268, *suprà*. In the manuscript account of Carbery, entitled, "*Carbriæ Notitia*," it is stated that the barony of Barryroe "formerly belonged to the O'Cowhigs, a sept of the O'Driscolls, from whom Downcowhig takes its name."

[e] This should be Ui-Bain, a family who gave name to the barony of Ibawne, in the south of the county of Cork. They were Uirrigha, or dynasts, to O'Cowhig.

[f] Now unknown.

[g] This name is introduced now, for the fourth time, evidently from different copies of O'h-Uidhrin's poem. O'Floinn Arda was dynast to O'Driscoll, and not to O'Cobhthaigh.

[h] Now *anglicè* Feehilly and Feely. The celebrated Maurice de Portu O'Fihely, called *Flos Mundi*, Archbishop of Tuam from 1506 to 1513, was of this family. He was born near Baltimore, a town, as Harris remarks, "celebrated for its fine harbour," from which he was known as "*de Portu*."—See Harris's edition of *Ware's Bishops*, p. 613. In a curious account of Corca-Luighdhe, or O'Driscoll's Country, preserved in the Book of Lecan, fol. 122, *et seq.*, and in D. Mac Firbisigh's genealogical work, p. 677, Tuath-O'Fithcheallaigh is described as extending from Gaibhlin-an-Gaithneamhna to the island of Inis-duine, and from Dun-Eoghain to Glaise-Draighneacha.

[i] Now probably disguised under the anglicised form Dowdall.

O'Muredhaigh, et O'Gillamichill, dynastæ Ocobhtaidh; O'Headriscol, dominus de Corcalaighdhe; O'Comhraide, O'Muimhne, O'Dorchie, O'Kiabhaigh, O'Dubhgara, et O'Dunlaing, ejus dynastæ; O'Donellus, dominus de Onethrish; O'Baire, O'Cochlainn, et O'Sealbaigh, tres dynastæ O'Donelli; O'Leoghaire, O'Duilin, O'Deasamnaidh, aliæ dynastæ O'Donelli; O'Dungling, dominus de Muscritire; O'Donchuidh, dominus de O'Conoilgabhra; O'Kiarain, dominus de Omacaille; O'Fluinn, dominus de
[29] Muscrimuighe; O'Duibhdhabhuran, | dominus de Onethach; [O'Anmchuidhe], dominus de Hualiathan; O'Dunnegain, dominus de Ardocongaille; O'Billre, dominus de Corcaduibhne; Macconchoraidh, dominus de Ofiginti; O'Bric, dominus Dessiarum; tres domini de Muscrimithaine, O'Donnagain, O'Culenain, et O'Floinn, quibus duo dynastæ fuerunt

[k] Now *anglicè* Murray.

[l] Now O'Driscoll.—See note [w], p. 268, *suprà*, for the extent of Corca-Luighdhe.

[m] Now Cory and Curry. These families were in the ancient Corca-Luighdhe.

[n] Unknown.

[o] Now Dorcy and Darcy.

[p] This is now anglicised Keavy.

[q] This is probably the name now anglicised Dower, which is very common in the south of Ireland.

[r] Now Dowling.

[s] The name O'Domhnaill is usually anglicised O'Donnell, and sometimes Daniel.

[t] Now made Barry. Many of the Barrys of the south of Ireland are of this race. They were seated in the district of Muinter-Bhaire, or Munter-Vary, included in the parish of Kilcrohane, in the barony of West Carbery and county of Cork.

[u] Now Coghlan. The Rev. Charles Coghlan, Rector of Timoleague, is of this family.

[w] This name is still very common in the south of Ireland, and anglicised Shallow and Shelly.

[x] Now O'Leary. This name is still respectable in the south of Ireland. O'Leary was seated for some centuries at Carrignacurra, now Castle-Masters, and his territory was co-extensive with the parish of Inchageelagh, *alias* Iveleary, in the barony of West Muskerry, and county of Cork. But, before the English invasion, Tuaith-an-Dolaidh, O'Leary's Country, extended from the Fearsat [*Trajectus*] of Ross to Loch-an-Bricin, and from Traigh-long to Sidh-na-bhfear-bfinn, in the diocese of Ross.—*D. Mac Firb.*, p. 677.

[y] Both now unknown.

[z] This is correct, but out of place here.—See note [n], p. 273, on Muscraidhe-Thire, *suprà*.

[a] This is an error.—See note [d], p. 272, *suprà*.

[b] An erroneous repetition.—See note [x], p. 274, *suprà*.

[c] This should be O'Floinn, lord of Muscraidhe-Ui-Fhloinn, *alias* Muscraidhe-Mitine. The name and extent of this territory are preserved in the deanery of Musgrylin, comprising fifteen parishes in the north-west of the county of Cork. — See *Book of Rights*, p. 44.

[d] This is incorrect.—See note [r], p. 267, *suprà*. The Ui-Eathach were the O'Mahonys and the O'Donohoes. O'Duibhda-

eadhaigh[k], and O'Gillamichill, dynasts of Ui Cobhthaigh; O'Heiderscoil[l], lord of Corca Laighdhe; O'Comhraidhe[m], O'Muimhne[n], O'Dorchaidhe[o], O'Ciabhaigh[p], O'Dubhgara[q], and O'Dunlaing[r], his dynasts; O'Domhnaill, lord of Ui-Nethrish[s], O'Baire[t], O'Cochlain[u], and O'Sealbhaigh[w], three dynasts to O'Domhnaill; O'Laeghaire[x], O'Duilin, and O'Deasamnaidh[y], other dynasts to O'Domhnaill; O'Dunghalaigh, lord of Muscraidhe Thire[z]; O'Donnchaidh, lord of Ui-Conaill-Gabhra[a]; O'Ciaran, lord of Ui-Miccaille[b]; O'Floinn, lord of Muscraidhe[c]; O'Duibhdabhoireann, lord of Ui n-Eathach[d]; O'hAnmchaidh[e], lord of Ui Liathain; O'Donnagain, lord of Ard-O'Conghaile[f]; O'Bilre, lord of Corca-Duibhne[g]; Mac Conchoraidh, lord of Ui-Fidhgeinte[h]; O'Bric, lord of the Deisi[i]; three lords of Muscraidhe-Mitine[k], O'Donnagain, O'Cuileannean, and O'Floinn, whose two dynasts were O'Maelfabhaill[l] and O'Mu-

bhoireann is here intended as an *alias* name for O'Donohoe; for Donnchadh, *a quo* O'Donohoe was the O' or grandson of Duibhdabhoireann, King of Munster, who was slain in 957. O'Duibhdabhoireann of Thomond was seated at Lisdoonvarna, in the barony of Burren, and county of Clare.

[e] This is correct, but should have been given above.—See note [k], p. 273, *suprà*.

[f] Now Donegan. This family was seated at Ballydonnagan and Rhinodonnagan, in the barony of Beare, in the extreme south-western part of the county of Cork.

[g] The lord of Corca-Duibhne was O'Falvy. —See note [e], p. 272, *suprà*. According to O'h-Uidhrin, O'Bilre was one of the dynasts of Ui-Conaill-Gabhra.

[h] This is intended for Mac Indeirghe, now Mac Eniry; but it is not correct, as O'Donovan was usually the chief lord of all the Ui-Fidhgeinte; but he was sometimes set aside by O'Cleircin, now O'Cleireahcain, and by O'Kinealy, O'Coileain, and O'Flannabhra, families that dwindled into farmers and cottiers several centuries since. O'Donovan and O'Coileain, now Collins, were driven from the plains of Ui-Fidhgeinte, in the twelfth century; but Mac Eniry remained in his original territory of Corca-Muichet, now Corcomohid, in the south of the county of Limerick, where he erected a monastery, and was possessed of a considerable estate up to the period of the revolution.—See *Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 419, where, under the head of CASTLETOWN MAC ENEIRY, in the barony of Conello, formerly the seat of Mac Eniry Archdall writes, or rather quotes from O'Halloran: "Here we find the ruins of a very large monastery, and some other public buildings, which sufficiently evince the piety, dignity, and splendour of that ancient family." — See note [u], p. 271, *suprà*. Dr. Mac Eniry, P. P. of Tralee, is the most distinguished man of this family now in Ireland.

[i] According to O'h-Uidhrin and Keating, O'Bric was lord of the southern Deisi, now Decies, in the county of Waterford.

[k] This is erroneous. O'Floinn was lord of Muscraidhe Mitine, and O'Donnagain and O'Culleannain were lords of Muscraidhe Tri-Maighe.—See note [c], p. 276, *suprà*.

[l] Now unknown.

O'Moelfebhill et O'Muraigh; O'Ciabha, dynasta de Tuaithdromma; O'Gillagain, dynasta de Tuaithongillogain; O'Nya, dynasta de Tuathonia; O'Carthaigh, dynasta de Tuaithnaruseach; O'Dorchaidh, dynasta de Tuaithanhachaidh. Finis.

Non sum nescius optimo poemati me decus omne detraxisse quòd insignis fragmenti, compage solutâ parces tumultuariè dissipavi, sicut teretem fabricam lapidum distractio venustate spoliat. Missum tamen illud facere non volui, ut ex tam locupleti monumento constaret, qui, ante Anglos huc ingressos, Hiberniæ regiones incoluerunt. Pleræque autem e memoratis in isto poemate gentibus, sub initio nuperi belli, non solùm in rerum naturâ extiterunt, sed etiam aliæ in aliquo pristinæ ditionis angulo perstiterunt, aliæ latissimis latifundiis potiti sunt.

Percurri scriptum, quod iter quorundam a Joanne Perrotto Hiberniæ prorege, per Conaciam, et Tomoniam, anno post Christum natum 1585, stati reditûs, Reginæ ac priscis possessoribus præscribendi causâ delegatorum accuratè prosequitur. In toto illo decursu, nulla penè ditio fuit, in quâ originis Hibernicæ possessor censum prisci tributi vice delegatis statuentibus non referrebat. Quod etiam non obscurè scriptor rerum in Hiberniâ Joanne Perrotto prorege, gestarum innuit[80]. Atque adeo Angli ab unâ Ultoniâ subjugandâ tam procul aberant, ut nullius e Catholicis Angliæ Regibus designatione, aut Protestanticis collatione, tribus Ultoniæ Diocesibus, Derensi, Rapothensi, aut Clocherensi unquam ante Jacobum Regem, Episcopi suppeditati fuerint[81].

[80] Pag. 80, et seq. [81] Davis, p. 200.

[m] There is a territory of this name in the county of Kerry.

[n] Situation unknown. The name O'Gillagain is now anglicised Gillagan, without the prefix O'.

[o] There was a family of this name seated at Knockpatrick, near the Shannon, in the north of the county of Limerick.

[p] According to O'h-Uidhrin, O'Carthaigh dwelt in Muscraidhe Iarthair-Feimhean, a territory included in the present barony of Clanwilliam, in the county of Tipperary.

[q] Now unknown. Dr. Lynch has strangely jumbled tribes and families in this chapter, evidently from translations of O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, of which it appears there were three or four different copies, interpolated in various places from other topographical tracts by unskilful hands.

[r] Not true of some of the Leinster counties. The published inquisitions from Elizabeth to Charles II. record but one Irish name among the proprietors in the County Louth; only four in Meath, on a list of 171; about twenty-six in Westmeath, on 168; twenty in Wexford, on 155; only two, a Moore and O'Ryan, in Kildare; and not twenty Irish, on 113, in the county of

raigh; O'Ciabha, dynast of Tuath-Droma[m]; O'Gillagain, dynast of Tuaith O'nGilligain[n]; O'Nia[o], dynast of Tuaith O'Nia; O'Carthaigh[p], dynast of Tuaith na ruseach; O'Dorchaidh[q], dynast of Tuaith an hachaidh. Finis.

I know that I have destroyed the beauty of this poem by presenting its detached fragments in such a confused order; just as all beauty and order departs from the stone structure when the union of its component parts has been dissolved. Nevertheless I could not resist the temptation of publishing a document which gives so authentic an account of the families settled in Ireland before the English invasion. Most of the families mentioned in that poem were not only existing about the commencement of the late war, but some of them were even still occupying a portion of their old territories, and others enjoyed most extensive estates[r].

I read in a certain document an accurate account of the journey of certain commissioners sent by Sir John Perrott through Connaught and Thomond in the year 1585, for the purpose of fixing the cess and rent that was to be paid to the Queen and the old proprietors[s]. In that whole circuit there was scarcely a single territory in which the commissioners did not find some family of Irish origin producing its roll of ancient tribute; a fact which may be also inferred clearly enough from the author of the "Death and Deeds of Sir John Perrott." As for Ulster, so far were the English from subduing it, that no one either of the Catholic or Protestant Kings of England ever nominated or presented a Bishop to any of the three Ulster dioceses of Derry, Raphoe, or

Kilkenny. The Irish names in that county were O'Brennan of Idough, O'Ryans, and O'Shees. The last family, who removed from Iveragh, in the west of Kerry, in the fourteenth century, had a very large property in the city of Kilkenny. Far the richer and larger portion of Munster was held by the English race, especially Waterford, South Tipperary, East Cork, Limerick, &c. &c.

[s] The inquisitions to which Dr. Lynch refers are published by Mr. Hardiman.—*Iar-Connaught*, p. 303, *et seq.* They give the names of the actual proprietors, the extent of their territories, the rent which they then compounded to pay to the Queen per quarter (120 acres), the portions which they received free, and the church and abbey lands. The latter, which, in the county Mayo alone, amounted to nearly 7000 acres, were, of course, seized by the Crown, and distributed among the royal favorites. The church lands, in the same county, were then nearly 20,000 acres. The inquisitions and the levying of cess were one of the chief causes of Irish wars under Elizabeth.

Præterea Camdenus fermè in singulis Hiberniæ comitatibus, plures familias generis originem, a priscis Hibernis arcessentes, plurimos agros insedisse narrat.

Hibernis igitur natali solo tot post Giraldum fato functum sæcula, non exterminatis, et Anglorum linguâ, moribus, ac lege, non nisi tardissimè imbutis, justus Hiberniæ expugnatæ titulus Anglis, Giraldo superstite, non obvenit. Usque adeò Davisius a veritate non aberravit dicens, "Hiberniæ expugnationem partitè peractam fuisse et pedentitem ac gradatim, per varias diversis sæculis expeditiones ac insultus[82]."

Sed cur per tot ambages et anfractus ad causam evincendam eo? cùm ipse Cambrensis ultro det manus et pro me sententiam ferat, qui de industriâ operi suo caput "de morâ et impedimentis plenæ perfec-

[82] Davis, p. 9.

[t] In another place, the innovations in Irish ecclesiastical discipline, introduced by the English, will be pointed out. The King of England assumed the same power over the Irish which he enjoyed in the English Church. He granted *Conge d'Elire*, and restored temporalities, and exercised many similar prerogatives, which formed no part of the common Church law of Ireland before the invasion. When this new discipline was firmly established, the Church became the stronghold not merely of the English, but of the royal power; because in all the grants, even of palatine liberties, to the great English barons, the King reserved to himself the right of appointing sheriffs to the Crocea, or church lands, in those Palatinates.—*Davis*, p. 114. But no English king, before James I., nominated to the see of Raphoe. Elizabeth nominated Myler M'Grath (appointed Catholic Bishop of Down by the Pope) to the see of Clogher, Sept. 18, 1570; but he was removed in February following to the united sees of Cashel and Emly. Edward II. granted a *Conge d'Elire* for an election to the see of Derry, in the thirteenth year of his reign (*Rot. Pat.*), while Derry was under the power of the Red Earl, who erected the new Castle of Inishowen in 1305. The assertion of Davis, with regard to the sees of Derry and Clogher, is, therefore, not strictly correct. The Irish prelates, in Catholic times, often resisted the unjust encroachments of the Crown on the liberties of the Church. Nicholas Mac Maelisa, Archbishop of Armagh, founded an association for that object. — See note [q], p. 224, *suprà*. This resistance to the Crown Dr. Mant calls rebellion.

[u] Sir John Davis himself, as Attorney-General in Ireland, bore a distinguished part in completing the conquest. The following scene in the old abbey of Devenish, Lough Erne, where the first Fermanagh assizes were held in 1607, confronts the last of the Brehons with the English judge. In the inquiry regarding the mensal lands of the Maguire, "the jury," says Sir John, "referred themselves to an old parchment roll remaining in the hands of one O'Brislon, a chronicler and principal brehon of that country; whereupon O'Brislon was sent for, but was so aged and decrepid as he was

Clogher[t]. Camden, himself, declares that in almost every county in Ireland there were many families of old Irish race occupying very considerable properties.

The Irish, therefore, not having been exterminated during so many centuries after Giraldus, and not having embraced either English law, language, or manners, until within a very late period, it was absurd to entitle a book "The Conquest of Ireland" in the life-time of Giraldus himself. For Davis has very truly declared "that the conquest of Ireland was made piece by piece, by slow steps and degrees, and by several attempts in several ages[u]."

But where was the necessity of this tedious and circuitous proof of my position? Does not Giraldus himself decide in my favor, when he deliberately heads one of the chapters in his work "The delay and ob-

scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come we demanded of him a sight of that ancient roll. The old man, seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that it was burned, among other of his papers and books, by certain English soldiers. We were told by some that were present that this was not true. Thereupon my Lord Chancellor did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of that roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life, and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath that the roll should be restored to him again. My Lord Chancellor smilingly gave him his word and his hand, that he should have the roll redelivered to him if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon the old brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him. It was not very large, but it was written on both sides in fair Irish character."—*Hist. Tracts*, p. 262. Sir John does not state whether the roll was returned, but he confiscated the two ballibetaghs which supported the bards and brehons of Maguire, "because these persons merit no respect, but rather discountenance from the State, for they are enemies to the English government."—*Ibid.*, p. 266. Sir John also boasts that, under his administration, "the clock of the civil government was well set, and all the wheels thereof did move in order; the strings of this Irish harp, which the magistrate doth finger, are all in tune,"—i. e. by the extension of English law to all the Irish, *nominally*, but, in reality, not to one-tenth of them. The new system of exclusion from equal English law was more general and more oppressive than that which it had supplanted. The mere Irish alone were formerly excluded; but the system inaugurated by Sir John excluded not only the mere Irish, but also the Anglo-Irish who professed the old creed, and they were nine-tenths of Ireland. "What is it that hath been done? The same that shall be done?" "There is nothing new under the sun."

tæque conquisitionis[83]" inseruit. Et in eodem capite eam rem bis expressit his verbis: "Gens Hibernica nondum vel omnino meruit subjici vel deleri, aut Anglorum populus gentis ex parte subactæ et servire paratæ nondum plenæ subjectionis imperium, et tranquillæ servitutis obsequium potuit obtinere." Et paulo infra: "Neuter populus ex toto vel meruisse gratiam, vel demeruisse videtur: ut nec ille ad plenum victor in Palladis hactenûs arcem victoriosus ascenderit; nec iste victus omnino plenæ servitutis jugo colla submiserit." Et alibi: "Hiberniæ regio a nostris majori ex parte nondum habita vel efficaciter occupata est[84]." Quare in Giraldum alieno a veritate titulo librum exornantem illud Lisandri torqueri potest, qui, cùm Athenienses non virtute, sed insidiis vicisset eisque fame pressis, urbem in fidem suam accepisset, scripsit Ephoris, "captæ sunt Athenæ[85]," perinde quasi vi rem gessisset, gloriam aucupans mendacio.

[83] Hib. Expug., lib. ii. c. 33. [84] Præfatio 2da, Hib. Expug. [85] Plutarch.

[w] There is a singular passage in the Annals of Grace and Pembridge at the year 1186, from which it would appear that the conquest of Ireland "went no further" ("ibi cessavit conquestus") "after the death of Hugh de Lacy," who was slain in that year. The passage is cited by Finglass also.—*Harris, Hib.*, p. 85. It means, probably, that no man pushed on the conquest with a vigor and system equal to Hugh de Lacy, who castellated all Meath from the Shannon to the sea, and thus secured far the greater part of his conquests for ever against the power of the native Irish. Of many of the other Anglo-Norman invaders' possessions, it might be truly said in the words of Giraldus, that they were not "efficaciter occupata."

[x] In his dissertation on conquest, Dr. Lynch has omitted one important consideration, the spirit of the people, the soul that survives the wreck of old institutions, and animates not only those Irish generations who know nothing of old Irish laws, language, or manners, but even infects the settlers of the dominant race. This spirit is said to characterize the Irish in a very eminent degree. "There are nations," says Aug. Thierry, "with retentive memories, whom the thought of independence does not abandon even in servitude, and who, resisting against habit, which is elsewhere so powerful, even after the lapse of ages, still detest and abjure the condition to which a superior power has reduced them. Such is the Irish nation. It is in vain that English power has exhausted itself in efforts to extinguish that memory, to make

stacles to the full and perfect Conquest." And in the course of that same chapter, he expressly records the fact in two different passages: "The Irish nation," he says, "has not yet been extirpated, or completely conquered; nor has the English nation been able to secure the submission of the contented slave, and the enjoyment of full dominion among a people who are but partly subdued, and are not content to be slaves." A little further on he says, "that neither of the nations had yet fully deserved or received grace. So that the English have not yet been able to ascend with all the glory of victory to the citadel of Minerva; nor are the Irish so broken that they tamely bow their necks to the yoke." In another passage he says, "that the greater part of Ireland has not as yet been seized, or firmly occupied, by our countrymen[w]." Now as Giraldus has adorned his work with so false a title, may we not justly compare him to Lysander, who, after having reduced the Athenians, not by superior valor, but by stratagem and the pressure of famine, and, after having made terms with their city, sent home to the Ephori, "Athens is taken!"—intimating thereby that he had taken it by the sword, in order to blazon his own glory by a lie[x]."

the conquest be forgotten, and make the results of armed invasion be considered as the exercise of a legal authority; nothing has been able to destroy Irish obstinacy. In despite of seductions, menaces, and tortures, fathers have bequeathed it to their sons." —*Historical Essays*, vii. Mr. Moore has somewhere described the fond memory of "the long-faded glories" of the past, as the predominant national passion; but his own well-known lines, "the nations are fallen," breathe a different spirit—the spirit of undying hope, which illumines even the darkest pages of our history. Poets, historians, and controversialists, from the prosaic Duald Mac Firbis down to Henry Grattan in 1800, all promise brighter days in the end. The former, contemplating the miserable wreck of Irish and Anglo-Irish in 1650–60, bows to the will of Providence, but exclaims, in his own native Irish, "aċt, faiṗṗing Ḋia 'sa ċúṁgaċ,"—"God is wide in a strait," a sentiment differing only in form from the inspired imagery of Grattan in his last speeches in the Irish Parliament: "I do not despair of my country; though in her tomb she is helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty:

"Thou art not conquered,—beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there."—*Speeches*, vol. iv. p. 21.

CAPUT IV.[a]

QUOD GIRALDUS AD RES HIBERNICAS SCRIPTO COMMITTENDAS VARIIS DE CAUSIS MINIMÈ IDONEUS FUIT.

[30] Civis magis aptus ad historiam patriæ scribendam quàm peregrinus.—Hallicarnassæus historiam Romanam magis fidè scripsit quàm scriptores Romani.—Giraldus historias Hibernicas non scrutatus est, et linguam Hibernicam ignoravit.—Clari historici ob linguæ ignorationem lapsi sunt. [31] Historici dotes.—Giraldus non fuit de linguâ Hibernicâ solicitus discendâ.—Giraldus temporis rationem non duxit.—Non peragravit Hiberniam.—Quàm fragilis fides ejus qui audita scribit. [32] Cambrensis Hibernicæ gentis hostis.—Hosti scribenti res hostis non credendum.—Non potest esse quis bonus orator et historicus.—Qualis historicus Hector Boëtius.—Giraldus suos laudibus, hostes probriis cumulat. [33] Giraldus hostis Hibernorum.—Author consilii pejor quàm executor. —Quot malorum fuit author Giraldus. —Monita Giraldi et perfida et crudelia.—Rex Conaciæ obtinuit regnum suum ab Henrico II.—Pristina potestas Hibernis Richardo II. Rege mansit. [34] Fides hosti servanda.—Crudelia Giraldi monita.—Crudelior facinora malè authoribus cesserunt.—Quantum malum, ecclesiasticum malitiæ deditum esse? [35] Scriptoribus omnibus contrarius.—Sibi contrarius.—Giraldus sibi contradicit.—Sibi non aliis consuluit.—Giraldus in amicos benevola verba, in adversarios calumnias effudit.—Stanihurstus minimi fecit Topographiam et Hiberniam Expugnatam Cambrensis. [36] Laus Stanihursti.—Musicæ Hibernicæ laus.—Lyricinos vituperat Stanihurstus.—Camus O'Caruill, cytharædus insignis.—Hiberni musicæ periti.—Varietas amantium et aversantium musicam.—Musicæ mutatio. [37] Descriptio lyræ.—Nova lyra Patris Nugentii.

[30] | QUÀM remotus ab historici officio adimplendo Giraldus fuerit, lectori ob oculos uberiùs infra ponemus. Nunc quàm parum iis dotibus instructus fuerit quæ historicum quemque decent ostendere conabimur. Frequens est inter scriptores disceptatio civesne an peregrini ad gentis facta literis consignanda sint magis accomodati. Quidam peregrino historiæ scribendæ munus conferendum esse prorsus negant. Nimirum ille res gestas auditu tantùm, civis aspectu comperit. Domesticus quæ domi gesta sunt, fideliùs quàm quispiam e viciniâ accersitus narrat: indigenæ sua meliùs quàm advenæ norunt. Ut non invitus in sententiam Nebrissensis eam dicentis peregrinis hominibus historiæ fidem concedi non debere, "Rerum enim peregrinarum (ut ait Franciscus

[a] In this, and the following chapters, Dr. Lynch wastes a great fund of elegant language, learning, and argument, on the qualifications of Giraldus to write on Irish affairs. Stephen White devotes five chapters of his *Apologia* to the same subject. In their day Giraldus was the standard authority in England, as he continues to be, on many points, to the present day. "Since the publishing of Giraldus Cambrensis," says O'Flaherty, "he is the only *Notitia Hiberniæ* followed by English writers."—*Iar-Connaught*, p. 437. We need not give many additional illustrations of the charac-

CHAPTER IV.

MANY REASONS TO PROVE THAT GIRALDUS WAS BY NO MEANS QUALIFIED TO WRITE ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

[30] A native is better qualified to write the history of his country than a foreigner.—The history of Rome more faithfully written by Dionysius of Halicarnassus than by many Roman writers.—Giraldus did not consult Irish authorities, and was ignorant of the Irish language.—The most celebrated historians have fallen into errors through ignorance of languages. [31] Qualifications of the historian.—Giraldus took no pains to learn the Irish language.—He neglected chronology.—Did not travel through all Ireland.—Little respect due to him who merely retails what he hears. [32] Giraldus an enemy of the Irish nation. — No credit due to an enemy describing the affairs of his enemy.—A mere orator cannot be a good historian.—Character of Hector Boetius' histories.—Giraldus eulogizes his friends, and calumniates his enemies. [33] His hostility to the Irish. —The man that counsels is worse than he who executes a bad design.—Fatal measures recommended by Giraldus.—Perfidy and cruelty of his counsels.—The King of Connaught obtained his kingdom from Henry III.—The Irish retained their ancient authority to the days of Richard II. [34] Faith must be kept with an enemy. — Cruel advice of Giraldus. — Cruelty recoiled on its authors.—How horrible that an ecclesiastic should be addicted to war! [35] Giraldus at variance with all authors.—Contradicts himself.—His inconsistencies.—Influenced by private not public motives.—He lavishes honeyed flattery on his friends, calumnies on his enemies.—Stanihurst's low opinion of Giraldus's Topography and Conquest of Ireland. [36] Eulogy on Stanihurst.—Excellence of Irish music.—Stanihurst's censures on the Irish harpers.—Camus O'Carroll a celebrated harper.—Musical skill of the Irish.—Difference of taste—some persons disliking, others admiring music.—Change in the character of Irish music. [37] Description of the harp.—Improved harp of Father Nugent.

RESERVING for the course of this work the more detailed evidences of Giraldus's flagrant violations of the duties of an historian, I shall now endeavour to prove that in all those qualifications which recommend the historian, he was miserably deficient[a]. It is a question much debated among writers, whether a native or a foreigner be the better adapted for composing the history of a nation. A foreigner, some maintain, is utterly unfit for the task; he can know from authority only the events which the native sees with his own eyes. A member of a family can give a more trustworthy account of family events than a person called in from the neighbourhood; natives are better acquainted with their own affairs than strangers, so that there ought to be little hesitation in subscribing to the opinion of Lebrixa, that "foreigners are unsafe guides on the history of a nation." "No person," says Fran-

ter of Giraldus as an historian and a priest. His autobiography gives his own estimate of his character. "I have not," he says, "been what I ought to be, but upon the whole no man was better qualified than myself to succeed St. Thomas of Canterbury."

Patricius) nemo tantam peritiam habere censendus est, ut earum perfectam historiam scribere possit[1]." Nec ob aliam opinor causam Ferdinandus Regum sui temporis prudentissimus maluit homini grammatico Hispano quàm Angelo Politiano, Hermolao Barbaro, aut Pico Mirandulæ hominibus Italis tunc eruditione et eloquentiâ celeberrimis rerum a se et Isabellâ conjuge gestarum scriptionem committere. Ipse quoque Nebrissensis qui eam historiam puro quidem sermone, et sincerâ fide, omnium testimonio scripsit, in suâ ad Ferdinandum dedicatione liberè profitetur, hominem externum ex animo res alterius gentis scribere non posse, resque Hispanicas non minùs Italis notas esse quàm Hispanio Italicas. Et juxta vulgatum adagium, multò callidiorem esse domi suæ insipientem, quàm sapientem alienæ. Itaque minùs consideratè ad res Hibernicas scriptis mandandas animum Giraldus adjecit, quòd alienigena cùm fuerit, in historiarum Hibernicarum adyta penetrare non potuerit.

Nec a meâ me sententiâ illorum adducet assertio, qui dicunt Dionysii Hallicarnassæi hominis Græci majorem in Historiâ Romanâ fidem esse, quàm Livii, Tranquilli[?], Taciti, Arriani; quippe licèt de alienâ Republicâ non de suâ scripserit, tamen omnium commentarios, ac civitatis arcana ex actis publicis collegit. Nimirum Varroni, Tuberoni, et Pomperio magno magnâ benevolentiâ conjunctus erat, et de Romanis multo veriùs ac meliùs scripsit, quàm Fabius, Salustius, aut Cato, qui in suâ Republicâ opibus ac honoribus floruerunt[2]. Nec a susceptâ semel opinione illi me avertent, qui libenter Cæsari de Gallorum moribus scribenti, aut Tacito de Germanis, aut Polybio de Romanis, aut Amiano de Francis assentiuntur, cùm peregrini essent, "et eorum de quibus scripserunt, antiquitates plenè cognitas haberent[3]." Quòd si Giraldus is esset, ut antiquitates Hiberniæ penitus perspectas habuerit, et nihil non e monumentis Hibernicis hausisset, ei licèt peregrino assensum non inviti præbuissemus. Sed cùm in monumentis incorruptis, ac antiquitatibus evolvendis et evulgandis tenuissimum conatum adhibuerit: et præterea Hibernicæ linguæ ignoratione laboraverit : nemo miretur suspicionem erroris hinc a nobis illi creari.

[1] Dial. 6, de Histor. [2] Possevin. tom. ii. lib. xvi. cap. 13. [3] Bodini. Method. Historiæ, lib. i. c. iv.

[b] That is, he wrote Greek, Latin, and Hebrew grammars. But he also wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, and several learned works on history, belles lettres,

ciscus Patricius, "can be supposed to master so familiar an acquaintance with foreign affairs as would enable him to write a perfect history." This was, in my opinion, what induced Ferdinand, one of the wisest princes of his time, to intrust his own history, and that of his Queen Isabella, to a Spanish grammarian[b], rather than to the Italians, Angelo Politiano, or Hermolao Barbaro, or Pica Mirandula, the most learned and eloquent men of their age. Lebrixa himself, the author of that history, whose correctness and honesty are universally admitted, openly declares in his dedication to Ferdinand, that a writer could never throw his soul into the history of a foreign nation; that the affairs of Spain were as little known to the Italians as those of Italy to the Spaniards; for, according to the adage, a fool at home knows more than a wise man abroad. It was, therefore, more imprudent for Giraldus to venture to write on the affairs of Ireland, because, being a foreigner, he could not explore the secret sources of Irish history.

It may be said that Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, though a Greek, is a better authority on the history of Rome than Livy, Tranquillus, Tacitus, or Arrian; but this assertion does not affect my position, because, though Rome was a foreign state to him, he compiled his history from authentic sources, the archives of the state, and all preceding writers. He was on terms of intimate familiarity with Varro, Tubero, and Pompey the Great; and thus was able to write with more truth and judgment on Roman affairs than those wealthy and distinguished citizens of Rome, Fabius, Sallust, or Cato. Neither is it a solid objection to my opinion, to urge the ready credit given to Cæsar on the Gauls, or Tacitus on the Germans, or Polybius on the Romans, or Ammianus on the Franks, because, though foreigners, they were perfectly acquainted with the antiquities of the nations on which they wrote. If Giraldus had been well versed in Irish antiquities, and had drawn his history from Irish monuments solely, his country should not disentitle him to our willing confidence. But as he never took the slightest trouble in inspecting or publishing our authentic documents or antiquities, and as he was totally ignorant of the Irish language, no person should be surprised if we suspect his authority.

mathematics, jurisprudence, &c. He was twenty years professor in the University of Salamanca, and was employed by Cardinal Ximenes in editing the Polyglot Bible.

Plutarchus præstantissimus scriptor, in Romanorum antiquitate interdum lapsus est: utpote linguam se Latinam non satis intellexisse in vitâ Demosthenis confitetur. Appianus etiam quo nemo civilia Romanorum bella diligentiùs, aut copiosiùs scripsit, cùm vir fuerit Ægyptius, et Romanam linguam non satis calluerit, in Romanorum antiquitatibus, et ipse dicitur aliquando offendisse. Diodorus in Romanorum antiquitate a Livio, et Dionysio ubique ferè discrepat; quod illi linguæ Latinæ imperitiâ contigisse Bodinus existimat[4]. Memorati certè
[31] scriptores magis errore | labebantur, et veritatis ignoratione, quàm quòd mentiri vellent. Sic quæ Græci veteres et Romani de Celtis, aut Romani de Chaldæis et Hebræis tradiderunt, magnâ ex parte, falsa esse deprehenduntur.

Sed esto peregrinum eam historiæ partem expedire posse, quæ nostræ, patrum, avorum, aut proavorum memoriæ homines describit, aut actiones, vel res gestas enumerat; is tamen eam quæstionem in historiâ fælicetir explicare non potest, quæ de primo regionum incolatu, aut de vetustâ gentis alicujus origine tractat. Etenim "linguæ antiquæ ad origines perscrutandas imprimis necessariæ censentur, et prima nomina longo temporis situ obsoleta, in barbaris linguis ut antiquioribus conservari docet Plato in Cratylo[5]." Diodorus Siculus non solùm ut ipse loquitur, "omnia imperii Romani gesta ex vetustis quæ apud illos asservantur monumentis desumpsit, sed etiam magnam linguæ Romanæ cognitionem adeptus est. Ut appositè dictum fuerit, multa nos fugere propter ignorationem linguæ primigeniæ[6]." Nam ut Bodinus ait[7]; tria sunt argumenta quibus gentium origines haberi, ac rectè judicari possunt. Primùm in spectatâ fide scriptoris, alterum in linguæ vestigiis, tertium in regionis situ, et descriptione; quam partitionem se Camdenus amplecti non obscurè indicat dicens: "quæ ad latentem antiquitatis veritatem eruendam faciunt, neutiquam a me neglecta fuerunt. Subsidio mihi antiquissimæ linguæ Britannicæ et Anglo-Saxonicæ notitiam qualemcunque comparavi. Angliam ferè omnem peragravi, publica regni commentaria, scrinia, et archiva excussi;" veterum vestigiis in hâc re acriter insistens: nam optimi scriptores[8], quò major suis scriptis fides haberetur, e publicis monu-

[4] Ubi suprà. [5] Camden, p. 18. [6] Emblem. Alciat., p. 825. [7] In Præfat. [8] Bodinus, ubi suprà.

Plutarch confesses in his life of Demosthenes, that he had not a good knowledge of the Latin language, and hence, though so eminent in other departments, he fell into some errors on the ancient history of Rome. Appian's errors, on the same subject, arose from the same cause. No writer has left us a more diligent and detailed account of the civil wars of the Romans; but, being an Egyptian, he was not perfect master of the old language of Rome. Diodorus differs in almost every page of his Roman antiquities from Dionysius and Livy, in consequence, as Bodinus thinks, of his ignorance of the Latin language. The errors of those writers arose from ignorance, not from a design to mislead. What the Greeks and Romans wrote of the Celts, and the Romans of the Hebrews and Chaldeans, are, in like manner, generally found to be false.

A foreigner might perhaps do some justice to contemporaneous history, or events of no distant date, such as the actions of the fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers of the men of his own day; but he never can trace, with any success, the original peopling of a country, or the ancient origin of a nation. The ancient languages are indispensably necessary for tracing the origin of nations; and it is in the language of barbarians, as being the most ancient, "that we may find, as Plato teaches in Cratylus, those primitive words, which are long since obsolete." Diodorus Siculus not only (as he tells us) "compiled his history of the Roman state from the ancient national archives, but also made himself well acquainted with the Roman language; so true is the observation that ignorance of the original language is a great bar to knowledge." For, according to Bodinus, "there are three tests for tracing and deciding on the origin of nations; first, the testimony of trustworthy writers; next, the relics of its ancient tongue; and, thirdly, the geographical position and description of the country." Such also appear to have been Camden's views, as announced in the following extract: "I have neglected nothing that could be of any use in throwing light on the obscure facts of ancient history. I have acquired a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon, and of the most ancient British language. I have travelled through every part of England, and examined the public documents of the realm, and archives and libraries." In this he only followed the example of the ancients; for it has been usual with the best writers, in order to give weight to their works, to pro-

mentis ea se collegisse aiunt. Sic Ammianus se Gallorum antiquitates e publicis illorum monumentis in lucem eruisse profitetur. Similiter Arrianus statim initio scripsit se Regis Ptolomæi, qui Alexandri magni rebus ubique interfuit, commentarios non priùs evulgatos legisse. Itidem Appianus Augusti scripta, Metastenes et Ctesias publica Persarum monumenta, Diodorus Ægyptiorum, de quibus scripsit, arcana se vidisse testatur. Thucydides magnis sumptibus ingeniosos exploratores ad inquirendam rei veritatem aluit, ut similem diligentiam a Dyonisio, et Diodoro in historiâ Romanâ condendâ supra memoratam missam faciam. Sanctus Hieronimus Palestinæ peregrinationem, adhibitis Hebræorum eruditissimis ad sacræ scripturæ intelligentiam sibi multùm profuisse testatur: ad ipsum divinæ scripturæ quæstiones explicandæ referebantur. Illum Damasus Pontifex, illum Sanctus Augustinus de locis scripturæ difficillimis sæpè consuluit, propter ejus singularem doctrinam, et linguæ non solùm Latinæ et Græcæ, sed Hæbraicæ et Chaldaicæ intelligentiam. Giraldum autem ab his diversam prorsus viam ingressum linguæ primùm Hibernicæ addiscendæ cura non tetigit, nec enim ei se percipiendæ operam impendisse usquam indicat, homo alioqui in suâ sedulitate prædicandâ plus nimio gloriatus. Nec tam diuturnam in Hiberniâ moram contraxit, ut vel mediocrem Hibernicæ linguæ cognitionem comparare potuerit. Bis enim se in Hiberniam trajecisse innuit, semel fratrem suum Philippum comitatus, eumque ac avunculum Stephanidem, "plurimùm consilio juvans[9]," ut ipse scribit. Iterum Joanni Regis Henrici filio duodecimum ætatis annum non supergresso institutor adhibitus[10]. Quo autem anno, duabus hisce vicibus, in Hiberniam transmisit non ex ipso sed aliunde cognovimus. Nullam enim in toto fere historiæ discursu temporis indicandi rationem ducit: cùm tamen "apud quos historicos ratio temporum non cohæret, nec veritatis, neque historicæ fidei ratio ulla possit constare[11]." Præterea in duas, Hibernia, terniones, pedem nunquam, intulit. Nec enim per hosticum excurrere ausus est, ubi, ut ipse loquitur, "capti decapitati, non redempti sed interempti fuerunt[12]." Et

[9] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 18. [10] Ibid. c. 32; Davis, p. 19. [11] Possevin. ubi suprà, cap. 10. [12] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cap. 36.

[c] Giraldus visited Ireland a third time, to consult with his friends after his second election to the see of St. David; but he remained not more than a few weeks in the country on that occasion.—*De Rebus a se gestis, &c. &c., Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 507.

fess that they compiled them from public documents. Ammianus declares that his antiquities of the Gauls were taken from their national archives. Arrian, too, states, in the first page of his book, that he had read the unpublished commentaries of King Ptolemy, who took an active part in the whole reign of Alexander the Great. Metasthenes and Ctesias appeal to the public monuments of the Persians, while Appian declares he read the secret commentaries of Augustus, and Diodorus the secret mysteries of the Egyptians. Thucydides supported, at great cost, a staff of experienced and learned men to aid him in his researches; and, not to mention that Dionysius and Diodorus used the same diligence in their Roman history, we have St. Jerome declaring that his pilgrimage to Palestine, and the co-operation of profound Hebrew scholars, had been most useful to him in understanding the Scripture. Disputed questions on the interpretation of Scripture were referred to him. He was often consulted by Pope Damasus and by St. Augustine, on the most difficult texts, on account of his great learning and his profound knowledge, not only of the Greek and Latin, but also of the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages. Very different was the plan adopted by Giraldus; he never thought of taking the trouble to learn the Irish language; he does not intimate such an intention in any part of his work, though he never loses an opportunity of extolling his diligence. His stay in Ireland, too, was not sufficiently protracted to give him even a meagre acquaintance with the Irish tongue. He was in Ireland twice; first in company with his brother Philip and his uncle Stephen, whom he boasts to have helped by his advice; next, as tutor to Prince John, who had not then attained his twelfth year[c]. The precise date of these two voyages we must guess from other sources, for he does not give in any part of his work the least clue to decide them, though he ought to have known "that neither truth nor historical weight can be expected from those historians whose chronology is deficient or inconsistent." Moreover he never set his foot on two-thirds of Ireland[d]. He would not venture his person in a hostile country, where, to use his own words, "the captured were decapitated, not ransomed, but de-

[d] Giraldus does not inform us of the extent of his travels in Ireland. In the preface to his second edition of the Conquest, he asserts that he had visited "the western parts" of the island, but what those western parts were he does not state. It is probable that they were some part of Munster.

situm locorum, quos nunquam oculis obivit, quomodo aut oratione accuratè complecti, aut lectori ob oculos concinnè ponere potuit? de cæterâ supellectile quam ad historiam suam struendam cumulavit, opportunior erit infra dicendi locus. Id modò affirmare non dubito rumusculis illum unicè inhiâsse; ac proinde historias ejus explodendas: cùm Bodinus dicat: eorum narrationes minùs esse probandas qui nihil aliud
[32] habent quàm | quod ab aliis audierunt." Et Melchior Canus: "Homines graves atque severos non solere inanem vulgi sermonem aucupari."

Quòd si peregrini conditio, aut Hibernicæ linguæ inscitia non impediat quominus justi historici titulum Giraldus referat: id saltem eum historicorum albo citra controversiam expunget, quòd Hibernicæ gentis hostis infestissimus fuit. Negant enim authores optimi fidorum scriptorum classi eum ascribendum, qui genti, cujus res ad posteritatem scripto transmisit, hostis esse dignoscitur: "Quum enim de hostibus vituperatione digna leguntur, cohibenda est assensio," inquit Bodinus qui monet, "cavendum imprimis esse, ne scriptori de se suisque civibus, et amicis quæ laudabilia sunt, aut de hostibus turpia scribenti, facilè assentiamur. Contra verò minimè dubiam fidem eorum esse quæ de hostibus laudabiliter et gloriosè gesta confitemur[13]." Quam ob causam Polybius homo Græcus sæpè mendacii coarguit Fabium, et Philimum, quòd alter Romanus, alter Carthaginiensis de bello Punico ita scripserunt, ut ille præclara omnia de Romanis; de Pœnis contrà: Philimus Pœnos omnia laudabiliter ac fortiter (sic enim Polybius), Romanos turpiter et ignaviter gessise dicens. Nam uterque ad scribendum ita se comparavit ut oratores, qui hoc imprimis cavent, ne quid contra seipsos dicant aut sentiant. Sed fieri nullo modo potest, ut idem boni oratoris et historici partes agat. Imò ipsi Romani in hostium vitia creduli, in non paucis, etiam ingenii sui figmento injurii fuerunt: et non solùm res eorum gestas turpiter omiserunt, sed eosdem etiam atroci verborum contumeliâ notârunt; suarum verò laudum præcones ac-

[13] Ubi suprà.

[e] Giraldus repeatedly asserts that he adopted no statement on Irish matters without good authority. Thus, in his Retractations, "hoc," he says, "pro certo sciendum, quod quorundam, quinimo et quam plurium per diligentem et certam indagationem a magnis terræ illius et authenticis viris notitiam alicuimus."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 455.

[f] This argument, if urged to its logical

stroyed." How, then, could he describe accurately, or give his reader a defined picture of those regions on which he never set his eyes? In another place I shall have a better opportunity for examining his other qualifications for history. For the present, suffice it to say, that his great and sole object was to heap together popular stories[e], and, therefore, his history ought to be exploded. "There can be no dependence," says Bodinus, "on those who have nothing to write but what they heard from others." And Melchior Canus: "Grave and prudent men do not adopt the silly stories of the vulgar."

But though the fact of his being a stranger, or his ignorance of the Irish language, should not impeach Giraldus's title to the fame of a good historian, at least his inveterate hostility to the Irish nation must undoubtedly disqualify him. For all writers of authority decide that no confidence can be placed in the writings of a man who is known to have been an enemy to those on whose affairs he writes[f]. "When an enemy is the subject of a discreditable narrative, we must withhold our assent." This is the advice of Bodinus, who adds, "that we must be on our guard, and not too easily credit a writer when he panegyrizes his friends or vituperates his enemies. But he should have our unhesitating assent when he praises his enemies, and honestly admits their noble deeds." Polybius, a Greek, has exposed many false statements of Fabius and Philimus, in their histories of the Punic wars. In the pages of the former, who was a Roman, all the acts of the Romans are worthy of heroes; while, with the latter, the Romans are unprincipled cowards, and the Carthaginians, his own countrymen, are extolled to the stars. They wrote history on the principle of the orator, whose chief care is to admit nothing that may be prejudicial to himself. But the same man can never combine on the same subject the characteristic excellencies of the historian and the orator. The Romans, themselves, who were ready to believe evil of their enemies, often indulged their prejudices by slanders deliberately invented. Not only did they shamefully suppress all the good deeds of the enemy, but they often attempted to brand them with the most atrocious calumnies, while everything cre-

consequences, would destroy the authority of all the writings of Giraldus, especially of his works on Wales. He was not less hostile to his own countrymen than to the Irish, nor less zealous at one time for their subjugation to England.—*Infrà*, p. 296, n. g.

curatissimi fuerunt, et hoc exemplo Giraldi scelus extenuari posse videatur, nisi sceleratorum vestigiis insistens, a scelerati titulo immunitatem nancisci non possit; etenim exemplo non leviorem delicti pœnam feret.

Quam sententiam de Hectore quoque Boethio ferre licet, quem Stanihurstus scribit: "magnâ quidem ambitione de gentis suæ gloriâ laborâsse; in quo sanè conatu et patriæ et dignitati et suæ existimationi parum consuluit. Hoc enim jam apud doctos est assecutus, ut cùm veritatis gratiâ omnia se scripsisse videri vellet nihil ferè verum arbitrentur quòd scripsit." Ut hinc Humfrædus Lhuyddus impurissimum hominem eum appellet, epigramma in eum a Lelando cusum deinde adjungens

"Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia scripsit,
Si vis, ut numerem, lector amice, tibi,
Me jubeas fluctus etiam numerare marinos,
Et liquidi stellas connumerare poli[14]."

Cùm autem Giraldus a Boethii et ejusdem farinæ scriptorum consuetudine non recesserit et suos encomiis honoraverit, hostes opprobriis oneraverit, non immeritò quidam eum his versibus pupugit:

"Cambrensis Britonum mores nomenque Giraldus
Et grandi patrias laude recenset opes
Sed virus animi depromens corde maligno.
Acer in Hibernos dira venena spuit
Ut canis, ignotos rabido qui mordet hiatu
Blanditurque nimis caudâ agitante suis,
Stultus adulator clarum fallacibus umbris
Sed contra solem testis iniquus agit.
Et gravibus testata aliis scriptoribus audet
Perfidus hic calamo dilacerare suo.
Lubrica fucatis æquans, mendacia scriptis
Proh pudor! historicam destruit ille fidem
Porro disparibus libros excessibus implet
Quilibet errorem lector utrumque videt.
Quam quærit famam, famosus perdit amando
Bardus, scriptoris signa furentis habens.
Indulsit studiis, nec dicere falsa pepercit
Non veram historiam condidit, at satyram
[33] | Ergo dum mendax mala laudat et optima damnat.
Nullius est ejus dignus honore liber."

[14] In Monæ descriptione adjectâ Defensioni Britanniæ Priscæ, p. 18.

ditable to themselves was most diligently recorded. Their example would extenuate Giraldus's guilt, if the criminal could plead in his justification that he only followed in the footsteps of other criminals. Example is, in such case, no ground for mitigation of punishment.

Hector Boethius deserves the same character. Stanihurst says of him: "He labored with all his might for the glory of his nation; but his vain ambition was prejudicial to his country, to her honor, and to his own reputation. For to this point have his works now come, that the learned hardly believe there is one word of truth in them, though he wished to appear as writing for truth's-sake alone." Thus Humphrey Lhyud stigmatizes him as a most abandoned fellow, and quotes Leland's epigram:

"A list of Hector's lies—his lies in history!
Pray ask it not, dear reader, 'tis a mystery;
Count all the waves that o'er the ocean roll,
Or stars that wheel around the glistening pole."

As Giraldus followed the example of Boethius, and writers of a similar stamp, always praising his friends, and calumniating his enemies, he has no reason to complain of the following satirical invective:

"Giraldus proudly boasts his British name,
And lauds in stilted prose his country's fame;
But pours, in poisonous streams on Erin's state,
The hoarded venom of his rancorous hate.
True dog—he whines and licks his master's hands;
But rabid and grim against the stranger stands;
All truth he hides by false and fulsome praise,
As murky clouds obscure the sun's bright rays:
The faith of rev'rend men, the truthful page,
He slights and desecrates with Vandal rage.
Truth from his treacherous pen indignant flies,
And scorns all contact with his polished lies.
His books—a compound of false praise or blame—
With candid readers can no credit claim.
He wrote for glory, but he wrote in vain;
What glory can the raving madman gain?
As hate or spleen dictates, his pen obeys,
And wins calumnious, not historic bays.
The friend of vice—virtue's malignant foe!
His works with good men ne'er shall honor know.'

Nimirum nationis Hibernicæ hostis erat acerrimus, utpote cujus primipilares hostes Stephanidem et Philippum Barrensem, "plurimùm se consilio juvisse[15]" fatetur: ita ut sicut a S. Paulo "omnium Stephanum lapidantium vestimenta servabantur, ut tanquam in manibus omnium ipse lapidare videretur[16]," sic ille solus tantùm suasione, quantùm singuli milites ferro nocuerunt. Imperatores victoriæ gloriam, milites laborem referunt; nam

"Consilio utiliùs quàm viribus arma geruntur,
Militis est robur, consiliumque ducis."

Ita major in authorem flagitii, quàm in factorem culpa conferenda est. "Non" enim "viribus aut velocitatibus, aut celeritate corporum res magnæ geruntur, sed consilio, authoritate et sententiâ[17]:" ut rectè Tacitus dixerit, "majora summis consiliis quàm manibus geri:" et Valerius Flaccus, "sæpè acrior prudentia dextrâ." Euripides

"Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.
Quid quòd vis consilii expers mole ruit suâ."

Appositè Cicero dixit "expetendam magis esse decernendi rationem quàm decertandi fortitudinem; temerè enim in acie versari, et manum cum hoste confligere, immane quiddam est, et belluarum simile: parva enim foris arma sunt, nisi sit concilium domi[18]."

Itaque grassationes militum in alienos agros, regiones vastationibus protritas, bonorum direptiones, tectorum incendia, strages hominum in Hiberniâ editas uni Giraldo acceptas referemus, qui suo scelere sed alienâ manu, rem Hibernicam labefactare contendit; et ad belli post hominum memoriam iniquissimi susceptionem universos impigrè hortatus, quæ singuli detrimenta intulerunt, eorum ille solus causa extitit. An non igitur hunc jure meritissimo hostem appellabimus, qui non solùm voce, sed etiam scriptis consulto docuit "qualiter gens Hibernica sit expugnanda[19]?" Ut non superstitibus tunc delendæ gentis Hibernicæ molimina ejus, sed venturæ quoque per omnem futuri tem-

[15] Hiber. Expug. lib. ii. cap. 18. [16] S. Augustin. Sermo. 1, de Sanctis. [17] Cicero de Senect. [18] 1 Offic. [19] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cap. 36.

[g] Giraldus gives this very title to Chapter VIII. of his work, "de Illaudabilibus Walliæ;" and lays down, for the subjugation of his native land, the same plan which Spenser, in the reign of Elizabeth, proposed, and Mountjoy executed, for the conquest of Ulster. "The seas," he says, "were to be guarded; war should be carried on during

He was the most inveterate enemy of the Irish nation; "the able adviser," as he calls himself, "of Fitzstephen and Philip Barry, the arch enemies of Ireland." St. Paul, by guarding the clothes of those who stoned St. Stephen, may be said to have "nerved the arms of all the persecutors against the saint:" so Giraldus's counsel worked as much evil as the swords of all the soldiers. Commanders get the glory, soldiers the labor of victory.

> "Counsel more sure than strength in tented fields;
> The soldier's nerve for victory's laurels wields."

So the man who advises the crime is more guilty than he who perpetrates it. "For it is not by swiftness nor strength, nor agility of body, that great things are done, but by counsel, authority, and judgment;" a truth confirmed by Tacitus: "greater things are done by consummate prudence than by brute force;" by Valerius Flaccus: "skill is often more efficient than force;" and by Euripides also:

> "One prudent mind o'er myriad hands prevails;
> Where counsel is not, nothing else avails."

Cicero has justly said, "that prudence in council is more desirable than courage in the field; for to rush to the battle rashly, and to engage with the enemy, is something preposterous, and like the brute beasts. Arms are powerless abroad, if there be not prudence at home."

The excesses of a foreign soldiery in Ireland, the devastation of her provinces, the plunder and conflagration of her houses, and the massacre of her sons, must be all laid at Giraldus's door. It was his guilty counsel that inflamed the fury of the invaders against the kingdom of Ireland. He alone has to answer for all the havoc of the most unjust war ever carried on during the memory of man. He it was who steeled the hearts of the invaders. Have we not the best reason to call him an enemy who deliberately pointed out, both by word and pen, "how Ireland was to be conquered[g]?"—thus transmitting to all succeeding ages

the winter, and division was to be fomented among the Welsh patriots." — "Deinde vires eorum dividat et quosdam ex ipsis ad alios confundendum (quòd se invicem odio et invidiâ prosequi solent) donariis alliciat tam præmissis quàm promissis."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 452. It is waste of time to found "argumenta ad hominem" on the personal character of Giraldus, who was never consistent.

poris memoriam, posteritati innotescerent. Sic non contentus unâ vice ad evertendos Hibernos consilii adjumentum ferre, nisi etiam in propatulo continenter ejus monita prostarent, pro re natâ tamquam e tabulis in rem educenda?

Sed quæ tandem Hibernis edomandis documenta promit? nimirum ut, "vel debilitentur vel deleantur[20]." Quorum alterum perfidiam non mediocrem, alterum summam atrocitatem redolet. Quid enim quempiam magis esse perfidiâ non leviter tinctum sed altè imbutum arguit, quàm, duobus populis pactorum transactione jam coalitis, alterum ad alterius vires infirmandas, et ad securos ex improviso adoriendos attrahere? Publicæ conditionum utrinque initarum tabulæ infrà commodiori loco proferendæ adhuc extant; e quibus, et reliquo narrationis nostræ decursu liquidò patebit ad nihil aliud proceres Hiberniæ, quàm ad tributum persolvendum abjectos fuisse.

Rex Connaciæ, anno post regnum ab Henrico III. initum 24, et post Christum natum 1240 in Angliam trajecit, et gravissimâ querelâ de "injuriis quas sibi familia Burgorum irrogavit ad Regem delatâ, causam tandem obtinuit. Quæstus est enim eosdem sedes ita latè in suâ ditione fixisse, ut penè suis ipsum finibus exturbaverint, quorum possidendorum potestatem Henrici II., et Joannis Angliæ Regum diplomatibus consecutus erat: adjiciens quinquies mille marcarum tributum à se pro regno suo quotannis persolutum fuisse. Rex verò certior de his factus, Mauritio Giraldino tum Hiberniæ proregi præcepit, ut illos Burgorum surculos, quos Hubertus de Burgo, dum in summæ potentiæ fastigio collocaretur, in Connaciâ per injuriam sevit, radicitùs evelleret, et regnum citra molestiam possidendum Regi Connaciæ[21]." Quid quòd Richardus II. longo post temporis intervallo, dum scilicet annus decimus octavus regni sui et Christi 1395 decurreret, quatuor armatorum, et

[20] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cap. 36. [21] Davis, p. 112.

[h] Giraldus himself had a presentiment, founded on popular prophecies, that the English could not, before many ages, levy even tribute on the greater portion of Ireland. The prophets "doo not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest (of Ireland) unto the English nation not much before doomes day. And albeit the whole land of Ireland from sea to sea have for the most part bene in the power of Englishmen yet Bracton [Bercon] saith that —— the English nation shall be from time to time in continual troubles with the Irishrie, saving that they shall hold and injoie the whole land bordering on the east coast of the seas."—*Conquest of Ireland, Hooker's*

the knowledge of his plots for the extirpation of the Irish. It was not enough to give his advice once for the conquest of Ireland[h]; his plans should be publicly registered, that, whenever occasion required, they might forthwith be carried into execution.

But what were his plans for the subjugation of the Irish? "That they should be either reduced or extirpated!"—that is to say, signal treachery, or unparalleled atrocity. What more palpable proof of a heart not slightly tainted, but deeply steeped in treachery, than, in the face of treaties solemnly executed between two nations, to advise one to weaken the power of the other, and to seize every opportunity of assailing it unawares. The very terms of that treaty shall be produced in another place, from which, as well as from the whole course of our narrative, it is evident that the Irish lords were bound only to the payment of tribute.

In 1240, the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry III., the King of Connaught went to England, and having made a representation of the grievous "injuries inflicted on him by the family of the Burkes, succeeded in obtaining redress. He complained that they had made a strong plantation there, and had well nigh expelled him out of his territory, which he held by the grants of Henry II. and King John. He added also that he had duly paid a yearly tribute of 5000 marks for his kingdom. Whereupon the King ordered Maurice Fitzgerald, who was then Lord Justice of Ireland, to root out that unjust plantation, which Hubert, Earl of Kent, had in the time of his greatness planted in those parts of Connaught, and to establish the King of Connaught in the quiet possession of his kingdom[i]." Again, when, after a long lapse of time, Richard II. came over to Ireland in 1395, the eighteenth year of his reign, with an army of 4000 men at arms, and

Translation, book ii. chap. 36.

[i] But the Burkes were never driven from Connaught: "Howbeit I do not read the King's command was ever put in execution. For the truth is, Richard de Burgo had obtained a grant of all Connaught, after the death of the King of Connaught, then living, for which he gave £1000.—3 Hen. III., Rot. Claus. 2. And besides our English lords could not endure that any kings should reign in Ireland but themselves."—*Davis, Discovery*, p. 112. From *Iar Connaught*, p. 190, it appears that the successors of the King of Connaught, down to 1305, resisted, and generally with success, the payment of tribute: "Hibernici illi rarò totam firmam, et sæpè parte per annum, *et sæpius nihil inde solverunt.*"

[34] triginta militum arcubus | instructorum millibus in Hiberniam ductis, "ne unius quidem libræ sterlingæ accessione vetus tributum auxerit, imperii Anglici fines ad spatium unius jugeris pedem promoverit ultra colonias Anglicas, quæ solæ iis ante parebant[22]." Gnari nimirùm illi duo Reges erant penes Hiberniæ primores suas ditiones, et litium in iis dirimendarum potestatem ex pacto mansisse, ac proinde persoluto, quod inter transigendum policiti sunt tributo, suum officium ad amussim explevisse. Utpote religioni duxerunt fidem à majoribus datam violare, memores quòd,

> "Optimus ille
> Militiæ, cui postremum primumque tueri
> Inter bella fidem[23]."

Nam ut ait Cicero: "Nemo est qui non hanc affectionem animi probet atque laudet, quâ non modo utilitas quæritur sed contra utilitatem etiam conservatur fides[24]." His conformia promit S. August. "Fides," inquit, "quando promittitur etiam hosti servanda est, contra quem bellum geritur[25]," ut religioni, rationi, ac patribus Giraldus obnitatur, dum suis Hibernos debilitare, et continuò promissis non stare sedulò suadet. Itaque homine sacris initiato viri profani religionis integritate multò præstare videntur, qui fidei violationem tacitè præcipienti se non audientes præbuerunt. Ita ut Giraldus faces dudum Machiavello ad suæ institutionis principes perfidiâ imbuendos prætulisse videatur.

Verùm hanc perfidiam comem ac levem esse putaremus; si cum eâ crudelitatem insignem non copularet, monens ut omnes Hiberni unâ internitione delerentur[26], ne fœminis quidem, ac infantibus ab hac dirâ sententiâ indemnitatem consecuturis: Abimelechum imitatus, qui Sichimitas (quòd ab his urbe, et tribu ejectus fuisset) noctu adortus, omnes trucidavit, nullâ sexûs, aut ætatis habitâ ratione[27]; aut Anglos, "qui conjuratione initâ, unâ nocte Danos omnes per Angliam ad unum occidione occiderunt[28]." Sed utinam quod flagitii præmium utrique retulerunt secum cogitatione volvisset. Illum molæ fragmine mulier op-

[22] Davis, p. 40. [23] Silius Italicus. [24] De Finibus. [25] Ep. 1. ad Bonifacium. [26] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 35. [27] Judic. 9. [28] Camden. p. 102.

[k] The understanding which Dr. Lynch supposes to have existed between the English kings and the Irish princes has but little foundation in fact. The relations between them were perpetual war, carried on in the usual spirit of the age, the results being generally in favor of the native Irish, especially from Bruce's invasion to the reign

30,000 archers, "he did not increase his revenue thereby one sterling pound, nor enlarge the English borders the breadth of one acre of land," which had not been already subjected. These two kings well knew that the Irish chieftain held by treaty his lands, and the right of administering justice within them, and that if he paid his stipulated tribute he had fully discharged his obligations. They believed themselves bound in conscience not to violate the treaties sworn to by their predecessors[k]:

> "The soldier's noblest duty,
> His care the first and last, should be,
> To keep his plighted faith."

"For there is no one," as Cicero says, "who does not approve and applaud that moral quality, which seeks not interest alone, but prefers fidelity to interest." And in the same sense St. Augustine affirms, "that faith once pledged must be kept, even with our enemies in open war." Giraldus's advice to his countrymen to break the power of the Irish, and to take no account of plighted faith, was therefore opposed alike to religion, to reason, and to the fathers. He, a priest, had not the virtue of those pagans who pretended not to hear a secret order to violate faith. He may be said to have long since lighted the way for Machiavel in teaching princes the art of treachery.

His perfidy, however, would be comparatively innocent, had it not been combined with the most atrocious cruelty. He urged the extermination of the Irish, by one fell stroke, without distinction of age or sex, women or infants[l]. He would rival Abimelech, who, when expelled from his town and tribe by the Sichemites, attacked them in the night time, and butchered them all, without distinction of age or sex; or the English, who rose by preconcerted agreement, and in one night massacred to a man the Danes in England. But it were well he had reflected on the fruits of those two examples of treachery. Abimelech was killed by a woman with a fragment of a mill-stone. And the English, who thought that the effusion of blood would check the flames of

of Henry VIII.

[l] Giraldus recommends extirpation only in case the Irish would not submit. He censures the injustice perpetrated against many of the Irish, who had faithfully served the foreigners, but were afterwards expelled from their lands, and insulted as slaves.—*Hooker's Translation, Conquest*, book ii. c. 40. He then proposes a plan for the government of the conquered Irish.

pressit: "Hi rati sunt hâc sanguinis effusione se Danicum incendium restricturos, quod tamen in magis exitialem flammam exarsit. Sueno enim Rex Danorum hâc suorum cæde irritatus, numeroso exercitu Angliam anno post Christum natum 1012 invasit, immaniterque efferato animo grassatus totum regnum sibi subdidit[29]." Nec sic homines veræ fidei luce nondum perfusi in victos sævierunt. Romulus enim vetuit impuberes omnes in bello captis urbibus, necari[30]. Non igitur immeritò sciscitur

> "Quid tale immanes unquam gessisse feruntur
> Vel Sinis Isthmiaca pinu, vel rupe profundâ
> Scyron, vel Phalaris tauro, vel carcere Sylla?
> O Mites Diomedis equi, Busiridis aræ
> Clementes: jam Cinna pius, jam Spartace lenis[31]."

Giraldo "collatus eris:" qui humanitatem exuit ut hostis personam indueret, nec aliud verius crudelitatis symbolum est, quàm quòd in Hibernis opprobriorum imbre perfundendis maximâ voluptate perfunderetur, Psalmistâ dicente: "Quorum os maledictione plenum est, veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem[32]." Ut illi vitio non vertam quòd vir ecclesiasticus leges ecclesiasticas vetantes ecclesiasticos capitis sententiam in quempiam dicere, violaverit; cùm legum humanarum ac divinarum limites tam impiè transilierit, ut cum Divo Bernardo mihi dicere liceat: "Quis non miretur imò et detestetur unius esse personæ et armatum armatam ducere militiam, et albâ stolâque indutum in medio ecclesiæ pronuntiare Evangelium; tubâ indicere bellum militibus, et jussa episcopi populis intimare? Nisi fortè (quod intolerabilius est) erubescat Evangelium (de quo vas electionis admodum gloriatur) et confunditur videri Clericus, magisque honorabile ducit putare se militem, qui clero militiam, forum (addo castra) anteponit Ecclesiæ; divinis profectò humana, cœlestibus præferre terrena convincitur[33][m]." Sanè supervacaneum est ut illi exprobrem alienâ illum a sacerdotum institutione prosequi; cùm ad Hibernos debellandos, stratagematibus
[35] bellicis, ac technis suos tam operosè | imbuat, moneatque "ut statim ac hæc gens plenæ subjectioni colla submiserit, ad modum nationis Siculæ

[29] Camden. p. 102. [30] Halicarnasseus, lib. ii. [31] Claud. Rufin, lib. i. [32] Ps. xiii. [33] Epis. lxxviii.

[m] Ecclesiastical interference, in military affairs, was not unusual in the twelfth century. Some of the earliest Anglo-Irish prelates took the field against the Irish.

Danish devastations, found that it only fanned them into a more fearful conflagration. For Sueno, King of Denmark, enraged at the massacre of his friends, invaded England at the head of an immense army in 1012, and, sweeping all before him with the most savage ferocity, subdued the whole kingdom." The pagans themselves, who were never cheered by the light of faith, were not guilty of Giraldus's cruelty. Romulus strictly ordered quarter to be given to persons under the age of puberty in the captured cities. Well may we ask,

> "Was ever guilt so foul,—on savage men,
> In Sinis' pirate bark, or Scyron's crag,
> Or bull of Phalaris, or Sylla's jails?
> Gentle the steeds of Diomede!—clement
> Busiris' shrine!—good Cinna!—mild Spartacus!"

Giraldus "can compare with you." The feelings of human nature itself are sacrificed to his hostility, of which he gives the most ferocious and unmistakeable evidence in the delight with which he pours out a torrent of calumnious invective on the Irish, verifying the words of the Psalmist: "Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness; their feet are swift to shed blood." Why should I accuse him of having violated that law of the Church, which prohibits an ecclesiastic to pronounce sentence of death on any man, when he has so impiously trampled on all laws, human and divine? With good reason may I ask with St. Bernard, "who will not be astonished and shocked, that the same man should march in armor at the head of a battalion, and announce the Gospel in the church, dressed in his alb and stole; rouse soldiers to battle with the trumpet, and announce the orders of the bishop to the people? Will he declare that he is ashamed of the Gospel (in which the vessel of election gloried), and blushes at his state, and would think it more honorable to be regarded as a soldier, who prefers war and the forum (and camps) to the Church? That would be an aggravation of his guilt: it would convict him clearly of preferring things human to divine, and terrestrial to heavenly interests." What advantage could I gain by charging him with having violated the duties of his order, when he takes such trouble to instruct his countrymen in the stratagems and arts of warfare[m], and advises them, "that, as soon as that people shall have bowed its neck perfectly to the yoke, an edict, such as was published in Sicily,

edicto publico, gravi quoque transgressionis pœnâ statutâ, ab armorum omnium usu procul arceatur[34]." Ergo impensè hortatur ut inermia Hibernorum latera Angli furore aliquo subinde correpti sine obice transfigant. Extra controversiam igitur nunc positum est Hiberniam nullum unquam hostem Giraldo capitaliorem, post homines natos, nactam fuisse. Ut vel hinc non suspicio solùm oriatur, sed etiam omnes liquidò perspiciant narrationibus ab illo de Hiberniâ institutis nullam esse fidem adhibendam.

Ab ejus præterea dictis veritas adeo remotiùs abscessisse deprehenditur, quòd illum nonnulli scriptores duriori censurâ perstringunt. Historicorum conspirans assensio est Haraldum Regem Angliæ cum Guillelmo conquestore pugnâ congressum, sub ipsa certaminis initia in acie cecidisse. Giraldus, "ut scriptorem torrentem insolentiùs quàm veriùs impugnaret, scripsit Haraldum in eo prælio, non morte sed vulnere affectum fuisse, ac lævi oculi jacturam passum in fugam aversum Cestriam se recepisse, ubi postea sancti Anachoretæ vitam egit[35]." Sed se non tam aliis scriptoribus quàm sibi sæpenumerò contrarium præbuit. "Demetiæ," inquit, "terra tritico, marinis piscibus, vinoque vænali copiosè referta: et quòd omnibus præstat ex Hiberniæ confinio aeris salubritate temperata. Terra igitur omnium Cambriæ totius tam pulcherrima est quàm potentissima; restat igitur, ut Cambriæ totius locus sit hic amœnissimus[36]. Non itaque mirandum, non væniâ indignum si natale solum genitaleque territorium profusioribus laudum titulis author extulerit." Sed quid de hoc ipso loco alibi proferat accipe: "Hic angulus inquit est supra Hibernicum mare remotissimus, terra saxosa, sterilis et infæcunda, nec silvis vestita nec fluminis distincta, nec pratis ornata, ventis solum et procellis exposita." De duobus hisce Giraldi locis Davidis Povelli judicium hìc subjicio, qui dicit "Giraldum ibi juxta illud Ovidii:

"'Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit et immemores non sinit esse sui.'

[34] Hib. Expug., lib. ii. c. 36. [35] Baker, Hist. Angliæ, p. 30. [36] Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. i. cap. 12.

* This policy can be traced through all the acts of British government and legislation in Ireland, from the days of Cambrensis to the ministry of Lord John Russell in 1848; though, according to Blackstone, "the fifth and last auxiliary right of the

ought at once to be enforced, denouncing the heaviest penalties of the law on all who should retain any arms[n]." Here is a zealous exhortation to the English to remove every obstacle to the gratification of their revenge and cruelty on the unarmed and helpless Irish. Can there be any doubt that, of all men living, Giraldus was the most atrocious enemy of Ireland? Or is it with suspicion merely, and not rather with contempt, we are to receive the tales which such a man gives us of the history of Ireland?

His total disregard for truth can be proved by another fact, the very caustic censures with which some writers have branded him. Thus, according to the unanimous consent of historians, Harold, King of England, was slain in the commencement of the battle of Hastings, fought against William the Conqueror. But Giraldus, with more insolence than truth on his side, opposes himself to the torrent of historians, and maintains "that Harold was not slain in that battle, but only wounded; that he lost an eye, and, having fled to Chester, lived there the life of a holy anchorite[o]." But it is not to other writers only he is opposed; he often contradicts himself. "The land of Demetia is well supplied," he says, "with corn, wine, and fish; and, what is still more desirable, from its contiguity to Ireland, it enjoys a salubrious temperature of climate. These advantages make it one of the most beautiful and powerful regions of Cambria. In all Cambria there is not, assuredly, a more charming spot. Let no person, then, be surprised; let none censure the writer, who pours forth the choicest panegyrics on his native soil, the land of his fathers[p]." But let us hear how he describes this native land in another place: "This corner," says he, "stretches the farthest out into the Irish sea; a rocky, barren, and ungrateful soil; neither clothed with wood nor intersected with rivers, nor adorned with pasturage, but exposed defenceless to storms and tempests." I subjoin the opinion of David Powel on those two passages. In the first, he says, "Giraldus acts in the spirit of the poet:

"'Sweet love of home, what tongue thy force can tell!
Nor time nor space can e'er destroy thy spell.'

subject is that of having arms for their defence, suitable to their condition and degree, and such as are allowed by law."

[o] See an account of this story in Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*.

[p] If Giraldus really ever felt the glow of

"Patriam suam, et geniale territorium profusioribus laudum titulis prosecutum fuisse: hic verò ipsam rei veritatem (sicuti est) respexisse. Nam in universâ Cambriâ multa loca invenias longè multùmque huic anteponenda, sive aeris salubritatem, sive regionis amœnitatem, sive soli ipsius fertilitatem, aliaque vitæ commoda respicias[37]." Idem Povellus quem attentissimâ lectione Giraldi scripta percurrisse non ambigo, quippè quorum partem commentariis illustravit, Giraldi sensa accuratè perscrutatus pronuntiavit, "illi ferè semper in more positum fuisse, suum tantummodo propositum, neglectis aut non consideratis aliorum de quibus scribit negotiis, respicere, et persequi[38]." Ut Povello judice Giraldus non ad veritatem stilum collimaverit, sed eò quò studium ferebatur flexerit.

Non igitur insulsè apud Stanihurstum Joannes Abbas sancti Albani dixit: "Giraldum verba parciùs, sententias uberiùs effudisse." Quibus verbis indicari putat Stanihurstus, "Giraldum habenas calamo laxâsse ad adversarios dicteriis licentiosiùs impetendos. Subditque ipse Giraldum in invisos asperiùs invehi, gratos blandiùs affari solitum fuisse[39]." Nec alius Giraldum intus et in cute meliùs novit, ut cujus lucubrationes studiosiùs evolvit. Quantuli autem Topographiam ejus fecerit, non obscurè indicare videtur, cùm e centum quinquaginta et octo capitibus, quibus tres Topographiæ suæ distinctiones Giraldus complexus est, unum duntaxat supra triginta ille in lucem emiserit, cæteris delitescere de industriâ permissis, quòd indigna fuerint, quæ sub hominem aspectum educerentur. Imò inter vulgata capita vix ullum est, quod nævo aliquo aspersum esse Stanihurstus non ostendit. Hiberniam verò Expugnatam sic Stanihurstus sprevit, ut eam solitis tenebris abdi passus, quæ ad rem in eà faciebant excerpserit, cætera tamquam redun-

[37] In annot. ad cap. i. col. 2. [38] In annot. lib. ii. c. 7. [39] Anglic. Descrip. Hib. c. vi.

patriotism, it must have been extinguished in his breast when he wrote "de Illaudabilibus Walliæ." He gives a most gloomy description of the place of his birth. Its churches were frequently destroyed by lightning, devils molested the inhabitants, and the persons possessed by impure spirits defied all the powers of exorcism: "In his autem Pembrochiæ partibus, nostris accidit temporibus, spiritus immundos non visibiliter sed sensibiliter conversatos."—*Itinerarium Cambriæ*, p. 852.

[q] Stanihurst's criticism is favorable upon the whole. "This gentleman [Giraldus] was very well learned, a tolerable divine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physic, skilful in cosmography, a singular good antiquary, an orator in endeavour

"And describes his native country, the land of his fathers, in the most glowing colors; but in the second he describes things as they really are. For whether for salubrity of climate, or charms of scenery, or fertility of soil, or the other purposes of human life, there are many places in Wales superior to Demetia." The same Powell, who, I have no doubt, was intimately acquainted with Giraldus's writings, as he has written commentaries on some of them, pronounces, after a full investigation of Giraldus's character, "that his usual custom was to attend solely to the object he had in view, to the utter neglect or forgetfulness of other matters on which he wrote;" that is, in other words, according to Powell, that Giraldus's object was not truth, but the indulgence of whatever passion was uppermost at the moment.

There was, therefore, much sense in the remark of John, Abbot of St. Alban's, that Giraldus was sparing "of his words, but lavish of his opinions," if, as Stanihurst supposes the meaning of these words be, "that Giraldus put no restraint on his pen whenever an enemy was to be lacerated." Such was Stanihurst's own opinion; for he says, "that Giraldus spoke favorably of his friends, but lacerated his enemy without mercy." Stanihurst had diligently studied Giraldus's writings, and was, of course, best qualified to form a correct opinion of his character. But what a low estimate this critic formed[q] of the "Topography," appears from the fact, that of the one hundred and fifty-eight chapters in the three divisions of that work, he published only thirty-one, purposely suppressing the rest, as utterly unworthy of being presented to the public[r]. He also clearly proves that, even of the published chapters, not one was unexceptionable. But the "Conquest of Ireland" he held in such contempt, that he left it in its old obscurity, and merely selected whatever was to the point, omitting the rest as rank verbiage,

comparable to the best, in his style not in those days taken for the worst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Howbeit I may not gainsay, but as he was kind where he took, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked." — Chap. vi. But his greatest merit, in the eyes of Stanihurst, was, that he was a Geraldine.

[r] Stanihurst does not state what was his motive in suppressing a great part of the Topography. Some of his remarks on the published chapters supply interesting information on the state of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth. They are frequently adduced by Dr. Lynch in the course of this work, and may be noticed as occasion requires.

dantem luxuriem resecuerit, aut inane lolium avulserit, et quæ lutulentâ oratione ille sordidaverat, hic luculentâ ornaverit. Roberto enim Turnero Oratore summo teste Stanihurstum " duæ Deæ tinxerunt colore, Juno suavitatis, Minerva eloquentiæ: Exiisti " (inquit Stani-
[36] hurstum | alloquens) " etiam in aures, oculosque orbis eâ specie, seu felicitate potiùs, ut non solùm audias Demosthenes a vetulâ Atheniensi, sed ab iis quibus acuit natura mentem, ars linguam, numeraris inter aureolos illos musæ conditioris, et reconditioris partûs, incedasque cum illis Scaligeris, etc.[40]" Giraldus autem Stanihursto dicente, rudis scriptoris nomen potiùs declinavit, quàm eloquentis assecutus est.

Porro ad quas operis utriusque a Giraldo elaborati labes digitum Stanihurstus nominatim intenderit, infrà commodiùs indicabimus. Hic enim ab illius sententiâ, non raró discedit; cujus dissensionis documentum hic unicum exhibeo. Hibernicam ille musicam effert, hic deprimere videtur. " In musicis," inquit ille, " solùm instrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis istius diligentiam, in quibus præ omni natione, quam vidimus incomparabiliter est instructa. Non enim in his, sicut in Britannicis (quibus assueti sumus) instrumentis, tarda, et morosa est modulatio, verùm velox, et præceps, suavis tamen, et jucunda sonoribus. Mirum quòd in tantâ, tam præcipiti digitorum rapacitate musica servatur proportio, et arte per omnia indemni, inter cris-

[40] Epist. 139.

[s] Dr. Lynch appears to have formed far too favorable an estimate of the literary merits of Stanihurst.

[t] Giraldus had a special admiration of his chapter on music. He styles it a " voluptuosa digressio," and in the catalogue of his works recommends it warmly to the Chapter of Hereford, as an unrivalled combination of elegant language, original criticism, and refined musical taste: " Præ omnibus autem titulis, meo judicio, de musicis instrumentis et arte musicâ tractatus, pro sui captu laudabilior."—*Ussher's Sylloge*, p. 115.

[u] This testimony is of some value, as Giraldus studied some years at Paris, and visited Rome three times, having taken his route once at least through the Low Countries and Germany. " Scotland and Wales," he says, " endeavoured to perfect themselves in the musical schools of Ireland; and some were beginning to think that Scotland had already surpassed her master."—" Notandum verò quòd Hiberniam in modulis imitari nituntur . . . . . hodiè Scotia non tantùm æquiparavit magistram Hiberniam." —*Top. Hib.*, c. xi.

[w] In this passage of Cambrensis, Bunting believed he had discovered the characteristics of the ancient Irish and Welsh styles of music, " the latter being of the diatonic genus, slow, and made of concords; the

or useless weeds; Stanihurst wrote in a clear and ornate style, what the other had obscured by his sordid and muddy diction. Robert Turner, a first-rate orator, thus addresses Stanihurst: "The two goddesses have lent you their hues: Juno, sweetness; Minerva, eloquence. You have alighted upon this orb with such beauty, or rather favor, in the eyes and ears of men, that you are pronounced a Demosthenes, not by the old woman of Athens merely, but by those to whom art has given eloquence, and nature the keenest perception. You have taken your place among the crowned votaries of the pleasant and the more recondite muse; you walk with the Scaligers," &c. &c. Now, in the opinion of this Stanihurst[s], the best that can be said of Giraldus is, that he "rather eschewed the name of a rude writer than purchased the fame of an eloquent chronicler."

I reserve, for a more favorable opportunity, the various parts of Giraldus's two works, which were severely criticised by Stanihurst. The instances are very numerous. Here is one proof of their disagreement. Giraldus extols Irish music; Stanihurst appears to dispraise it. The former writes: "It is in musical instruments alone[t] that the industry of this nation has attained a laudable degree of refinement, surpassing immeasurably the skill of all other nations[u]. Bold and rapid, yet sweet and agreeable, the notes of the Irish harp are quite unlike the slow and drawling[w] melody of the British instruments, to which we are accustomed. It is amazing how correct musical time can be observed in so bold and hurried sweeping of the fingers; and how, amid all those

former the inharmonic genus, full of minute divisions, with every diesis marked; the succession of the melodies lively and rapid, its modulations full and sweet."—*Historical and Critical Dissertation on the Harp*, p. 3. But the truth is, this passage can hardly be reconciled with another in chapter xi. of the *Description of Wales*, in which Giraldus describes the Welsh music as "*lively and rapid*," and appears to forget "the slow and solemn" character which he had attributed to it in his Topography of Ireland: "In musicis instrumentis dulcedine aures deliniunt et demulcent, tantâ modulorum *celeritate* pariter et subtilitate feruntur, tantamque discrepantium sub tam *præcipiti digitorum rapacitate* quantum ut breviter transeam in tribus nationibus titulo, de musicis instrumentis, Hibernica Topographia nostra declarat in hæc verba."—*Descriptio*, &c., cap. xi. He then transcribes his celebrated passage on Irish music, as the best description he could give of the Welsh, and thus confounds the supposed characteristics of both. Here, as elsewhere, he contradicts himself. It is fortunate that the ancient superiority of Irish music does not depend on his authority alone.

patos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordiâ, consona redditur et completur melodia, seu diatesseron, seu diapente chordæ concrepent, etc.[41]" Ait autem e contra Stanihurstus, quòd, "Cytharyita chordarum pulsu, non plectro aliquo sed aduncis unguibus sonum eliciat, et in musicis neque numeros expleat neque modum aut sonorum accentum observet; ita ut teretes scientis aures perinde ac sarræ stridor facile offendat, etc. etc." Sed imperitos cytharædos non lyram condemnat. Mox enim adjicit: "Vivit hâc nostrâ ætate Crusius ad lyram post hominum memoriam quàm maximè insignis. Is ab illo incondito strepitu, qui incontentis secumque discordantibus fidibus fit, plurimùm abhorret: contraque eo modorum ordine, sonorum compositione, musicum observat concentum, quo auditorum aures mirabiliter ferit, ut eum citiùs solum quàm summum cytharistam judicares. Ex quo intelligi potest non musicis lyram sed lyræ musicos hactenus defuisse." Nec tamen ullo unquam tempore unus tantùm insignis lyricen in Hiberniâ floruit. Potuit etiam ipsius Stanihursti memoriâ in aliis Hiberniæ regionibus ab illo non aditis lyristes aliquis musicâ excultissimus versari. Certè

[41] Topog. dist. iii. c. 11.

[x] From these words, and a subsequent passage, in which Giraldus describes "the tinklings of the small strings (of the Irish harp) under the deep notes of the bass," it is inferred, by Bunting and others, that the Irish were acquainted with counterpoint and harmony in the twelfth century. For the proofs of this position the reader is referred to the works of Mr. Bunting, to whom we owe our most valuable information on the music of Ireland. Cambrensis, with his usual capriciousness, has omitted to supply that amount of information which his remarks on the music of Wales and Northumbria would entitle us to expect. The Welsh, he says, "did not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts, it being customary in Wales to hear as many different parts as there were performers, who at length united with organic sweetness. This species of vocal melody was not adopted generally in England, but only in the parts bordering on Yorkshire; with this difference, however, that the Northern English sung in *two* parts only—the one murmuring in the bass, the other warbling in the treble."—*Descriptio Cambriæ*, c. 13. This passage, taken literally, would appear to prove that the Irish did not sing in two, or many parts, like the Welsh or Northern English; but as Giraldus frequently indulges in vague language and general assertions, it would be rash to infer that he excludes the Irish, especially as his description of the instrumental music of the Irish and Welsh is the same. The northern English, he supposes, borrowed their harmony from the Danes or

quavers and the mazy multitude of chords, the master-hand combines this sweet rapidity, this uneven smoothness, this discordant concord[x], into a flowing strain of harmonious melody, whether the chords sounding in unison be the diatesseron or the diapente, &c." Stanihurst, on the contrary, says: "The harper uses no plectrum, but scratches the chords with his crooked nails[y], and never marks the flow of his pieces to musical rhythm, nor the accent and quantity of the notes; so that, on the refined ears of an adept, it comes almost as offensively as the grating of a saw." This, however, is levelled against the bad harper, but not against the harp itself, for he immediately adds: "Crusius, a contemporary of our own, is far the most eminent harper within the memory of man. He is entirely opposed to that barbarous din which others elicit from their discordant and badly strung harps. Such is the order of his measures, the elegant combination of his notes, and his observance of musical harmony, that his airs strike like a spell on the ears of his audience, and force you to exclaim, not that he is the most perfect merely, but in truth almost the only harper. Hence it is manifest, that hitherto it was not the harp that was wanting to the performers, but performers to the harp." But there never was a time when Ireland could boast of only one distinguished harper. Many eminent performers might have flourished in Stanihurst's own time[z], in parts of Ireland where he never travelled. We certainly have the

Norwegians, but it is more probable that they derived it either from the ancient Britons of Cumberland or the Irish missionaries, by whom principally the Northumbrians were converted to the faith of Christ. Giraldus says nothing of the vocal music of the Irish, though his "voluptuous digression" on Irish music fills some folio pages.

[y] Galilei, writing about the middle of the sixteenth century, thus describes this peculiarity of the Irish harpers: "The musicians keep the nails of their fingers long, forming them with care in the shape of the quills which strike the strings of the spinnet."—*Bunting, Ancient Music, &c.*, vol. i. p. 25.

[z] In the sixteenth century, Irish music was highly commended by Camden, Bacon, Polydore Virgil, Galilei, &c. — *Ibid.* p. 7. Stanihurst, in the passage cited, is describing an ordinary convivial meeting, attended as usual, perhaps, by a common harper, whose performance could not be taken as a fair specimen of the national music, especially as the Irish harpers were a profession, unlike those in Wales, where, in the days of Giraldus, every family had its self-taught musicians: "Omnis quoque familia seu decuria viri citra doctrinam omnem, cytharizandi per se peritiam tenet."—*Descript. Cam.*, c. x. This, he says, was not the case in Ireland.

Joannes Clynn narrat: "Camum O'Caruill famosum fuisse tympanistam et cytharistam in arte suâ Phœnicem, eâ pollens prærogativâ et virtute cum aliis discipulis ejus circiter viginti: qui etsi non fuerit artis musicæ chordalis primus inventor omnium tamen prædecessorum et præcedentium ipsum ac contemporaneorum corrector, doctor, et director extitit." Huic adjungo Polydorum Virgilium, qui ait: "Hibernos exercere musicam cujus sunt peritissimi, canunt enim cùm voce tum fidibus eleganter sed vehementi quodam impetu sic ut mirabile sit in tant âvocis linguæque ac digitorum velocitate posse artis numeros servari: id quod illi ad unguem faciunt."

Non miror autem sicuti quosdam cibos alii expetunt, alii aversantur, sic aliquos eodem cantu capi, alios offendi, pro utriusque in musicis peritiâ et imperitiâ. Non enim ideo mel et saccharum insuavia sunt, quòd ægris ita esse videntur, aut vinum insipidum quòd abstemiis non sapit. Sic Hibernica musica non spernenda est, quòd a nonnullis improbatur. Sanè Giraldi et Stanihursti verbis sua fortasse veritas constabit, si temporis quo uterque vixerit ratio habeatur: ut enim vulgò dicitur, "distingue tempora et concordabis jura." Giraldo superstite, Hiberniâ nondum profligatâ, Hibernis regibus rerum adhuc potentibus, musica læta quâdam hilaritate aspersa florebat: sed rebus postea in deteriùs, vivo Stanihursto, prolapsis, cantiones, quas cytharistæ lyrâ modulabantur mæstitiam præ se quamdam semper ferebant, ut

[a] In Walker's Irish Bards, vol. i. p. 178, there is an attempt to prove that "tympanista" does not mean a performer on the "tympanum," but a master of a school of music. But Giraldus (*Top.* c. xi.) mentions the "tympanum" as one of the two principal musical instruments of Ireland. It is also given in a very ancient Irish poem, the "Teach Miodchuarta."—*Petrie's Tara*, pp. 176, 178, 183. Dr. O'Conor proves from a poem certainly composed before the destruction of the Irish monarchy by the Danes, "that the ꞇıompaın was a stringed instrument, which was played on with the fingers. It was probably a species of lute or gittern."—*Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Harp and Bagpipe in Ireland*, by S. Ferguson, p. 56. Giraldus asserts that the Irish did not use the bagpipe, but pipers have their place assigned to them in the Hall of Tara, according to a manuscript cited above. The pipes were certainly, during many ages, the warlike music of the Irish. Mr. Ferguson has given (from Derrick) in his *Dissertation*, p. 57, a striking portrait of those once formidable musicians, heading an irruption of the native Irish into the English pale in the sixteenth century.

[b] Proofs of the great influence of the musical profession in Ireland, from the English invasion to the reign of Elizabeth, may be found in the frequent enactments of the

authority of John Clynn, "that Camus O'Caruill was a famous performer on the tabor[a], and a Phœnix in execution on the harp, and so pre-eminently distinguished with his school of about twenty musicians, that though he could not be called the inventor of stringed musical instruments, he was the master and director of all his own contemporaries, and superior to all his predecessors." I may add likewise the authority of Polydore Virgil, who says, "that the Irish practise music, and are eminently skilled in it. Their performance, both vocal and instrumental, is exquisite; but so bold and impassioned, that it is amazing how they can observe the measured rules of their art amidst such rapid evolutions of the fingers and vibrations of the voice: and yet they do observe them to perfection[b]."

It is by no means surprising that the same music should be relished by some and disagreeable to others, according to their different skill or taste in musical science, as some food is relished by some and disliked by others. But honey and sugar are not sour because they taste so to the sick, nor is wine insipid because it is disrelished by the abstemious. Neither should Irish music be condemned because it is not agreeable to some tastes. But perhaps the conflicting opinions of Giraldus and Stanihurst can be reconciled if we take into account the different times in which they lived, "for," according to the proverb, "distinguish the dates, and you will reconcile conflicting rights." In the days of Giraldus, Ireland was not subdued; her Irish kings were in full possession of their power, and the tones of joy and mirth predominated in her music; but a sad change for the worse had come over her before the time of Stanihurst, and the airs which her musicians then attuned to the harp invariably breathe a certain tone of sadness[c]; for which reason a

Pale against Irish "bardes," "rhymers," &c. &c., and also in the inquisitions of the sixteenth century, which give the lands assigned in each territory to the hereditary musicians. For those and contemporary proofs from foreign authorities on this subject, see *Walker's Irish Bards*, and Bunting's invaluable volumes on Irish music.

[c] This opinion, that the character of Irish music was changed after the English invasion, is generally adopted. But Stanihurst cannot be cited to support it; for, though he condemns Irish music as rude and discordant, he says nothing of the supposed national characteristic:

"So oft hast thou echoed the deep sigh of sadness,
That even in thy mirth it will steal from thee still."

In truth, the "deep sorrows" (as they are

non insulsè quidam Casseliensis hujusmodi carmina lyræ suæ insculpi curaverit

> "Cur lyra funestas edit percussa sonores?
> Scilicet amissum fors diadema gamit."

Quamquam Stanihurstus etiam non lyram sed imperitos lyricinos disertis verbis carpit. Nec enim Hibernia sola asinis ad lyram infestatur: eorum copiam alibi quoque frequenter videre est. Fatui cujusdam cytharædi animum inanis fiducia subiit fore ut ipse canendi præstantiâ
[37] Orpheum exæquar | et si fausto aliquo casu in ejus lyram incideret, quam tandem nactus ita inconditè pulsavit, ut audientes canes, cantûs suavitate ad mansuetudinem (instar Orphei) non deliniverit, sed stridore sic in rabiem egerit, ut ab iis tandem discerptus fuerit.

Omnibus fere historicis contigisse videmus, ut quæ vulgò cognita sunt suæ reipublicæ instituta prætermittant quasi exteris æquè ac civibus nota vel etiam immutabilia fore judicarent. Quare operæ me prætium facturum existimo, si lyræ formam lectori ob oculos ponam, ne illius memoria gentis excidio, quod nisi Deus obicem ponat jam impendere videtur, innexa obliteretur: cùm præsertim efferati quidam excur-

called) of the Irish lyre, are as strongly marked in the oldest specimens given by Bunting, as in the compositions of later ages. Many of our airs, perhaps, lose their genuine character by the languid and drawling manner in which they are frequently performed. At the meeting of harpers, which took place at Belfast in 1792, Mr. Bunting, who was appointed to note down the tunes, "was surprised to find that all the melodies played by the harpers assumed quite a new character,—spirited, lively, energetic,—certainly according much more with the national disposition than the languid and tedious manner in which they were, and too often still are, played among fashionable public performers, in whose efforts at realizing a false conception of sentiment the melody is very often so attenuated as to be all but lost." Many of our best airs appear to possess a certain plastic power, by which they accommodate themselves to the feelings of the performer, becoming at will either sad or solemn, or merely tender, without much injury to the essential structure of the melody. Melancholy can hardly be said to be *the* characteristic of our music until the national reels, jigs, &c. &c., have ceased to exist.

[d] Inscriptions were frequently written on Irish harps, giving the name of the maker, the owner, or of the most famous musicians who used them.

[e] This sentence was probably written while the Cromwellian troops were in possession of Ireland. But the mournful forebodings of Dr. Lynch were not realized before the present century, in which the Irish harp has really become a relic of antiquity, hung up in the cabinets of the curious, or in our public museums. Bunting has appropriately closed his last volume

native of Cashel had the following appropriate lines inscribed on his harp:

> "Why breathes my harp the ever-mournful strain?
> It mourns the long-lost gem—the fall of Erin's reign[d]!"

Stanihurst's attack, moreover, is directed against rude harpers, but not against the instrument itself; and Ireland is not the only country infested by those rude performers, for they are found in great abundance in many other places. A certain foolish musician indulged a confident hope that if, by any fortunate chance, he could lay his hand on the lyre of Orpheus, he would rival the musical performance even of that great master. He did find the lyre, but touched its strings so rudely, that the dogs, instead of being soothed and tamed by its melodious notes, as they had been by Orpheus, were stung to madness by the discordant rasping, and tore the luckless musician to pieces.

It is generally remarked that almost all historians omit describing those national institutions or manners which are commonly known; as if they supposed that such things were as familiar to the foreigner as to the natives, or that they would last without change to the end of time. It may not, therefore, be by any means a useless labor, if I succeed in describing accurately for my readers the form of the harp, lest it should be involved in that universal ruin, which I fear nothing but the arm of God alone can now avert from my country[e]. The precaution is the more

with the epitaph, "Sic transit gloria citharæ!" This fate of the Irish harp may be classed among the most extraordinary instances of sublunary change. Though the Cromwellians, as Dr. Lynch informs us, vented their political rage on this instrument, their descendants, the Cootes, Cuffes, Kings, &c. &c., and other noble families of the same date, after the establishment of their ascendancy, began to become, on some points, as Irish as the Irish themselves. They patronized the Irish harpers. Many of our beautiful airs are associated with names that never appeared in Ireland before the days of Cromwell. To Belfast, the stronghold of the new settlers, we owe the establishment of the only efficient harp society, and the publications of Mr. Bunting, without which the Irish harp would be as great an enigma as the Irish Round Towers. The Catholics of the last century were not less partial to the national instrument. The harper was ever welcome to the board of the noble, and the thatched cottage of the priest. His music was a usual accompaniment in the service of the Church, as it had been in ancient times; and such was the eminence attained, both in composition and execution, during the last century, by many harpers, of whom Bunting has given his interesting memoirs, that Mr. Moore has ventured to ascribe some of our most

sores in obvias quasque lyras earum processione, multis in locis immaniter sæviant. Nam illam a cætero terrarum orbe quasi derelictam Hibernia peculiari quodam studio sic amplexa est ut musicam ejus in deliciis et ipsam pro insignibus habuerit. Truncus quem lyra pro basi habet e taxo plerumque sive salice est: ima ejus pars latior, summa angustior est: postica excavatur, antica dolabrâ expolitur, quæ frequentibus exiguis foraminibus rectâ serie a summo ad imum collocatis terebratur. Foramina, ænei orbiculi muniunt ne a filis æneis proterantur. Partis autem aversæ hiatu assere obstructo, trunci (qui etiam alvus sive pectus dicitur) collo stipes introrsum sinuata, vertex aut collum appellata infigitur, cujus apex suprema convexo palo sive brachio ad extremam trunci partem protenso committitur. Intima stipitis ora cræbris claviculis æneis in lævâ extremitate perforatis, in dexterâ angulatis transfigitur: illi extremitati chordarum capita inseruntur; hâc cavæ clavi nunc lignum nunc corneum manubrium habente impactâ, claviculi girantur et chordæ bacillis inter minora testitudinis foramina e regione posita nodo illigata vel intenduntur vel remittuntur pro Cytharædi arbitrio: grandioribus in trunco foraminibus ex utroque chordarum latere, ad excipiendam emittendamque auram, ac bacillos quibus chordæ innectuntur, extrahendos patentibus. Cæterum interiora stipitis inflexæ labra lamina ærea utrinque tegit et eam arcuato palo affabrè nectit. Hic demum et illa variis sculpturis concinnè decorantur. Nostrâ memoriâ Reverendus admodum pater Robertus Nugentius, qui Societati

exquisite airs to that period. Yet, with all those traditionary associations which should recommend the national instrument as a general favorite, the Irish harp lives only in the national arms, though the temperance movement has taught every village in the island the use of all other instruments. For proofs that the harp was the favorite instrument of the learned men and saints of the ancient times, see S. Ferguson's *Dissertation*, &c., p. 53. "Hinc accidit," says Giraldus, "ut episcopi et abbates et sancti in Hiberniâ viri cytharas circumferre et in iis modulando piè delectari consueverint. Quapropter et Sancti Kevini cythara ab indigenis in reverentiâ non modicâ et pro reliquiis virtuosis et magnis usque hodie habetur."—*Cambriæ Descrip.*, c. xii. p. 740. Perhaps the solemn and exquisitely tender tones of genuine Irish music owe their origin more to choral music and ecclesiastical culture than to any of the other causes usually assigned.

[f] The harp, though well known in foreign countries, and cherished at home, as the Irish national instrument, was probably not assumed as the national arms before the reign of Henry VIII. For a sketch of those arms, executed in the year 1567, see *State Papers*, vol. ii.; Ferguson's *Dissertation*,

necessary, as some barbarous marauders in many places vent their Vandal fury on every harp which they meet, and break it in pieces. For Ireland loved the harp, and when it was banished from almost every other country she clung to it with a fonder affection; it was quartered on her national arms[f]; its music was her delight. The trunk or principal framework of the harp is generally of yew or sallow[g]; it is broad below, but tapers to the top; the interior is hollowed; the front is polished with a plane, and perforated with a great number of small holes in a straight line from top to bottom. The holes are lined with brass circles to protect them against the friction of the brass strings. The back of the trunk is closed with a board. From the top of the trunk (which is also called the breast or belly), a shaft projects, curving inwards, called the vertex or neck, to the extremity of which is affixed a convex pillar or arm, stretching down, and fastened to the lower part of the trunk. Through the sides of the neck run a number of brass keys, which are perforated in their left end, and are angular at the right. To the former the chords are fastened, and, by applying to the right end a key (the handle of which is either wood or horn), the brass keys are turned, and the chords, which are fastened below to pegs in the breast of the harp, under the line of small holes, are thus tightened or loosened, as the harper wishes. At both sides of the strings there are larger holes in the trunk of the harp, to receive and emit air, and also to allow the pegs, to which the strings are fastened, to be changed. The end of the curved neck is coated on both sides with brass plates, which connect it elegantly with the bow-like pillar. The neck and pillar are ornamented with varied and exquisite sculpture. In my own days, Father Robert Nugent[h], who, during many years, was, with great

p. 45; also, Bunting's *Dissertation on the Harp*, p. 8, note.

[g] Though the following description is very elaborate, it is doubtful whether it would be clearly intelligible if some of the old harps had not been preserved. Some important points are entirely omitted, such as the various dimensions of the harp, and the number of the strings, &c. &c. As the best commentary on the description, the reader is referred to the two beautiful illustrations accompanying Mr. Petrie's "Memoir of the Ancient Irish Harp, preserved in Trinity College," published in Bunting's last volume, p. 40.

[h] In the supplement to his *Alithonologia*, p. 87, Dr. Lynch gives a high character of Father Nugent, "ut autem Rev. Patris Roberti Nugentii eximiam theologiæ, matheseosque scientiam, singularem in scelera-

Jesu per Hiberniam plures annos summâ cum laude præfuit, novâ accessione ab ipso excogitatâ, non modicè lyram ornavit: spatium enim inter truncum et superiores lyræ partes patulum asserculis in cistulæ morem efformatis clausit et foramen in dextero cistæ latere positum exiguo tantum ligneo clathro obstruxit, ut in clavichordiis videmus: tum hinc et illinc duplici chordarum ordine collocato, lyram suavissimæ modulationi accommodatissimam fecit. Porro cytharistæ peritiores et cultiores humeris lyræ cervicem cernui ut plurimum, nonnunquam erecti admoventes, fila œnea extremis digitis, non unguibus pulsant

tis ad bonam frugem revocandis industriam, assiduos in concionando labores et memorabilem sui abjectionem quam præ cæteris virtutibus in eo eluxisse, qui diuturno ejus contubernio usus, illum intus et in cute novit certiorem me fecit, silentio prætercam, certè illo in Hiberniâ Societatem Jesu administrante, Societatis ordo plurimùm floruit. Patres enim juventutis literis et virtutibus excolendæ, hereticis ad Catholicam religionem traducendis, populis e vitiorum luto educendis et pluribus libris in lucem edendis naviter cum secundo successu incubuerunt." Nugent was a near relative of the Countess of Kildare, and received from her a gift of 12,000 livres Tournais, to found a Jesuit noviciate in Ireland. She also bequeathed to him the castle of Kilkea, where he entertained Rinuncinni.—*Ibid.*, pp. 87, 123. The principal establishment of the Jesuits in those days was in the city of Kilkenny: "In hâc civitate jam inde ab initio fuit nostræ probationis domus."—*MSS. from Stonyhurst Library.*

[1] No popular treatise known to the Editor gives a satisfactory account of this improvement in the harp, nor is there any existing specimen of the improved form, unless it is to be found in the beautiful instrument that forms the frontispiece of Bunting's volume, 1807. From inscriptions on that harp, it appears that it was made in 1621, for John M'Edmond Fitzgerald of Cluain, that is, Cloyne, according to Bunting, but much more probably the Castle of Cluain, near Inistiogue, in the county of Kilkenny, which castle was formerly the property of a branch of the Fitzgeralds, one of whom is to this day vividly remembered in popular tradition, as a perfect master of the harp. "By the pins, which remain almost entire, Fitzgerald's harp is found," says Mr. Bunting, "to have contained in the row forty-five strings, *besides seven in the centre, probably for unison to the others*, making in all fifty-two, and exceeding the common Irish harp by twenty-two strings."—p. 27. Those seven strings for unison were, probably, the invention of Father Nugent. His connexion with the Fitzgeralds, and with the county of Kilkenny, make the supposition more probable. The remnants of the harp were in possession of the family of Noah Dalway, Esq., of Bellahil, near Carrigfergus, when Bunting's sketch was taken. "It contains," he says, "twenty-four strings more than the noted harp, (so) called Brian Boroimhe's, and, in point of workmanship, is beyond comparison superior to it, both for the elegance of its crowded ornaments, and for the general execution of those parts on

credit to himself, Provincial of the Irish Jesuits, made a very considerable improvement in the harp, by an invention of his own. He enclosed the open space between the trunk and the upper part of the harp with little pieces of wood, and made it like a box[i]; leaving on the right side of the box a sound hole, which he covered with a lattice-work of wood, as it is in the clavicords. On each side he then arranged a row of chords, and thus increased, to a great degree, the melodious power of the harp[k]. The more expert and accomplished performers (who generally bend over the neck of the harp, but occasionally hold it erect[l]), strike the brass strings with the tips of their fingers, not with their nails[m], contrary to the custom, as some maintain, which not

which the correctness of a musical instrument depends. The fore-pillar is of sallow, the harmonic curve of yew. The instrument in truth deserves the epithet claimed by the inscription on itself, 'Ego sum Regina Cithararum.' On the harp are several inscriptions in the Irish language."—*Dissertation on the Harp*, p. 27.

[k] Musical talent appears to have been hereditary in the Nugent family. Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, son-in-law to the Earl of Kildare, was imprisoned in the reign of Elizabeth, and, to beguile the tedium of his captivity, he cultivated music, and composed some celebrated pieces, with which Dr. Lynch was familiar in his youth. "Celebrem ejus de amissâ libertate cantilenam, lyrâ, fidibus et clavicordio sæpè cani audivimus."—*Alithonologia*, p. 185. Christopher died in the Tower of London, June 19th, 1580. His eldest son, Richard, who was born in prison, is the same who held that conference at Maynooth Castle, in 1605, with O'Neil and O'Donnell, which led to the flight of the Earls. Whether Robert the Jesuit was a brother of Richard, and thus nephew to the Countess of Kildare, or a more distant connexion, I know not. From several contemporary manuscripts in my possession, it appears that during many years before 1641 he had extensive communication with most of the great Irish families. It may be stated here that Dr. Lynch appears to have had for the Jesuits those feelings of respect with which they have generally inspired their pupils. After defending the members of other religious orders, who had adopted his own moderate opinions on the political affairs of the Confederates of 1642, he says of the Jesuits: "Ego vero non committam ut qualecumque vocis patrocinium aliis defendendis a me impensum, *institutionis meæ magistris* tuendis subtraham."—*Alithonologia, Supplem.*, p. 114.

[l] See S. Ferguson's *Dissertation* for several ancient illustrations of performance on the Irish harp.

[m] "Hempson was *the only one* of the harpers at the Belfast meeting in 1792, who literally played the harp with long crooked nails, as described by the old writers. In playing, he caught the string between the flesh and the nail, not like the other harpers of his day, who pulled it by the fleshy part of the finger only. His fingers lay over the strings in such a manner, that, when he struck them with one

contra consuetudinem ut, aliqui scribunt, lyristis non ita pridem in Hiberniâ familiarem, quæ nunc vel in desuetudinem abiit, vel a rudioribus lyristis frequentatur, contendentibus, editiorem sonitum e chordis ideo elicere, ut eo domus tota personet.

finger, the other was instantly ready to stop the vibration, so that the staccato passages were heard in full perfection. When asked the reason of playing certain parts of the tune in that style, his reply was, 'This is the way I learned it,' or 'I cannot play it in any other.'" See the whole passage in Bunting's last volume, p. 73. Hempson was then ninety-seven years old, the last representative of the old school of Irish performance.—See note [y], p. 311, *suprà*.

[n] From this it appears that the old custom was nearly gone a century before the time of Hempson. It would be almost impossible to preserve a uniform mode of playing when harpers were so numerous. Crofton Croker, whose antiquarian researches entitle him to great respect, says of the

long since was common in Ireland[n]. That custom is now, if not obsolete, at least adopted by ruder performers only, in their anxiety to elicit thereby louder notes from the strings, and make the whole house ring with their melody[o].

last century, "at the period when these lines were written, almost 'every one' played on the Irish harp: the term 'every one' is to be understood in the same sense as applied to the pianoforte at present."—*Kerry Pastoral*, p. 16; *Percy Society*.

[o] The Irish harp is gone. But a good work remains for some charitable and persevering man. If a "Society for the Education of the Blind" were formed on those obvious principles which would entitle it to general support, it might be the means of restoring the national music, and of combining patriotism, science, and the greatest charity, in support of a single institution. Its pupils might soon revive the national partiality for the harp, and erase the gloomy epitaph, "Sic transit gloria citharæ."

CAPUT V.

QUOD INFIRMA FUERINT GIRALDI, AD RERUM HIBERNICARUM NOTITIAM COMPARANDAM ADMINICULA.

[38] Testes Giraldi comprovinciales ipsius.—Quorum præcipuos prædones appellat.—Fabula de insulis Connaciæ non Christianis.—Nautarum fragilis fides.—Quales comprovinciales testes adhibuit. [39] Lombardus nimis leviter Cambrensem objurgat.—Opera Cambrensis a contemporaneis dilaniata. Fabulæ ab ipso positæ nec ab ipso creduntur.—Sententia Waræi de Cambrensi. [40] Aliqua e monumentis Hibernicis hausit.—Monumenta Hibernica quanta et quàm copiosa.—An Giraldus delevit monumenta Hibernica Latinè scripta? [41] Manuscripta Hibernica ablata vel direpta ab Anglis regnante Elizabethâ.—Consuetudo illa Anglis in Hiberniâ ab omni retro ætate familiaris.—Auctorem probabiliter habuit Giraldum.—Opera ejus fabulis nimis copiosè, factis parcè instructa.—Monumentis Hibernicis abusus est Giraldus.

Qui scribere historiam aggrediuntur, ad narrationum veritatem penitùs cognoscendam pluribus sibi rationibus viam sternunt: aut enim facta oculis aut auditu comperiunt aut e monumentis publicis hauriunt: quo-
[38] rum majorem illi fidem merentur, qui quæ oculis | intuentur scriptis tradunt. Ut Cambrensis Solinum et alios impugnans jure dixerit, "non mirum esse si a tramite veritatis deviaverint, cùm nihil oculatâ fide, nihil nisi per indicem et a remotis agnoverunt. Tunc enim res quælibet certissimo nititur de veritate subsidio, cùm eodem utitur relatore quo teste[1]." Sed indictæ sibi legis mox oblitus, non solùm quæ oculis sed etiam quæ auditu excepit in scripta se relaturum profitetur his verbis, "ita me dii amabilem reddant, ut nihil in libello apposuerim, cujus veritatem vel oculatâ fide vel probatissimorum et authenticorum comprovincialium virorum testimonio non elicuerim;" additque, "quæ nostri temporis gesta vel certis ab indicibus audivi, vel oculis ipse conspexi litteris mandavi[2]." En ut tandem audita pro compertis habet! Sed esset tolerabile, si testes sat locupletes adhibuisset et non populares suos, qui rerum suarum narratores adhibiti magis se sibi faventes quàm hosti præbent, quorum primipilares coryphæos Giraldus ipse "prædones" appellat[3]. Verùm quod ægriùs ferendum est, non his tantùm, sed intimæ plebis fæci patulas et credulas aures præbuit et quod illi sine

[1] Top. dist. i. c. 3. [2] Præf. dist. ii. [3] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 32.

[a] Giraldus, in some of his latest writings, maintains that he derived his information from Irishmen on all important matters relating to Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

GIRALDUS HAD VERY BAD MEANS OF ACQUIRING A KNOWLEDGE OF IRISH AFFAIRS.

[38] His own countrymen cited as witnesses by Giraldus.—The chief of them stigmatized as robbers by himself.—His story regarding the pagan islands of Connaught.—Sailors not trustworthy witnesses.—Character of his own countrymen whom he cites as witnesses. [39] Lombard too mild in his censure.—Contemporary criticisms on the works of Giraldus.—He did not believe his own stories.—Ware's opinion of Cambrensis. [40] He took some facts from the Irish authorities.—Abundance and copiousness of ancient Irish chronicles.—Did Giraldus destroy the Irish documents in the Latin language? [41] Irish manuscripts destroyed or carried off by the English in the reign of Elizabeth.—Similar Vandalism at all times practised in Ireland.—Giraldus probably its first author.—His work contains popular stories in abundance, but few historical facts.—Bad use made by him of the Irish authorities.

WHEN men undertake to write history they usually employ several means of arriving at truth; they have either the testimony of their own eyes, or the authority of others, or the public records, for the facts which they chronicle: the highest degree of historical faith is due to the authors who were eye-witnesses of what they relate. Cambrensis himself adopts these principles in his censure on Solinus and others. "It is not surprising," he says, "that they strayed from the path of truth, because they had no ocular testimony, but depended on rumors picked up at a distance from the scene of the events. A fact never rests on so good a foundation as when it was chronicled by an eye-witness." But, forgetting this good principle laid down by himself, he declares, in the same breath, that he will write not only what he saw, but also what he had from testimony. "May the Gods give me favor," he says, "not a fact have I written in this book, which does not rest either on the testimony of my own eyes, or on the word of the most honorable and trustworthy of my countrymen;" adding, "that as to the events of my own time, I either witnessed them or had them from the lips of witnesses." Here he adopts hearsay as certainty, and with good reason, I allow, if his informants were respectable witnesses and not his own countrymen[a], whose leaders himself stigmatizes as robbers, and who were witnesses in their own cause against an enemy. But, more unjustly still, not only they, but the very dregs of the vulgar, are adduced as authority. The wild stories retailed indiscriminately by the people, and jumbling toge-

ullo veri falsive discrimine effutiunt, a calamo suo in vulgus emanare permittit. Dicit enim, "nautas in insulis Connacticis vidisse homines nudos qui non sciverunt nisi carnes et pisces, nescierunt distinctionem temporum quadragesimæ festorum, aut ferialium dierum hebdomadæ; qui non fuerunt Christiani, nec audiverunt unquam de Christo." Possem insularum omnium Hiberniæ adjacentium nomina edere, et digito monstrare qui sanctus ferme singulas incoluerit, neque enim ullam earum incolis vacuam fuisse censeo, "cùm nulla æremus, nullus pœne angulus aut locus in insulâ, tam remotus, qui perfectis monachis et monialibus non repleretur. Et Sanctus Patricius ecclesias trecentas sexaginta quinque fundavit, ac todidem episcopos ordinavit[d]." Vide appendicem quintum Colgani ad Acta Sancti Patricii, cap. 23 in initio: "Sacras etiam ædes, sedes episcopales, monasteria, sacella promiscuè connumerando, fundavit septuaginta[e]." A quorum institutione nullum credo ad tantam ignorantiam deflexisse, ut Christi nomen ne fando quidem audierit. E nutricum enim et senum confabulationibus non poterant non haurire vel pauca ex iis, quæ in insulis, per retro acta tempora, gerebantur. Nam quæ a majoribus senes acceperunt crebris usurpant sermonibus.

Ut non advocem in patrocinium pastores animarum non tam supinâ fuisse negligentiâ, ut tot animarum salutem susque deque haberent, gnari certissimum sibi damnationis periculum accersere, si demandatam sibi provinciam tam segniter obirent. Non dubito quin ad difficiles aditu insulas presbyter, statis anni temporibus se contulerit; et fortasse "solstitio æstivo" quo Hector Boethius ad Hirtam Scotiæ insulam, "Sacerdotem accessisse," dicit, "infantes eo anno natos baptismate sacro tincturum, qui aliquot exinde dies ibi remanens, sacra administrat. Quibus peractis ac receptis ex ea, bona fide, omnium rerum eo anno natarum decimis, ad sua revertitur[f]." Præterea testimonio a

[d] [illegible] cap. 17[illegible]. [e] Ibid. [f] Descriptio Scotiæ, [illegible].

[c] It is certain that, after the death of Malachy II., Ireland was so frequently harassed by the armies of native princes contending for the supreme power, that many disorders must have overspread the country, notwithstanding the wonderful labours of SS. Malachy, Laurence, and other very eminent men, who labored zealously to restore the ancient fame of the Irish Church.

[d] Stephen White alleges a different mode of refuting this fable of Giraldus: "You represent those naked islanders," he says, "as never having heard of those monasteries

ther truth and falsehood, were greedily caught up and published to the world. Thus he states, "that the sailors saw men in some of the Connaught islands who went naked, and knew nothing but fish and flesh, no distinctions of the seasons of Lent or festivals, or the days of the week; who, in a word, were not Christians, and never heard even the name of Christ[b]." I could name all the islands on the Irish coast, and mention the saints who dwelt on them, for there was hardly one of them untenanted. "There was no desert, scarcely a single corner or spot in the island, however remote, that was not thickly peopled by zealous convents and monasteries, and St. Patrick himself founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and consecrated as many bishops." From Colgan's fifth Appendix to the Acts of St. Patrick, it appears that, taking all together, religious houses, episcopal sees, monasteries, and chapels, our Apostle founded seventy. I cannot believe that any one of them had fallen so far from its primitive institution, as that the people would not know at all events the name of Christ. Their nurses, or the old people, must have preserved some knowledge at least of the events formerly occurring on their islands. Old men are fond of transmitting what they heard from their fathers.

I could adduce in my support the pastors of the people, who could not be guilty of such criminal negligence as to abandon the case of so many souls, well knowing that such flagrant violation of their solemn duty would entail on the guilty priest eternal damnation[c]. I am sure those islands that were difficult of access were visited by the priest at certain periods of the year, perhaps in the summer solstice, "the time when," according to Hector Boethius, "the priest visited the island of Hirta, and baptized all the children who had been born during the year. After spending a few days administering to the other spiritual wants of the islanders, he returned to his home, with the tithes of all the produce of the year." Moreover, what reliance can be placed on the authority

foreigners who had descended from large ships on their shore; and yet, during more than twenty years, the King of Connaught had been at war with those foreigners; they had ravaged his lands, and gained some signal success over him; and yet some of his subjects, living off the shore of the small province of Connaught, had never heard of the great foreigners who were at war with their king!" "Mi Gyralde," he exclaims, "Deus tibi ignoscat si locus sit et indiges." "O Giraldus! may God pardon you, if you need and can receive it." Apostrophes of this kind often occur in White's *Apologia*.

nautis exhibito fidem adhibere quis obstringitur? Nam "in navibus educati rudes, et alieni a moribus liberalibus, et communi sensu esse solent. Nauticum enim genus suo elemento respondet, quòd a civilium hominum commercio submotum vivat[7]." Nec aliud est maritimis esse moribus quàm agrestibus, inconditis, et mobilibus instar maris quod frequentant; ad omnem spei vel timoris flatum plerumque circumferuntur, et rumusculos spargunt, non veritatis sæpissimè, sed studii eorum habitâ ratione, quibuscum eos communicant. Huc accedit quòd nemo adducetur ut credat curam popelli alicujus religione informandi nautas usisse, qui quæstûs tantùm faciendi causâ sciscitationes, et colloquia plerumque instituunt. Cùm verò nullum Giraldus testem in medium proferat nisi "comprovincialem;" non injuriâ quis suspicetur, "ex homicidis illis, seditiosis, et flagitiosis" aliquos sibi adscivisse, "quos Philippus de Breusa præ aliis electos in Cambriâ sibi adsociaverat[8]." Ut jam non dubium sit, quin e triviis et compitis, circumforaneos agyrtas, sycophantas, et semisses agasones sibi adjunxerit, eorumque delationes secundis auribus exceptas, ad infamiam gentis longè lateque diffundendam evulgaverit. Ut narrationes e tam vilium capitum sentinâ haustas, fide destitui oporteat.

[39] | Itaque nimis levi objurgatione Primas Hiberniæ Giraldum perstringit dicens, "iniquiorem eum fuisse in nationem et regionem Hibernicam." Acriùs multò in se superstitem aliquos invectos fuisse ipse gravissimè quæritur scribens: "opus non ignobile nostram Topographiam livor laniat, et detrectat. Primæ distinctioni et tertiæ livor contra naturam in laudes erumpens oblatrare tam verecundatur, quàm veretur. In mediam distinctionem insolenter invehitur; objicit enim in hunc modum: lupum introducit cum sacerdote loquentem, bovina humano corpori depingit extrema, mulierem barbatam, hircum amatorem et leonem[9]." Ille divinam potentiam errori suo prætexens, hæc jacula excutere nititur; ac si vera fuisse quæ retulit prodigia hinc eliceret, quòd in Dei portentorum opificis potestate situm sit ea patrare; axiomatis "a potentiâ ad actum non valet consequentia," vel dialecticæ candidatis notissimi planè vel immemor, vel ignarus. Testes potius suæ narrationis quàm locupletissimos laudare debuit, ac loca, tempus, personas nominatim designare. Non enim potestatis divinæ facultas,

[7] Adagia Erasmi, titulus in stupidos. [8] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cap. 12. [9] Præfatio. i. Hib. Expug.

of sailors? "Men educated in ships are generally rude, and ignorant of liberal manners, and of the common sense of mankind. For the sailor class is like its own element, being far removed from the society of civilized men." The manners of the sailor are rustic and uncouth, and fickle as the element on which he lives; he is carried away by every breath of hope and fear; and, in the story of his adventures, is guided less by truth than by the tastes of his audience. It is, moreover, very improbable that sailors took the trouble of ascertaining the religious principles of an obscure tribe; money and traffic being generally the object of their conversations and inquiry. Again, as Giraldus adduces no witnesses but "his own countrymen," is there any injustice in supposing that they were some of those "murderers, rebels, and profligates," whom Philip de Braos "specially invited to his standard in Cambria." There can hardly be a doubt that the informants whom he had gathered around him were strolling mummers, swindlers, hostlers, and penny-boys, picked up at the cross-road and thoroughfare. These were the sages to whom he loved to listen, and whose stories he duly chronicled to blast through the wide world the character of the country. What faith can be given to a narrative resting on such contemptible authority?

The Primate of Ireland was, therefore, too mild when he stigmatized Giraldus merely as being "rather unjust to Ireland and her inhabitants." That was not the criticism of some of Giraldus's own contemporaries. He complains most bitterly that the Topography, his respectable work, was the butt of envy and calumny. The first and second *distinctions* disarmed jealousy itself, and shamed and forced it to admire. But against the third distinction its fangs were insolently brandished. "He tells us," they say, "of a wolf that spoke to a priest; of a being half man, half ox; of a woman with a long beard, and of a buck-goat and lion acting the lover." Against these just criticisms he presumes to shield himself by an appeal to the omnipotence of God, as if all the prodigies he relates should necessarily be facts, because they did not exceed the limits of God's omnipotence. He must either have forgotten or never known that axiom familiar to every tyro in Dialectics, "a potentiâ ad actum non valet consequentia." He should rather have rested his narrative on trustworthy evidence, citing place, time, and persons. It is not the limits of God's power, but Giraldus's veracity, that we are dis-

sed narrationis Giraldianæ veritas in dubium revocata est, ut inaniter perfugium in potentiâ numinis quæsierit, quæ a commentis vel maximè abhorret. Itaque sordes quas vivus eluere non poterat, ejus vitâ functi famæ adhuc inhærescunt. Imò eorum pleraque quæ scripsit non sunt adeo veritati affinia, ut eis fidem accommodare quispiam debeat, cùm ipse conceptis verbis neget omnia ad veritatis trutinam excussa fuisse dicens: "nec ego volo temerè credi cuncta quæ posui, quia nec a meipso ita creduntur, tamquam nulla de iis sit in meâ cogitatione dubitatio, exceptis his, quæ ipse sum expertus, vel cujus facile est experiri. Cætera verò sic ut neque affirmanda neque neganda decreverim[10]." Habemus igitur confitentem reum, qui tria hic agnoscit: quorum primum est, ea quæ visu; alterum, quæ auditu hauserat in scripta se retulisse, postremum res ab illo sic acceptas, nec ita veras esse, ut temerè iis credere ullus debeat; nec tam firmas, ut non sint affirmandæ aut negandæ. Quòd si quæ vel per se, vel aliis narrantibus cognovit, tantâ laborare incertitudine ipse agnoscat, quâ certitudine scripta ejus fulcientur non video. Non adeo sum a Giraldo aversus, ut res ab ipso visas, in dubium revocem. Sed res "authenticorum comprovincialium" (ut Giraldus loquitur) relationibus compertæ, nullius apud me vel fidei, vel ponderis erunt, ut quorum aliis perfidiæ notam ipse Cambrensis inurit: alios paulò antè prædones, alios homicidas, seditiosos, flagitiosos: primores Neubrigensis "inopiâ laborantes, et lucri cupidos appellavit," ut nullum illi perfugium reliquum nisi in solâ famâ sit. Itaque inter mortales existens, cùm mendacii a quibusdam urgentiùs argueretur, et plurimorum reclamationibus frequentiùs obtunderetur, culpam a se in famam retulit; ut mendacia rumorum præsidio tegeret.

Nisi enim ab eo veritatis agnitio per vim exprimeretur, non est credibile tantum ab illo dedecus ab eo admissum iri ut diceret: "De Topographiâ Hibernicâ, labore scilicet nostro primævo fere nec ignobili ubi multa nova, aliisque regionibus prorsus incognita (ideoque magis admiranda) scribuntur, hoc pro certo sciendum, quòd quorundam, quinimo quamplurium per diligentem et certam indagationem a magnis terræ illius et authenticis viris notitiam elicuimus; de cæterisque totius terræ famam potius secuti sumus: de quibus omnibus cum Augustino sentimus, qui in lib. de Civitate Dei, de talibus, quæ solùm fama celebrat, nec certâ veritate fulciuntur loquutus, nec ea affirmanda pluri-

[10] Præfatio, i. Hib. Expug.

cussing. It was a pitiful subterfuge to appeal to the power of God, who abominates lies above all things. No—the brand of infamy, burned on Giraldus during life, cleaves to him in his grave. Far the greater part of his work is not entitled to any credit, for he himself expressly declares that truth had not been his sole guide. "I do not expect," he says, "that everything I write should be rashly believed; for, with the exception of what came under my own observation, or what could be easily ascertained, my own belief in my narrations is not fixed and unhesitating. I give them without pronouncing on their truth or falsehood." Here he pleads guilty; for, after telling us that he wrote what he saw and heard from others, he confesses that even those things are not so certain that they ought to be believed, or that even he himself would affirm or deny them. Now if, by his own confession, there be such uncertainty in what he saw or heard from others, I am at a loss to know what claims his book can have to authority? I am not so prejudiced against him as to disbelieve what he tells me he witnessed; but the narratives founded on the authority of his "trustworthy countrymen" I reject and contemn. The leaders of the invasion are stigmatized by Newbury as "needy and avaricious adventurers;" and by Giraldus himself as traitors, or robbers, or murderers, or rebels, or criminals. Vague rumor was, therefore, the sole ground of his book; and when, during his life-time, he was vehemently denounced, and his statements often branded as lies, he shifted the blame from himself to public rumor. It was his only authority.

If a confession of the truth had not been violently extorted from him, he never could have been shamed into the following admission: "With regard to my Topography of Ireland,—that respectable work, and almost the first from my pen, in which so many strange things and utterly unknown in other countries are recorded,—I would have it distinctly known that some, nay many, of the facts therein recorded, were derived from accurate and most searching inquiries among some of the greatest and safest authorities in that country; on other points I have rather followed the popular rumours of the land; and of them I hold the opinion of St. Augustin, who, speaking in his City of God, of those things which rest merely on report, without any certain ground of truth, decides, that generally they are of such a character that we cannot either admit or positively deny them." From this it clearly

mùm, nec prorsus abneganda decrevit[11]." Atqui nunc dilucidè perspici potest non jam secundam Topographiæ distinctionem ab uno aliquo, sed universam a pluribus impetitam, et eversam fuisse. In quâ cùm quæ sub fabularum notionem veniunt non sigillatim indicantur, toti operi fabellationis appellationem cur subducam, ac authorem fabellatoris insignis titulo defraudem, non video. A quâ sententiâ non longè Warræus abit dicens: "Multa fabulosa de Hiberniâ accumulavit Giraldus Cambrensis in Topographiâ Hiberniæ. Sed aliis ea discutienda relinquimus: si quidem exacta eorum discussio justum requirit tractatum," etc. Et paulò post addit: "Se mirari viros aliquos hujus sæculi alioqui graves et doctos figmenta ea Giraldi mundo iterum pro veris
[40] obtrusisse[12]." Pronum est quàm plurima Topographiæ | loca funditùs convellere; sed cùm eorum universim ipse palinodiam cecinerit, eo labore tamquam supervacaneo, supersedendum censeo, et homini gratulandum quòd delicti conscientiam diutiùs apud se morari non permiserit: imo extra veritatis metas per imprudentiam raptus, intra demissionis se limites tandem receperit. Ut infirmitatis humanæ sorti condonandum sit quòd deliquerit, virtuti adscribendum quòd resipuerit.

Verùm ab ultimâ hominum memoriâ ille multa repetit, quæ oculis, aut auditu percipere, aut rumusculis, quos unicè sectari visus est, excipere non potuit. Neque enim nautarum cæleumata, neque gregariorum militum susurrus, quibus ille ut plurimùm aures avidiùs accommodare consuevit, quidpiam hiscere poterant explorati de iis, quæ de veteris memoriæ rebus posteritati commendavit. "Sed illæ, proh dolor! vel nullis," ante ipsum, "editæ, vel paucis enucleatæ sunt. Hibernicus enim orbis non omnino intactus, nullius tamen," ante Giraldum, "stylo absolutè comprehensus est." Imò "in duabus primis Topographiæ partibus, nullam prorsus ex scriptis Hibernicis evidentiam, nullum penitus invenit (præter ipsam disquisitionis diligentiam) extrinseci juvaminis adminiculum." Duas igitur priores Topographiæ distinctiones e cerebro suo, et sciscitationibus; posteriorem e tabularum monumentis

[11] Ex retractionibus Giraldi, vide Ussherum in Sylloge, p. 159. [12] De Antiquitatibus Hiberniæ, cap. 13.

[d] If Giraldus found no materials in Ireland for the second distinction of his Topography, it must be because he took no trouble to find them. Many of the Latin lives of the Irish saints are anterior to his day. There were other abundant materials on the same subject in the Irish language, if we can judge from catalogues and parch-

appears that it was not merely one assailant Giraldus had, and against one part of his work, namely, the second distinction, but that the whole work was assailed and refuted by a host of critics. Moreover, as he does not specify the parts which are founded on report alone, I cannot see how the whole work can be regarded otherwise than as a heap of fables, or why Giraldus is not to take his place among story-tellers? Such appears to have been the opinion of Ware. "Giraldus Cambrensis," he says, "has collected in his Topography many fabulous stories regarding Ireland; but we must leave the examination of them to others, as the subject would require a good volume," &c.; and afterwards he adds, "that he is surprised how some men of the present age, otherwise eminent for prudence and learning, could again venture to present Giraldus's inventions to the world in the guise of history." I feel strongly inclined to give a thorough refutation of very many parts of the Topography; but it would be a useless labor, since we have his own universal recantation. We have only to congratulate the man on his not allowing his guilt to weigh on his conscience, and on his humble return from his imprudent wanderings in the paths of error. His offence must be laid to the account of the frailty of human nature; his repentance was an act of virtue.

But he states many things regarding our very remote history, which he could neither see with his eyes, nor learn from others, nor sanction even with the poor authority of his favorite popular reports. The gossipings of sailors, or the vague stories of the common soldiers, to which he was ever ready to give so willing an ear, could supply him with no glimpse of those facts which he has recorded regarding our ancient history. "But, alas!" he cries, "they had been," before his own day "either utterly unexplored, or known only to a few. For the Irish world, though not a perfectly maiden subject before him, was never before fully exhibited to the world." Nay, "in the two first parts of the Topography, he got no light whatsoever from Irish books[d], none from external aid, nothing but his own searching and diligent inquiry." The two first parts of the Topography were, therefore, a compound of his own reveries and inquiries: the third was taken from the public re-

ments still extant; and, yet, though he professes, in that second distinction, to treat of the "Mirabilia" of Irish saints, he could find no written materials to aid his inquiry!

eruerat. Quænàm autem ea monumenta fuerant ex ipso accipe. "In tertiâ solâ," inquit, "de habitatoribus insulæ, et de gentium origine, aliquam de eorum chronicis contraxi notitiam. Verumtamen, ea quæ ab ipsis diffusè nimis, et inordinatè, magnâque ex parte superfluè satis, et frivolè, rudi quoque et agresti stylo congesta fuerunt, non absque labore plurimo, tamquam marinas inter arenas gemmas eligens, et excipiens, elegantiora quæque præsenti volumine, quanto compendiosiùs potui lucidiùsque digessi." Modò pauciora scripta, et rariores fuisse rerum Hibernicarum scriptores conquæstus est; ut historiam gentis levibus tantùm, et rudibus lineis adumbratam suis coloribus, et justâ formâ Giraldi penicillùm excolere oportuerit. Nunc mole se chronicorum obrui, et copiâ indignatur; quòd quæ "nimis diffusa sunt" contrahere, et amputare "superflua cogatur." Nimirum in chronicorum tamquam Augiæ stabuli sordibus egerendis ejus industria desudavit, sed laboriosiùs quàm faeliciùs. Etenim sordes omnes in suum opus congessit, cujus luxuriem potiùs resecare debuit, quàm ex alienâ messe cum lolio segetem funditùs evellere. "Diffudit" certè per omnes ferme operum suorum artus et arteria non "superflua" solùm, sed etiam non cohærentia, inter se pugnantia, et a veritate maximè abhorrentia, ita Chronicorum illorum jacturam ipsi acceptam referimus, quæ Latinis literis expressa fuisse non ambigimus, cùm Hiberniæ linguæ ignoratione Giraldus teneretur.

Trogi Pompeii vastum opus Justinus in pauca contraxit, et præstantissimis quibusque rebus ex eo decerptis, illud ab hominum oculis, et notitiâ submovisse dicitur, ut sua hominibus evolvenda obtruderet. Quæ prolixiori oratione Livius texuit, Florus breviori prosecutus est, et conatus fuisse dicitur, ut opera Livii e medio tollerentur, quo manibus omnium ipsius scripta tererentur. Quare turpi se flagitio, et Rempub. literariam maximo damno affecerunt. His accuratum se imitatorem Giraldus præstitit, qui majorum nostrorum monumenta fabularum vanitate liberare, et res gestas ab oblivione vendicare aggressus, illa tantâ brevitate complexus est, ut meliori, et saniori parte mutilaverit, has sic obscuraverit, ut ne nomina quidem Regum, nedum res eorum gestas

[e] As Giraldus was not able to pursue his historical researches on Wales, his native country, without the aid of persons well acquainted with the Welsh language, it were strange if he had taken the trouble of learning the Irish, especially when he sneers at the Welsh as "barbarous."—*Ussher, Sylloge*, p. 117.

cords, of which he gives us the following account. "In the third part alone," he says, "there are some sketches of the inhabitants of the isle, and the origin of the tribes, which I took from their chronicles. But as they were too diffuse and disorderly, and generally too frivolous and redundant, and thrown together in a rude and indigested way, it cost me a world of labor to select the more interesting parts, culling them like pearls from sea sand, and arranging them in the most lucid and compendious form in my present volume." A moment ago he complained of the paucity of Irish writers and the poverty of Irish chronicles, whose vague and undefiled outlines had never been filled up until his master-hand moulded and colored them into a living picture. But now he complains that he is literally overwhelmed by the mass and variety of Irish materials; his great difficulty being to abridge "their diffuseness," and lop away their "exuberant redundance." The chronicles were an Augean stable demanding the full exertion of his expurgating powers; but his success has not corresponded with his industry. For his own work is strewn thick with the fetid refuse; and, instead of pruning down its rank luxuriance, he has put his sickle in the harvest of other men, and utterly destroyed the good seed with the weeds. The whole frame of his work, in all its members, is a compound of "redundant," incoherent, contradictory statements, flagrantly opposed to facts; and beyond a doubt it was he that destroyed the chronicles from which he compiled: they must have been in Latin, as he was utterly ignorant of the Irish language[e].

Justin wrote an abridgment of the vast work of Trogus Pompeius. Having pillaged the original of all that was most interesting, he is said to have destroyed it, that his book might be thus forced into public notice, and rank with posterity among standard works. Florus abridged the flowing and copious narrative of Livy, and then endeavoured, it is said, to destroy Livy's, that he might thus rise to fame on the ruins of his original. These men were guilty of an atrocious crime, and inflicted an irreparable injury on the republic of letters; but they have been too faithfully followed by Giraldus, who, under the pretence of expurgating the monuments of our fathers from fabulous narratives, and rescuing their history from oblivion, has compressed them into so narrow a compass that he mutilated the more solid and interesting portion, and left them so meagre, that, far from giving a history of our kings,

ediderit. Antiquitatum Cantabrigensium de Polidoro Virgilio hæc sunt verba: "Illum ne aliquando ejus intelligerentur errores, fama percrebuit, atque etiam cognitum, et compertum certò est, tot historicos nostros vetustos, et manuscriptos immani scelere igni commendâsse, quot ne plaustrum quidem posset capere, atque sustinere; arbitratus, ut credo, se ejus generis omnes solum habuisse, aut veritus sibi vitio dari quòd secutus legem jampridem librorum veterum castigatoribus datam, nonnulla resecuerit, quæ scriptores prodiderunt[13]." Henricus Spondanus asserit, "Polydorum minùs accuratè res Anglicas quàm a multis putatur, collatione cum antiquis factâ, sæpè se reperisse; perturbatorem magis quàm compositorem historiæ Anglicanæ fuisse; ac res Anglicas assentatoriè magis quàm historicè describere consuetum; demum ejus historiam majoris laboris, quàm exactæ accurationis nomen apud plerosque meritum fuisse." Fortasse Polidorus præivisse in
[41] Angliâ scriptores accepit, qui superioris memoriæ res | literis tradituri, vetera monumenta simili incendio aboleverunt. Certè patrum memoriâ Angli in Hiberniâ monumentis Hibernicis diripiendis impensissimè inhiârunt; ut Analectes verè conquestus fuerit: "Si uspiam apud privatum asservari intelligunt hi qui cum imperio præsunt fragmentum aliquod veteris historiæ MS. prece illud sive prætio corradunt, vel si nec prece, aut prætio obtinent, succedunt præcibus minæ, et præcepta, quibus refragari paulo mínus quàm læthiferum est[14]." Et infra: "Strenuus fuisse fertur in isto artificio conquerendi undequaque, auferendique aut supprimendi vetustos codices præsertim in Provinciâ Momoniæ (quam præsidiali authoritate gubernabat) Georgius Carew presbyteri filius," Totniæ postea Comes, et Hiberniæ Pacatæ scriptor, "qui nobilissimo viro Carteorum Coryphæo antiquissimum volumen MS. exculpsit. Sed quod Præses in unâ Provinciâ, id fecit per universum regnum

[13] Lib. i. pag. 70. [14] Pag. 557.

[f] It is certain that many of the richest historical collections in England and Ireland were stocked, by this species of public robbery, with the literary Irish remains. The public establishments and private collections of Catholics, since the Reformation, were often rifled, even in times of peace, and their poor literary stores carried off to the nearest sheriff's office, or the Castle of Dublin. One of the earliest recollections of the writer is to have visited frequently a little nook in the Castle of Maudlin-street, city of Kilkenny, which, tradition said, had, for security's sake, been the library of Colman O'Shaugnessy, Catholic Bishop of Ossory, in the middle of the last century. He, and his immediate predecessors and successors, lived near the castle, in an humble thatched

he does not mention even their names. In the Cambridge Antiquities, we have the following statement regarding Polydore Virgil: "It was publicly reported, and it is now a certain and well-authenticated fact, that, lest his errors might some day be discovered, he sacrilegiously committed many of our old historians to the flames, together with more than a waggon-load of manuscripts; imagining, I suppose, that no other copies of them were extant; or, perhaps, fearing that he might be censured for having, in accordance with the rule formerly observed by the expurgators of old books, omitted many things which the writers had chronicled." Henry Spondanus asserts, "that by a diligent collation of the ancient authorities, he discovered that Polydore's History of England was not so accurate as many persons believed; that it confused rather than illustrated the series of events; that the author was generally guided not by truth, but by flattery, in his views on English matters; and, finally, that most judges give him credit, not so much for greater exactness, as for the superior industry exhibited in his history." It may be that Polidorus had heard of some English writers before his time, who, after writing the history of other days, consigned their old authorities to a similar fate. Certain it is, that, within the recollection of our fathers, the English burned with savage rage for the annihilation of our Irish documents. The author of the Analecta justly complains, "that if any officers of the government heard of a fragment of manuscript history being in the possession of a private individual, it was at once begged or bought; or, if neither money nor entreaty were strong enough, threats and commands immediately followed, which it might cost one's life to resist." And again: "Far the most active in this trade of hunting out in all quarters, and carrying away[f] or destroying ancient books, especially in the province of Munster, of which he was President, was George Carew, the son of a priest," afterwards Viscount Totness, and author of the Hibernia Pacata. "He took from the head of the noble family of the M'Carthies a most ancient manuscript volume. But the course pursued by this President

house, which is still standing, with its mitre in relief on the marble chimney-piece. O'Shaughnessy and Dr. Burke, author of the "Hibernia Dominicana," are buried side by side in the centre of the churchyard, at the back of the house, and within the limits of what was once a chapel dedicated to St. Stephen. Father Brennan, author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, was born not far from the Castle of Maudlin-street.

Henricus Sydneius, et alii ante eum Proreges, qui omnia quæ colligere poterant, *uno quasi curriculo asportârunt*, ut istud inter alia sibi demandata, *quando in hoc regnum mitterentur, injunctum fuisse videatur, ut quam diligentissime abolerent omnem* vetustatis memoriam in *Hiberniâ*[a]."

Exploratum profectò est patrum memoriâ, Hiberniâ bello conflagrante, *Reginæ milites e Castris ruralibus*, et quibuscunque vel hostium *vel amicorum ædibus quoscumque Hibernicos* libros summo studio corrasisse, ut eos dominis abripere in imperatis habuisse videatur, qui postea in urbium præsidiis collocati, membraneorum illorum voluminum folia grandiora, inter pueros in ludis literariis ad librorum sittibas, et inter sartores ad lacinias pro vestium formâ dimetiendâ partiti sunt. Ut quæ consuetudo posterioribus Anglicis in Hiberniâ militibus Hibernica scripta discerpendi fuit, primis Hiberniæ direptoribus Anglicis familiaris fuisse, ac ab iisdem manâsse censenda sit. Inter quos in hujusmodi monumentorum discerptionibus Giraldum primas retulisse vix dubito, qui vel Regum Hiberniæ "nomina, gesta, et tempora præteriit, tum quia pauca in illis insignia, et memoriâ digna repererat, tum etiam ne compendium inutilis prolixitas impediret[b]." In hoc Justini, Flori, et Polydori ambitionem, et invidentiam supergressus, quòd illi Regum nomina non tacuerint, hic celaverit; illi res eorum gestas adjunxerint, hic non modò siluerit, sed etiam dedecore notaverit. Quam utramque injuriam spero fore ut nomenclatura Regum Hiberniæ a nobis in hoc opere exhibita aliquantulum resarcierit, ut quæ præter eorum nomina, nonnullas etiam res ab iis præclarè gestas profert, quibus Giraldus aperte livoris, et mendacii arguitur, quòd eorum egregia facinora non

[a] Pag. 309. [b] Top. dist. iii.

The ancient literary monuments of Ireland [illegible] were destroyed in great numbers during the long wars from the invasion of the Northmen. [illegible]

[illegible] milies conformed so rapidly to the national taste, that no government could execute the [illegible] project, except perhaps in a few towns and in the small circuit of the Pale. Some instances occur in our history. [illegible] There was a seizure [illegible] of some Irish books [illegible] Clonmel: "Rex Vicecomiti Dublin., [illegible] libros, &c. &c., [illegible] Hibernicorum [illegible] in [illegible] of Clonmel [illegible]

in one province had been already adopted throughout Ireland by Henry Sidney and preceding governors, who swept away in one heap everything that they could lay hands on; so that one of their most special instructions, when deputed to govern this island, would appear to have been, to annihilate, with the most unsparing hand, every monument of antiquity in Ireland."

It is a fact well authenticated by the testimony of the last generation, that, while Ireland was wasted by the flames of war, the Queen's troops, wherever they were quartered through the country, rifled the houses of friends and foes indiscriminately, and carried off all Irish manuscripts. This Vandalism must, probably, have been the execution of a government order, for when the soldiers were called in to garrison the towns, large leaves of those manuscript volumes were distributed to schoolboys to make covers for their books, or cut up in the tailor's shop to make measures for clothes. This exploit of English soldiers against Irish manuscripts in modern times was, no doubt, a part of the hereditary tactics, imported and transmitted by the first English invaders[g]. Is it unjust to suspect that Giraldus must have distinguished himself in this destruction of our documents, "when he omits the names, actions, and time of the Kings of Ireland, because he found in them little remarkable or worthy of notice, and because useless prolixity would encumber his abridgment?" His envy or ambition surpassed even that of Florus, Justin, and Polydore; they published the line of kings, he suppresses them; they gave a history of their reigns, he is not only silent on that point, but brands them with contempt. These injuries, I think, will be somewhat repaired by a list of Irish kings contained in my work, giving, together with their names, many of their noble achievements, as an answer to Giraldus's malignant and jealous lie, and proving that their noble actions were not only "worthy of notice,"

istentes arrestet."—*Rot. Claus. Rich. II.* But during the reign of Elizabeth, as stated by our author, the same system was adopted in Ireland, which she, as well as her immediate predecessors, had adopted in Wales. There the Bible, when translated into Welsh by the natives, was taken from the churches and publicly burned, though every encouragement was given to the translation of the Bible in England. The Welsh historical manuscripts and documents were seized and destroyed; and antiquarians, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, were subjected to prosecution for having studied Welsh antiquities.—*Archæology of Wales*, preface, x.

solùm "digna memoriâ" fuerint; sed etiam digna, quæ posteritati, et ad scelera declinanda, et virtutem amplectendam, exemplo proponantur. Quibus multò præstitisset ut Giraldus libros suos insignivisset, quàm plebeculæ spurcitiis inquinâsset, quas tam magno studio conquisitas libris suis inseruerat. Quasi pertimesceret ne præclara magnatum facta "Compendium nimiâ prolixitate distenderet," quod vulgi nævis toti genti ab ipso adscriptis sarcire constituit. Sicut aranea virus e thymo, mel apis exsugit; sic e pessimis quibusque quorumvis Hibernorum moribus fasciculum ille fecit, missa faciens quæ apud Hibernos præclariora repererat. Sordes tamen istas ille "pro gemmis" habere visus est quas "eligens," et "excipiens," tamquam "elegantiora præsenti volumine digessit," instar suis, cui magis volupe est in sterquilinii volutabro, quàm inter suavissimos quosque odores se versare. Fateor equidem ingenuè nullam esse gentem, cui suæ laudes et labes non insunt. Quare minùs molestè fero quæ apud nos turpia sunt propalari, si præclara quæque non reticerentur.

but worthy of being held up to posterity as the most powerful motives to virtue, and to a hatred of crime. Giraldus would have spent his time more usefully in ornamenting his pages by those brilliant deeds, than in defiling them with vulgar stories, collected with such perverted industry. "The noble deeds of Irish kings would encumber his abridgment with excessive prolixity;" but space enough was reserved for every blot in the character of the Irish peasant, as a means of calumniating the whole nation. The spider extracts poison, and the bee honey, from the thyme; so Giraldus has raked together whatever was censurable in the morals of all the Irish, to the total exclusion of their noble qualities. His filthy stories were the "pearls" which he "culled" and collected, and set as "the fairest ornaments in his present volume;" like the sow which revels more voluptuously when wallowing in the mire, than when regaled with the most fragrant odors. I am not so simple as to deny that every nation has its faults as well as its virtues; nor could I have just grounds of complaint, if he had not totally suppressed whatever was honorable, after having published whatever was discreditable in Ireland.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Laudat Morganum. [illegible] Waganum.— [illegible] probatis authoribus. [illegible] Lectorum Hiber- [illegible]—Dentes aurei [illegible] Anglorum rapinas [illegible] agris spoliârunt.—Varia [illegible] Martis viam ascribit.—Falsa vis a [illegible] Giraldus. Opprobria ejus in Ecclesiam [illegible]

[illegible] communibus calculis exigunt, ut [illegible] non turbulentus, sed placidus, probus, integer, [illegible] moderatus[1]; his virtutibus aliisque histori- [illegible] tantum abest ut Giraldus ornatus, ut potiùs vitiis [illegible]. Quæ lector planè perspiciet, si totum hujus [illegible] persequatur. Turbulentæ verò in- [illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER VI.

GIRALDUS WAS SUBJECT TO MANY VICES, UTTERLY REPUGNANT TO THE QUALITIES OF A HISTORIAN.

[42] Giraldus a turbulent man.—Litigious.—Addicted to augury.—An admirer of Merlin. [43] "Prophetic History" a profane title for his book.—Pernicious writings of Merlin.—Penalties against magicians.—Giraldus believed in dreams. [44] Belief in dreams condemned by Scripture and profane authors. [45] His passion for augury.—Foolish comments on the whale of the golden teeth.—Woes of the Irish Church.—True date of the appearance of that whale.—Fiach, King of Ulster, a just prince.—The golden teeth not an omen of the English invasion.—The wolves that brought forth their young in winter, types of the rapacity of the English, not of the Irish. [46] The English seized all the lands of their Irish adherents.—Various and contradictory interpretations of omens.—Giraldus attaches a superstitious power to Wednesdays.—Believed in lucky and unlucky days. [47] Destiny an empty sound.—Pagan prayer of Giraldus.—A false efficacy falsely ascribed by Giraldus to fire.—He appears to sanction soothsaying.—His blasphemies against the Church and the saints.—Brief recapitulation.

IT is the unanimous opinion of those who prescribe rules for composing a history, that the historian should not be a turbulent man, but mild, sedate, honest, grave, prudent, modest, and of the best character; but Giraldus possessed none of these, or the other good qualities of an historian. He was the slave of the opposite vices, as any reader must clearly see, if he follows attentively the course of my work. That he was of turbulent and morose temper is sufficiently evident from the fact, "that many nobles of the highest rank in the Court were his enemies[a];" and so odious was he to the Welsh that he threw himself completely into the society of the English, though they also disliked him, because he was a native of Wales[b]. Thus, like another Aristarchus, he would appear to have raised his censor's rod against the world, or to have

Wales, than all the Welsh princes and tribes together. But, if we believe Giraldus himself, the Welsh were not at any time sincerely attached to him. The Canons of St. David, he says, elected him, because they knew they had no chance of obtaining the royal confirmation of a *pure* Welsh bishop, and therefore they selected Giraldus, who was of mixed Norman and Welsh blood. Hence, he says, when the see of St. David's became vacant a third time during his life, he received no votes from the Canons (see note [e], p. 344, *infrà*), because there was then some liberty of election established by the labors of St. Thomas of Canterbury and his successors. This neglect irritated Giraldus, and infused into his already severe reflections on the Welsh all the censorious acrimony of wounded pride and disappointed ambition.—See *Ang. Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 521.

retur, quando cum ipso homines commercium habere detrectaverunt. Huc accedit quòd Stanihurstus "mordacem[3]" illum appellet. Imò scriptorum ejus tituli conviciandi pruritu illum laborâsse palam indicant. Scripsit enim invectiones "Triennales, lib. I.;" "De Cistersentium Nequitiis, lib. I.;" "Ad Æmulorum Objecta, lib. I.[4]:" quasi non satis esset ut vivus dentatâ maledicentiâ mortales roderet, nisi etiam invectivarum cudendarum artificio illum apprimè instructum fuisse posteris innotesceret.

Quæ tolerabiliùs ferenda forent, si præterea se litium serendarum studiosissimum non præbuisset: "in quibus magnam vitæ partem, cum Huberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, pro Metropolitano Menevensis Ecclesiæ jure consumpsit. Unde in Romanorum decretis nomen ejus est celebre[5]." Ut non tenui aliquâ litigandi scientiâ præditus, sed

[3] Pag. 260. [4] Waræus de Scriptoribus Hiberniæ. [5] Vita ejus ubi supra.

[c] Giraldus is frequently severe on the vices of his clerical brethren, especially the Welsh: "Sicut laici et populi Walliæ fures et raptores erant rerum aliarum, sic et episcopi Wallenses Ecclesiarum."—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 474. Again: "Nosse te novi quod notum in Walliâ nimis est et notorium, canonicos Menevenses ferè cunctos, maximè verò Walensicos, publicos fornicasios et concubinarios esse sub alis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et tanquam in ejus gremio focarias suas cum obstetricibus et nutricibus atque cunabulis in laribus et penetralibus exhibentes."—*Ibid.* p. 525. The same vices were general and inveterate in the cathedral churches of Wales: "Vitiis radicatis olim et quasi innatis."—*Ibid.* p. 519.

[d] These contests are viewed in a very different light by other writers, especially by Thierry, in his *Norman Conquest*. Giraldus, in his opinion, was a second St. Thomas of Canterbury, contending for the liberties of the Welsh Church and people against the tyranny of England. It is true that Giraldus was twice elected by the Canons of St. David, namely, in 1176 and in 1198 (p. 340, note [b], *suprà*), and that on both occasions he supported a long contest, by appeals to Rome, against the English King and clergy; but there are strong reasons for doubting whether he was influenced by those motives of patriotism and uncompromising hostility to English power which Thierry attributes to him. In the first place, Giraldus began his career in Wales, by accepting from the Archbishop of Canterbury a sort of legatine powers to suppress certain peculiar Welsh usages in the diocese of St. David's (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 470); and by the exercise of this foreign power he excited against himself the Welsh clergy and people.—*Ibid.* Again, after the election of 1178, instead of suffering persecution and flying for protection to France, for his opposition to the English Court, as Thierry asserts, he merely retired to the University of Paris, to perfect himself in his studies (*ibid.* p. 477), and was on his return immediately appointed substitute for his rival in the see of St. David's, with every power except that which episcopal consecration confers.—*Ibid.* p. 481. On the

rivalled the virulence of Anacharsis, when expelled from the society of men. Stanihurst says that Giraldus was "calumnious," and the very titles of his works evince a decided propensity to invective. For he wrote "The Triennials, lib. I.;" "On the Delinquencies of the Cistercians, lib. I.;" "Answer to my Adversaries, lib. I.:" as if it were not enough to glut his rapacious appetite for slander during life, without bequeathing to posterity monuments of the scathing powers of his pen[c].

Those traits of character might not be so repulsive had he not evinced an extraordinary passion for litigation. "The greater part of his life was spent in a controversy with Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, regarding the metropolitan rights of the church of St. David's[d]. Hence his name became notorious in Roman decretals." That man

second vacancy of that see in 1198, he was again elected, but the election was contested by the English party and Crown. A second scrutiny took place in Normandy, in which the Canons gave no votes for Giraldus, and this fact appears to have changed entirely his views of Welsh patriotism and church liberty. For, finding that he had no chance of success, after a long contest of five years defending his own election, he strongly advised the justiciaries not to allow any Welshman to be elected; he proposed two Normans as eligible candidates; and when the Canons of St. David privately waited on him, and begged him to support one of several Welshmen whom they proposed, he sternly refused, because they, the Canons, had excluded him in the election in Normandy: "Memor nominationis quam ipsi fecerant in Normanniâ a quâ tam facilè se ipsum excluserant."—*Ibid.* p. 607. But this resolution was as brief as it was selfish. He reconsidered it, and, reflecting that the Welsh were not worth fighting for, that at least he had had the satisfaction of defeating his most bitter enemies, and that his rival had never offended him personally, he withdrew his opposition.—*Ibid.* p. 608. But to these may, perhaps, be added another motive not more creditable, and more efficacious. Giraldus resigned his Archdeaconry, which, by a previous compact, was to be conferred on his nephew, who was then a child; the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the request of Giraldus, having so arranged the matter with the new Bishop of St. David's. Giraldus resigned, his nephew was appointed Archdeacon of St. David's, and Prebend of Martru; but, on the "petition and presentation of the nephew, the new Bishop confirmed to Master Giraldus the perpetual and free administration of the revenues of both dignities." — *Ibid.* p. 609. Thus the great contest for the dignity of Wales ended in a family settlement! It is a strange perversion of history to compare such a man to St. Thomas of Canterbury; but Dr. Lynch is too severe in supposing that the contest for the metropolitan rights of the see of St. David's, in which Giraldus engaged, was in itself discreditable. It was a good cause in bad hands. Giraldus gives five reasons for his nepotism; but his nephew afterwards deserted him: "non absque notâ infamiæ perpetuæ innaturalem simul et ingratum."—*Ibid.* p. 620.

vitiligator exercitatissimus fuisse censendus sit, qui non modò plures annos judiciâ aliis impingendâ, sed etiam longius vitæ tempus posuerit: et cujus assiduitas in fatigandis tribunalibus non levi delineatione, sed altâ impressione tabulis publicis mandata fuit, quo testatiùs ad posteritatem transmitteretur. *Quæ* patentiùs hinc constant, quòd ab uno æmulo pro tribunali devictus, in contentionem cum alio mox descenderit, Galfrido scilicet Lanthaniensi Priore, cui Menevensem Episcopatum, coram Innocentio III., abripere totis viribus connixus est[a]. Verùm, sicuti priori congressu judiciali, sic etiam in hoc, causâ cecidit. Quâ profligatione tantùm abest ut animum desponderit, ut potius acriùs irritatus impetu simili Albinum Abbatem Baltinglassensem adortus fuerit[7]. Proculdubio nisi contentionibus mirificè caperetur, tot se litibus, non irretiret, quarum illi nulla ex animi sententiâ successit. Albinum in illâ disceptatione palmam retulisse id argumento est, quòd Episcopatum Fernensem ab ipso Giraldo repudiatum Rex Joannes in Albinum contulerit, qui ad tantam dignitatem institutoris sui adver-

[6] Waræus ubi suprà. [7] Waræus, ibid. p. 118.

[a] Galfrid was the successful rival of Giraldus in the election of 1198.—p. 342, note [d], *suprà*. Thierry attributes the Papal decision in that case to the corruption of the Roman Court; but Giraldus himself lays the principal blame on the treachery and dishonesty of the Canons of St. David, whom he describes in very dark colors.—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 5[illegible], 560, 566, 569, 5[illegible]. Yet, when Galfrid was dying, those Canons promised a third time to elect Giraldus, if he would engage not to punish their vices, but he refused. *Ibid.* p. 5[illegible], note [illegible], *suprà*. Now whether such a stipulation would be deemed necessary, or refused, [illegible] the reader may infer from the fact that Giraldus had governed St. David's as Archdeacon since 11[illegible], and as [illegible] since 1[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] been, elect a strict disciplinarian? It is certain that Giraldus closed the disputed election of 1198 by a compromise which secured to his own nephew the succession of the Archdeaconry of St. David's (p. 342, note [d], *suprà*), though he denounces those family successions as one of the inveterate and flagrant abuses of the Welsh Church. If Giraldus could thus practice what he denounced, and be ardently supported in two elections by wicked Canons whom he had ruled as superior, were there not other reasons for the Papal decision against his promotion to a bishopric than the English gold on which M. Thierry is so eloquent?

[b] This word appears to insinuate that Giraldus was engaged in a judicial controversy with Albin O'Mulloy; [illegible] the fact. It was a dispute [illegible] in Dublin under Archbishop [illegible] in 1[illegible]. Albin attributing most of the disasters [illegible]

must have been no ordinary tyro, but a most consummate adept in the by-ways of litigation, who spent not only many years, but his whole life, in assailing the character of others, and whose incessant appeals to the public tribunals engraved his name in no fleeting characters, but in adamantine incisions on the public records, to immortalize his pugnacity. A palpable proof of this temper is found in the fact, that he had scarcely time to breathe after his unsuccessful controversy with his former antagonist, when we find him at war with Galfrid[e], Prior of Lanthony, whose right to the bishopric of St. David's he contested before Innocent III. But this battle was, like the preceding, unsuccessful. Not discouraged, but irritated by his bad success, he makes a similar[f] assault on Albin, Abbot of Baltinglass. Could anything but an unnatural love of discord induce a man to plunge into so many unsuccessful controversies? There is good reason to believe that he was defeated by Albin, who, on Giraldus's refusal[g], was nominated by King John to the bishopric of Ferns, a dignity which the King would not confer on the adversary

the Irish Church, and especially the incontinence of some priests, to the evil example of the foreign clergy who accompanied the invaders. Giraldus attempted to reply next day.

[g] After refusing Ferns, he was offered, he says, Ferns and Leighlin united.—*Reb. Ges.* c. xiii. In his old age he boasted that he was offered three Irish bishoprics and one archbishopric, two Welsh bishoprics, the see of Lincoln, a Cardinal's hat, and even his own St. David's, if he would surrender its metropolitan rights.—*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 614, 615. "Dudum," he says, "inter alios cornutus incedere potui." A court fool often amused the courtiers at his expense by asking him: "Master Giraldus, will you accept the see of Ferns? —Nolo. Of Ossory?—Nolo. Of Leighlin?—Nolo. The Archbishopric of Cashel? —Nolo." But, in the end, he added, "The see of St. David's?"—and immediately shouted out, amid roars of general laughter, "Volo."—*Ibid.* But Giraldus himself is the only authority for those proffered honors. His reasons for declining them are contradictory. He was too young, he says, when some were offered (though he was only thirty when he would accept St. David's); others "were poor sees, and *inter barbaros*;" (St. David's was *paupercula*); he would not accept the Irish sees, because he knew the Irish would never voluntarily elect a foreigner; (he had endeavoured to force a Norman bishop on his own countrymen, the Welsh, who were equally opposed to foreigners); finally, elections were in those days mere court intrigues, without any ecclesiastical liberty, and he could not sanction them by his acceptance; (though he invariably flattered all living kings, and maligned them when dead): and if he, a Welshman, could obtain two Welsh mitres, why did he say he was excluded from St. David's because he was a Welshman?—p. 340, note [h], *suprà*.

sarium non eveheret, si non eum Giraldo jure obstitisse sentiret. Itaque non immeritò Giraldus quem tot ambivit sudoribus Episcopatum non exambivit. Episcopum enim Apostolus "litigiosum[8]" esse vetat, et Evangelista docet: "ut ei qui vult tecum in judicio contendere, et tunicam tuam tollere, ut dimittas ei et pallium[9]." Cujus rei, non modò theologiæ candidatum, sed apprimè gnarum, ignarum fuisse quis credat?

Verùm ad ariolationes animum adjungere, quàm in theologorum subselliis versari maluit. Merlini enim divinationes ita deperiit, ut ab illis, "Historiæ vaticinalis" nomen suis de Hiberniæ expugnatæ libris se indidisse glorietur[10]; utpote quibus "Merlini vaticinia tam Caledonii quàm Ambrosii locis compatentibus pro ut res exigebat inseruit." Et
[43] Giraldus ibidem effusiùs in Merlini | laudes excurrens subdit. "Nondum Merlinus Caledonius Britannicam exutus barbariem, usque ad hæc nostra tempora latuit parum agnitus. Nostræ videbatur interesse diligentiæ, jam ipsum ab antiquis, et occultis scrutabundâ inquisitione latebris, ut pulchriùs elucescat, in commune deducere, et ab ignorantiæ tenebris in lucem transferre. Non indecens enim, non incongruum videri debet, si id unde authoritatem et præscientiam necnon et vaticinale nomen sortitur historia, id ipsi statim continuetur historiæ[11]." Certè alibi, asserit "Henrico II. Topographiam, filio ejus vaticinalem historiam, dedicâsse[12]," ut multò malle videatur lucubrationem suam vaticinalis historiæ nomine, quàm Hiberniæ expugnatæ insigniri. Testimonio scilicet narrationum suarum e Merlini trypode, si diis placet, deprompto, laudes

[8] Ad Timoth. c. iii. [9] Mat. c. v. ver. 40. [10] Ussher, Sylloge, p. 116. [11] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 32. [12] Præfatio Itinerarii Cambriæ.

[h] A better proof of the defeat of Giraldus is his own admission of the most heavy charges. He could not accuse the native Irish clergy of incontinency. He accused them of drinking. Felix O'Dullany, Bishop of Ossory, when asked by the Archbishop of Dublin what he thought of Giraldus's discourse, answered: "Quia multum boni mala dixit; vocavit nos potores: certè vix me continui quòd statim in ipsum non involavi."—*Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 489.

[i] Giraldus tells the motives that sustained him in his long contests. "It was pleasant," he says, "to be pointed at, and hear men say, 'that is he.'" His right wing was a pure intention, and the honor of St. David; his left, human applause!—"Laus et gloria quam etiam in terris propter hunc tam nobilem ausum aggressum."—*Anglia Sac.* vol. ii. p. 559.

[k] Chaps. vi. and ix. of White's *Apologia* are on the superstitions of Giraldus. The learned editor of the *Anglia Sacra* passes this severe, but just judgment on the same subject: "Certè dissimulari nequit Giraldum virum alias sapientissimum somniis,

of his tutor, if Albin had not justice on his side[h]. Giraldus, by a just judgment, never obtained the see which had been the grand object of his toils[i]. The Apostle tells us that a bishop must not be "quarrelsome;" and the Evangelist teaches, "That if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him." Was Giraldus a tyro in theology?—or, if he were a learned divine, could he be ignorant of these simple truths?

But divination was a far more agreeable study for Giraldus, than attention to the lectures of divines[k]. Such an ascendancy had Merlin acquired over his mind, that he entitled his work on "The Conquest of Ireland" a "Prophetic History," from the prophecies of Merlin, the Caledonian, and of Ambrosius, "which he introduced into that history in their proper places, according to the nature of the events[l]." Giraldus, in the same place, indulges in a lavish panegyric on the merits of his favorite. "Before my time," he says, "Merlin the Caledonian had not put away his barbarous British dress, but slumbered in obscurity almost unknown to the world. It appeared a fair field for my industry to employ the most patient investigation to draw him from his old and obscure retreats, and present him to the public in freshened beauty, and transfer him from the darkness of oblivion to the light of day. For it was neither unbecoming nor incongruous that a work which imparted authority, and a prophetic character, and even its prophetic title to my history, should be given to the world as a sort of continuation to that history." In another place he writes that he completed his Topography in three years, and dedicated it to Henry II.; but the "Prophetic History" he completed in two, and dedicated to John, whence it is evident that the "Prophetic History" was a title more in accordance with Giraldus's taste than "The Conquest of Ireland." He wished, in fact, to raise the character and confirm the authority of his

vaticiniis et visionibus nimium tribuisse. Somnia sua in historiis a se editis sæpiùs commemoravit, amplam visionum farraginem in fine historiæ 'de Rebus a se gestis' exhibuit et Sylvestris Merlini vaticinia seu potiùs deliria summo studio conquisita Latinè vertit et scriptis suis passim intexuit." —*Præf.* vol. ii. p. xx.

[l] In the first edition of the *Vaticinalis Historia*, which was in three books, the quotations from Merlin were very numerous. But, in the second edition, dedicated to King John, in two books, almost all were suppressed, with other things, "quæ religenti minùs placuerunt." — *Anglia Sac.* vol. ii. p. 21.

historiæ suæ aucupari, et fidem conciliare nititur. Imò quantò acriùs instat veritatem hinc dictis suis accersere, tanto longiùs a se illam arcet. Quid enim ab incubi filio, nisi vanum, inane, ac veri expers proficisci potest? historiam profectò, quæ hujusmodi fulchro nititur, corruere necesse est. Nec portendi potest alius eventus operi, cujus fundamentum proles a patre mendacii genita jecit, quàm ruina; et fabrica ad hujusmodi Lesbiam extructa non distorta esse non potest.

Inauspicato igitur Cambrensis e canali fontis mendacii toxico infecti exordia narrationum hausit: cùm fontis venenum ad rivulos inde fluentes manaturum esse pro comperto sit. Merlini enim libri plurimorum irrisionibus, conviciis, et execrationibus excipiuntur. In librorum prohibitorum indice, a Catholicorum lectione proscribuntur. Nihilominus ille non modò Catholicus, sed etiam theologus non vulgaris, eos manibus terere, ac amplexu favere non destitit. Nam sententiarum serto ex iis tamquam flosculis contexto varios operis sui locos non tam distinxit quàm contaminavit[13], easque interpretationibus "in sensus alienos crebrò detortis excolere tentavit, honore libros afficiens, quos flammis abolere debebat, si non arbitratu suo præcipitem se ferri maluisset, quàm eorum vestigiis insistere, "qui curiosa sectati contulerunt libros, et combusserunt coram omnibus[14]." Proinde pœnas incendii, quas Merlini libris avertit, in suos transferri debere quis inficiabitur? e quibus nimirum eodem tabo sparsim illitis contagionem serpturam quis non videt? longè fælicior Cambrensi Magus ille fuit a Sancto Augustino ad bonam frugem revocatus, "qui portabat codices incendendos, per quos fuerat incendendus: ut illis in ignem missis, ipse in refrigerium transeat[15]." Nec suis tantùm libris Giraldo, sed etiam cuti timendum fuit, si nascendi sortem sub Vitellio Imperatore nactus tantâ veneratione Magorum libros prosecutus fuisse deprehenderetur. Vitellius enim "nullis infensior fuit quàm divinaculis, et

[13] Hib. Expug. lib. i. cc. 3, 32, 37; lib. ii. cc. 17, 26. [14] Act. c. xix. v. 19. [15] Ad Psal. lxi. sub finem.

[m] White criticises the form in which the passages from Merlin are introduced: "Tanti verò Merlinum facit Gyraldus, ut ad conciliandam fidem et majorem suis scriptis auctoritatem, passim utatur stylo et formâ locutionis Evangelistarum Christi et sacrorum aliorum Scriptorum cùm dicunt 'tunc adimpletum est quod dictum ut per Hierimiam Prophetam' ut adimpleretur quod dixit Isaias,' etc. etc. Sic crebrò Giraldus 'tunc adimpletum est vaticinium' vel 'completa est prophetia,' etc. 'Merlini dicentis,' etc. etc."—*Apologia*, c. vi.

[n] The works of Giraldus should, accord-

history, by the testimony of no less an oracle than the tripod of Merlin[m]!—but the more vehemently he insists on such an authority, the greater our contempt for him. For what could be expected from the son of an incubus but deception, vanity, and lies? Can the history stand which rests on such an oracle? What but hopeless failure can be the lot of a work, planned under the inspiration of an imp begotten of the father of lies? What but deformity could be expected in the superstructure dedicated to such a Lesbia?

Giraldus's authorities are drawn from an inauspicious source, a fountain infected with the poison of lies. The river must retain the taint of the fountain from which it springs. Now Merlin's books have been objects of general ridicule, contempt, and execration. They are on the Index of works forbidden to Catholics[n]; and yet he, not only a Catholic, but a respectable theologian, did not hesitate to pore over their contents, and give them the authority of his name. Many passages in his works are—I will not say ornamented, but—defiled with an ill-odored wreath of extracts culled from Merlin, which he has strained his ingenuity to distort, by "interpretations," into wrong meanings. He has thus labored to give respectability to works which he should rather have consigned to the flames, had he not preferred indulging the rash propensities of his own judgment to the example of those who had "followed curious arts, [but] brought together their books and burned them before all." If he saved Merlin from the flames, ought not his own books be consigned to the fire? Is the poison innocuous because Giraldus's pages are impregnated with it? It were well for him that he had followed the example of the magician who was converted by St. Augustin, "and who brought those books to be burned, which would have burned himself, that by committing them to the fire, he might secure a place of rest for himself!" It was fortunate for Giraldus that he did not live in the reign of Vitellius. It is not his books only, but his life that would be in danger, had he evinced such partiality for the sorceries of magicians; for Vitellius bore so mortal a hatred to soothsayers and mathematicians, that not one of them, when

ing to White, have shared the same fate. "Hæ non postremæ sunt causæ O! Camber, cur dudum antè dixerim, libros tuos, si aliquando inciderint in manus et examen sacræ Inquisitionis in Italiâ aut Hispaniâ, notandos in carbone nigro, et nominandos in catalogo Scriptorum damnandæ lectionis."—*Apologia*, c. vi.

mathematicis: ut quisque deferretur in auditum capite puniebat[16]." Quòd si capitis pœna perterrere, aut a susceptâ semel sententiâ Giraldum abducere non potuit; saltem divini numinis oracula pellicere ad sanitatem debuerunt, quæ pronunciant, "ut anima quæ declinaverit ad magos, et areolos" morte moriatur[17]. Præterea jubent, "ut non inveniatur in te qui Pythones ac divinos consulat[18]." Regia dignitas impunitatem Sauli, aut Ochosiæ non peperit, quin ille Pythonissæ consultæ pœnas cede[19] hic aditi Belzebubi morte[20] dederit. Ista verò hominis theologiâ non leviter, pro illis temporibus, tincti cognitionem subterfugisse, aut memoriâ excidisse demiror.

Sanè "finis alterius mali gradus est futuri[21]." Giraldi animus divinationibus semel imbutus facili lapsu ad somniorum deliria desiliit, qui somnia sic in amoribus habebat, ut in iis enarrandis, et verbosiori explicatione prosequendis, ac ad commentitios sensus attrahendis longos logos pluries instituerit[22], et profana sua, aliorumque somnia, "visionum" nomine insigniverit: voces sacras rebus profanis sic admovere non veritus; ut quæ a corporeis, aut tartaræis etiam causis insomnia proficisci poterant, e cælo delapsa fuisse viderentur. Qui præterea de insomniorum sensu sic disputaverit, ut in eam sententiam procliviorem se præbuerit, quæ pro somniorum veritate facit, "nam præsumptionis humanæ morem esse affirmat somniis non terreri[23];" fratrem Walterum
[44] | objurgans quòd somnio monitus pugnâ non abstinuerit, pluribus somniis eventum sortitis in medium prolatis, unum duntaxat enarrans sperati successûs expers: ut congestis exemplis somniorum veritatem stabilire, simplici tantùm a contra sentientium parte producto, horum sententiam debilitare, illorum corroborare velle videretur. "Sibi," enim, "sicut rumoribus, sic et somniis credi oportere, et non oportere visum esse dixit[24]."

Contrarium profectò e sacrâ scripturâ debuit haurire, cujus verba

[16] Suet. c. xiv. [17] Levit. c. xx. [18] Deuteron. c. xviii. [19] 1 Regum, cap. xxviii. [20] 4 Regum, c. i. [21] Seneca. [22] Hib. Expug. lib. i. cc. 39, 40, 41; lib. ii. cc. 29, 35. [23] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 41. [24] Ubi suprà.

[o] He gives, with great complacency, a full account of his own visions, nearly thirty in number, at the close of his autobiography. White remarks: "Plenus fiduciâ nobis narras et ais 'visionem quam super hâc temporis miseriâ et crucis Christi contumeliâ mihi miserrimo, mihi minimo et tamen a Domino in hâc visione visitato, ille revelavit qui abscondit a sapientibus quæ revelat parvulis: 'unde tibi O! bone

brought before the tribunals, ever escaped with his head." But though the terrors of the scaffold could not exorcise Giraldus's propensity, the oracles of God himself ought to have reclaimed him. They announce that "the soul which turneth away to soothsayers or magicians shall die the death;" and "neither let there be found among you any one that consulteth Pythonic spirits, or fortune-tellers." Their royal dignity itself could not secure impunity for Saul or Ochozias; the former consulted the Pythoness and was slain; the latter turned to Beelzebub, and died. It is truly astonishing how a man, who was a respectable theologian in his day, could have forgotten those things.

But "the end of one evil is a step to another." Once entangled in the mazes of divination, Giraldus, by a natural transition, lost his head in the interpretation of dreams. To such a degree of infatuation was he carried that he often spun out interminable dissertations in relating and diffusely commenting on dreams, and twisting and accommodating them to imaginary interpretations. "Visions" was the respectable denomination under which he introduced the profane dreams of others and his own to the public[o]; he was not shocked at the profanation of applying a sacred word to a profane thing; as if all the reveries which arose from bodily indisposition, or the murky suggestions of hell, should have all descended straight down from heaven. In his dissertation on dreams, he inclines strongly to the opinion of those who maintain their truth. "It is only the presumption of man," he affirms, "that prevents them from being terrified by dreams." This he said in reproving his brother Walter for having engaged in a battle contrary to a warning received in a dream. He cites, moreover, a great number of dreams, which had been fulfilled, and gives only one instance of a false dream, wishing by all these examples to establish a belief in dreams, and weaken the opposite opinion, which he merely states, without any argument in its defence. "Dreams," he says, "like rumors, are things of such a nature, that they are to be at times believed and disbelieved."

This opinion, he ought to have known, was contrary to the order

persuades Dominum quando ita somniabas visitâsse te, verius quàm te deceptum esse dicendo, non inane somniantis ludibrium nocturnum fuisse, sed vocem visionemque divinam. Et te oro, multâ modestiâ, mentisque altâ illâ scilicet et Christianâ demissione estimas, recensendum non inter 'sapientes' a quibus Deus abscondet sua secreta, sed inter 'parvulos' quibus illa reserat et revelabit."—*Apologia*, c. ix.

sunt: "Non augurabimini, nec observabitis somnia[25]." Additque Ecclesiasticus: "Somnia extollunt imprudentes, nam multos errare fecerunt somnia, et exciderunt sperantes in illis. Imò captanti umbras, ventumque persequenti similis est qui fidem habet somniis[26];" ut jam cernatur Cambrensis inani operâ desudare, cùm somniorum suscipit patrocinium. Uberem ac luculentam orationem fontes unde somnia manant aperientem S. Greg. hoc lemmate clausit: "In somniis Diabolus nonnunquam solet multa vera prædicere, ut ad extremum valeat animam ex unâ aliquâ falsitate laqueare[27]." Quòd si solutâ oratione non flectatur, alterius Gregorii strictâ mulceatur dicentis[28]:

"Ne somniorum ludicis nimis fidem
Accomodâris, cuncta ne te terreant,
Nec læta rursum visa te tollant nimis;
Laqueos frequenter hos parat dæmon tibi."

Imò Seneca Christianæ fidei luce non perfusus, sed ab ipsâ naturâ edoctus, "somnus," ait, "futuri pessimus author[29]." Studia enim, quæ vigilantes persequimur, dormientibus obversantur, teste Claudiano[30]:

"Omnia quæ sensu volvuntur vota diurno
Pectore sopito reddit amica quies.
Venator defessa toro cùm membra deponit
Mens tamen ad silvas, et sua lustra redit.
Judicibus lites, aurigæ somnia currus,
Vanaque nocturnis meta canetur equis.
Furto guadet amans, permutat navita merces;
Et vigil elapsas quærit avarus opes.
Blandaque largitur frustra sitientibus ægris
Irriguus gelido pocula fonte sopor."

Sibi profectò Giraldus persuadere videtur superos e cælo demissos illi dormienti vel futura prænuntiâsse, vel præsentia indicâsse: nimirum eo se loco apud Deum esse arbitratus est, quo fuere, in Veteri Testamento, Jacob, Joseph[31], et Salomon[32]; in novo Josephus[33]: quibus se Deus visendum præbuit, futuraque gratiosè aperuit. Defæcatos homines, et delicto vacuos eâ gratiâ prosequi Deus plerumque consuevit. Sopore autem alto in mollibus culcitris sternentes sic invisere non est

[25] Levit. c. xix. [26] Cap. xxxiv. Versio Tuguri ibidem. [27] Lib. iv. Dial. c. 48. [28] Nazianzenus in Tetrastrichis. [29] Hercules furens. [30] Præfatio, lib. iii. de raptu Proserpinæ. [31] Genesis, cc. xxviii. xxxvii. [32] 3 Regum. c. iii. [33] Matt. cc. i. ii.

of Scripture, not to consult soothsayers nor observe dreams. And Ecclesiasticus adds: "Dreams lift up fools; for dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that put their trust in them; the man that giveth heed to lying visions is like to him that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind." Giraldus, therefore, has laboured in vain, when he endeavoured to support the authority of dreams. The following lucid and pithy sentence of St. Gregory discloses, summarily, the source whence dreams proceed: "The devil is sometimes in the habit of foretelling many true events in dreams, that, in the end, he may succeed by ensnaring a soul in one falsehood." But if Giraldus be impregnable by prose, perhaps he may be softened by the poetry of another Gregory:

"Give to deluding dreams no credence vain,
Unmoved by omens, or of joy or pain;
Preserve thy peace, by reason's calm control,
From wiles Satanic planned to snare thy soul."

Even Seneca himself, though never enlightened by the true faith, knew, by the aid of reason itself, that "a dream is the worst prophet of the future." For the occupations which engage us during the day present themselves to our fancy during sleep, according to Claudian:

"The cares that vex by day the human breast,
Disturb at night the sleeper's balmy rest.
The wearied sportsman locked in slumber lies,
But woods and coverts to his vision rise.
Judges dream law, and charioteers a goal,
Where airy cars with speed impetuous roll:
Lovers haunt shades; merchants exchange their wares;
And waking misers mourn their dreaming cares.
Delirious dreams to thirsting patients bring
The welcome beverage from some fancied spring."

No doubt Giraldus persuaded himself that ambassadors from above waited on him, with full information regarding all things present and future. He imagined that, in the eye of God, he was as a Jacob, or Joseph, or Solomon, in the Old Testament, or as a Joseph in the New; to whom God graciously revealed himself, and unveiled the secrets of futurity. Such favors God has often conceded to mortified and saintly men, but has He ever paid such visits to mortals wrapped in deep sleep, and

Deo solemne. Nec video quomodo se Giraldus, honore integro tuebitur, nisi e campo Elysio sua somnia accerserit, ubi

> "Sunt geminæ somni portæ, quarum altera fertur
> Cornua, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris;
> Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto
> Sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes."

Non dubito quin hâc eburneâ portâ Giraldi somniis ab Elysio egressus patuerit. Ut videas summâ temeritate, ac extremâ pertinaciâ Giraldum laborâsse, qui sententiam sacris literis, patribus, et naturalis disciplinæ oraculis adversantem amplexus est.

Verùm hujusmodi temeritatis, ac pertinaciæ maculâ, ille a cæterâ superstitionis disciplinâ imbibendâ coerceri non potuit. Sicut enim unda supervenit undæ, et alii fluctus post alium succedunt: sic ille superstitionum artibus jam affatim imbutus, aviditate captus est in adyta penetrandi, et ad somniorum scientiam auguriorum cognitionem adjungendi. Sed cæptum tam irrito eventu clausit, quàm temerario
[45] ausu suscepit. | "Non multo," inquit, "vel biennio ante adventum Anglorum apud Carlenfordiam in Ultoniâ, piscis inventus est tres dentes aureos habens, quinquaginta unciarum pondus continentes; aurea fortè imminentis, et proximè futuræ conquisitionis tempora præsagientes[34]." Clitellas bovi adaptat, qui tam alienam interpretationem huic prodigio affingit. Si quid enim Hiberniæ incolis, aut Ecclesiæ Dei portendit, non potest esse, nisi funestum omen: si præsagiorum veritatem eventuum æstimatione metiri licet. Nam Hiberni multâ patriæ parte multati sunt, et Ecclesia fœdè deformata est. Illud Giraldus passim asserit; hoc enucleatiùs exaggerat: ita ut prima illa Anglorum in Hiberniâ grassantium tempora non aurea sed ferrea fuerint, quibus ferro ubique insultatum est. Sed audiamus quam de oppressâ Ecclesiâ ipse querelam instituit: "Mendicat," inquit, "miser in insulâ Clerus, lugent Ecclesiæ Cathedrales, terris suis et prædiis amplis quondam sibi fideliter et devotè collatis spoliatæ: et sic Ecclesiam exaltare versum est in Ecclesiam spoliare[35]."

[34] Top. dist. ii. c. 10. [35] Prœmium. 2dæ editionis Hibæ Expugæ

[p] An interesting and instructive parallel might be drawn between the spoliation of the Irish Church in the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Dr. Lynch frequently inveighs against the sacrilegious robberies committed by the first invaders.

snoring comfortably on soft beds of down? If the dreamy spirits of the Elysian plains do not come to the rescue, I fear Giraldus's laurels are blasted:

> "Two gates the silent house of sleep adorn;
> Of polished ivory this,—that of transparent horn!
> True visions through transparent horn arise;
> Through polished ivory pass deluding lies."

This ivory gate of Elysium, I am sure, saw many a dream flitting up to Giraldus. His opinions on this matter were extremely rash and extremely obstinate, opposed alike to Scripture, to the Fathers, and to the dictates of natural reason.

But such censures on rashness and pertinacity could not deter Giraldus from patronizing other branches of superstition. As wave presses wave, rolling successively over each other, so, when he had once tasted the illicit sweets of superstition, he is urged by an insatiable passion to plunge deeper in the black art, and complete his knowledge of dreams by the kindred science of augury. But the result of his project was as unsatisfactory as its conception had been temerarious. "Not long," he writes, "or about two years before the descent of the English, a fish was found near Carlingford, in Ulster, which had three golden teeth, of about fifty ounces weight; an omen, perhaps, of the golden days of the impending and approaching conquest." Such an interpretation of the prodigy is setting a saddle on a bull in the best style. Had it portended anything to the inhabitants of Ireland, or the Church of God, it must have portented evil, if the character of this omen is to be tested by the voice of history, for the Church was shockingly deformed, and the Irish were robbed of a large portion of their country. These facts Giraldus himself admits,—the former frequently,—the latter in all its vivid details; so that, out of his own mouth, those first days of the English robbers in Ireland were an age, not of gold but of iron, when the sword hewed down everything in its path. Listen to his own pathetic plaint on the sorrows of the Church: "The clergy of this island are beggared; the cathedral churches mourn, despoiled of their ample lands and domains, the gift of the confiding and tender piety of former days. Thus has the exaltation of the Church ended in the spoliation of the Church[p]."

Cæterum in facti narratione Giraldus totâ viâ errat. Etenim retroacta pridem tempora ad propriora revocat, ut e propinquo in promptu habeat, quod in subsidium erroris promptè adducat: at ecce rectam monstro viam. Non binis annis, sed plus quàm quadringentis, ante Hiberniam ab Anglis aditam, Fiacho Dubhdrochet, Aidi Ronii filio Ultoniæ Rege[36], balena magnæ molis marino æstu, in Ulidiam conjectus, ad terram impegit, tribus aureis dentibus dives, quorum unum Fiachus tum in Ferso, et Monidiano amnibus ponte jungendis implicitus, opifici fabricam elaboranti, pro impensâ operâ, elargitus; duos alios ad operimentum reliquiis conficiendum, quibus juramenti religione finium illorum incolæ obstringere se solebant, contulit. Fiachus ille agnomen Buidrochet a struendis pontibus sortitus (drochet enim perinde est ac pons): nimirum in pontibus extruendis non modicam pietatem antiqui collocabant, et ad eorum fabricam inchoandam solemnes quosdam ritus Pontificos adhibebant; ita ut a pontibus faciendis, Pontifices nomen suum sortitos fuisse Varro scripserit. Fuit etiam æqui observantissimus, adeo ut, ob bovem unam in ipsius ditione furto sublatam (quia fortasse in furti authorem pro flagitii atrocitate non animadversum est) peregrinatione ad Benchorense monasterium susceptâ, illius delicti pænas a se ultro exegerit. Ut perspicuum sit Deum largitionem illam cælitùs emisisse ad sumptus Principi non juxta fortasse nummato, ac pio subministrandos, et reliquias tantâ veneratione incolarum illius ditionis cultas accomodato ornamento decorandas, potiùs quàm ad præsagiendum, tanto antè tempore, Anglorum in Hiberniam adventum. Tigernacus autem, qui vivere desiit anno post Virginis partum 1088, illius cæti dentibus aureis insigniti appulsum ad annum 743 refert, addit singulos dentes ad libellam pensos e quinquaginta unciis constitisse; unumque diu post, in principe monasterii Banchorensis arâ visendum prostitisse. In loculam forsitan ille dens efformatus est, in quo reliquiæ memoratæ recondebantur.

Itaque cùm in hoc Giraldi omine nullum pondus insit, eum penitus augurum scita perscrutantem persequamur, ut videamus si meliori œstro correptus oracula veriora fundat. "Lupi," inquit, "plerumque in Decembri catulos habent, proditionis, et rapinæ incommoda, quæ præmaturè hìc (in Hiberniâ) pullulant, designantes[37]." Non e trypode

[36] O'Duveganus, p. 67. [37] Top. dist. ii. cap. 26.

But, on the matter of fact, Giraldus is egregiously mistaken. Events which had occurred many centuries ago he brings near his own time, that the proximity might conveniently corroborate his false statement. This is how the case really stands. Not two, but more than 400 years before the English invasion, and while Fiacha Dubhdrochtech, the son of Aid Ronius, was King of Ulster, an enormous whale was drifted along by the tide, and cast up on the shore in Ulster. It had three teeth of gold, one of which was given by Fiacha as wages to some men whom he had employed in erecting a bridge over the rivers Fersus and Monidamh; the other two were presented to the church to make a reliquary-case, on which the inhabitants of that country were accustomed to purge or bind themselves by oath. Fiacha got his surname "Ꝺuḃ-ꝺꞃoıċꞇeċ," from building bridges (for ꝺꞃocheꞇ means a bridge), the ancients having regarded the erection of a bridge as a meritorious act of religion, and instituted certain solemn pontifical rites to inaugurate the laying of the foundation stone; hence, if we believe Varro, pontiffs were so called from building bridges. Fiacha, moreover, was so ardent a lover of justice, that an ox having been stolen within his territory, he made a pilgrimage to the monastery of Bangor, and voluntarily expiated in his own person the penalty of that crime, probably because the robber had eluded or not satisfied the vengeance of the law. Was the whale then an omen of a far distant event—the English invasion of Ireland—and not an evident present sent from Heaven to a prince whose resources, perhaps, were not equal to his piety, to enable him to cover his expenditure, and decorate with a suitable shrine relics so highly revered by the inhabitants of that country? Tigernach, who died about the year 1088, states that this whale with the golden teeth was cast on shore in the year 743, and that each of the teeth, when tested in the scales, weighed fifty ounces. One of them, he adds, was for a long time after to be seen on the great altar of the monastery of Bangor. Perhaps it had been cast into a shrine containing the aforesaid relics.

Having seen what slight importance is due to this first augury of Giraldus, let us now follow him into the still more profound mysteries of the craft, to ascertain whether no truer oracle issued from him under the access of the Pythonic spirit: "It is in December," he says, "that wolves generally bring forth their cubs in Ireland, an omen of the horrors of treachery and rapine, which pullulate precociously here." Where

ista Giraldus sed Apolline everso effusit. Ex quâcunque nimirum cogitatione illius animum subeunte, infamiæ Hibernis comparandæ ansam arripere consuevit, minimè recolens non e quolibet ligno (ut aiunt) Mercurium fingi, nec e quâlibet accusatione condemnationem gigni. Si me mea non fallat opinio intempestivo illo luporum partu, Anglorum aggredientium Hiberniam, et per omnia ferro grassantium sævitia appositè denotatur, magis quàm Hibernorum proditio et rapina; qui pro vitâ, focis, liberis, et conjugibus contra grassatores, et patriæ proditori opem ferentes armis decertabant, ut proditionis, et rapinæ probrum in Anglos potiori jure, quàm in Hibernos quadraverit. Angli enim Der-
[46] micium Murchardidem, | quem Giraldus fatetur, "fuisse nobilium oppressorem, humilium erectorem, infestum suis, exosum alienis, omnibus denique contrarium[38]," suppetiis juverunt, et principatûs jacturam pro flagitiis meritum, non solùm justâ pænâ exemerunt, sed alienarum etiam ditionum accessione potestatem ejus per nefas amplificârunt, et summo furore per Hiberniam debacchati, agros vastârunt, urbes diripuerunt, ac tectis faces subjecerunt; quod Giraldus cùm passim, toto opere præ se fert, tum præcipuè quando queritur "tam novam tamque cruentam conquisitionem plurimâ sanguinis effusione, et Christianæ gentis interemptione fædatam fuisse[39]." Quòd si tantùm in eos, quos Anglis hostes Giraldus effinxit, furor se Anglorum exercuerit, moderatiùs ferri potuit: sed ut palam rapinæ convincerentur, rapaces manus ab Hibernorum sibi opitulantium bonis non modò non coercuerunt; imo verò Giraldo asserente, "terras Hiberniensium, qui a primis Stephanidæ, quàm Comitis adventibus, nobiscum fideliter steterunt, vestris" (suos alloquitur) "contra promissa contulistis[40]." Ut jam liqueat in quos proditionis ac rapinæ crimina conferri debeant, et quibus luporum alieno tempore fætus edentium pronosticon accommodari.

Nec bilem cui moveat me Giraldi in augurum disciplinâ quamvis provecti sententiæ refragari. Nam extra controversiam est, res in conjecturâ positas, pro conjectantium ingeniis, in contrarias interpretationes non infrequenter trahi. Audi Ciceronem: "Cursor," inquit, "ad Olympica proficisci cogitans, visus est in somnis curru quadrigarum vehi, mane adit conjectorem. At ille, vinces, inquit, id enim celeritas significat, et vis equorum. Post idem ad Antiphanem. 'Is autem, tu

[38] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 6. [39] Lib. ii. c. 10. [40] Ibid. c. 38.

is his tripod now? Assuredly Apollo was unpropitious. Whatever thought enters his mind, it is instantly seized to brand infamy on Ireland, never reflecting that it is not every timber that makes a Mercury, nor every accusation a conviction. If I could trust my own opinion, I would say that this unseasonable parturition of the wolf is a more appropriate type of the cruelty of the Englishman coming to Ireland, and gorging himself with blood, than of any rapine or treachery of the Irish, who fought for their lives and their altars, their children and their wives, against the robber allies of a traitor to his country. Treachery and rapine can be charged more truly on the English than on the Irish. For the English came as auxiliaries of Dermod MacMurrough, who, according to Giraldus himself, "oppressed his nobles, exalted upstarts, was a calamity to his countrymen, hated by the strangers, and, in a word, at war with the world." Such was the man whom the English supported. They not only restored him to that throne which he had most justly forfeited by his crimes, but, by a hideous injustice, extended his dominion by a large accession of territory, and rioted like savage furies throughout Ireland, depopulating the country, burning the public buildings, and plundering cities. Giraldus himself confesses those facts in almost every page of his work, especially when he says, "that this new and bloody conquest was defiled by an enormous effusion of blood, and the slaughter of a Christian people." Had the English confined their cruelty to those whom Giraldus represents as their enemies, there might be some palliation; but, as if to secure their title to the infamy of the robber, they seized the property even of the Irish who assisted them. Giraldus himself exclaims: "The lands even of the Irish who stood faithful to our cause from the first descent of Fitzstephen and the Earl, you have, in violation of a treaty, made over to your friends." Who now were those traitors and robbers, whose crimes were appropriately prefigured by wolves' cubs coming to the world out of season?

Let no person be displeased with me for venturing to dispute with Giraldus on a subject in which he was a professed adept. Every one admits that, in a matter merely of divination, different interpretations can be often given according to the wish of the interpreters. Thus Cicero says, "that a racer, when preparing to go to the Olympic games, dreamed at night that he was travelling in a four-horse chariot: in the morning he consulted a diviner. 'You must win,' was the reply; 'the

vincare' inquit 'necesse est: an non intelligis quatuor ante cucurisse?' Alius cursor ad interpretem detulit aquilam se in somnis visum esse factum. At ille, vicisti. Istâ enim ave volat nulla vehementiùs. Huic eidem, Antipho: 'tu verò' inquit 'te victum esse non vides? ista enim avis insectans alias, et agitans semper in postrema est[41].'" Sunt igitur ominationes ita versatiles, ut non solùm aliò, sed etiam in omnino contrarium sensum flecti possint. Documento sit quod Cræso de victoriâ sciscitanti oraculum respondit:

"Cræsus Halym perdet transgressus plurima Regna."

Ut dubitandi locus relictus fuerit, amitteretur Cræsus, an everteret Halym. Nec minor ambiguitas inest responso quod Pyrrhus consulens an Romanos esset superaturus ab oraculo retulit, dicente:

"Aio te Æacidem Romanos vincere posse,"

cùm hinc percipi non possit cladem ne, an victoriam Pyrrhus a Romanis relaturus esset.

Hujusmodi vaticiniorum classi Giraldi augurationes annumerandæ sunt: ut quæ tam a veritate absunt, quàm ipse a verâ religione aberravit, cùm Diei Martis fælicitatem a fictitio belli Deo Marte provenisse scripsisset his verbis. "Hìc notandum videtur, die Martis captum fuisse Limbricum, die Martis, eidem fuisse subventum, die Martis captam fuisse Waterfordiam, die Martis Dubliniam. Nec per industriam hæc, sed casu solo contigisse. Nec mirum tamen vel rationi dissonum, si Martis potissimum die Martia negotia sunt completa[42]." Et alibi addit quòd, "die Martis, Martia vexilla vehuntur[43]." Scilicet Martis isti pulli forsitan, ante pugnam initam, litationibus operati Martis sui gratiam sibi conciliârunt, et Martis numine afflati acriori impetu in

[41] De Divinatione. [42] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 8. [43] Ibid. lib. i. c. 16.

q "Itane O Christiane Camber non miraris, sed rationi consonum arbitraris, si Martis potissimùm die Martia negotia perficiantur? ratio tibi adfuit Christiana, ista scribenti, an ethnica quæ Martem, Deum, præsidem auctorem bellorum et consummatorem aiebat? adversante rectâ ratione omni et veritate quæ eodem loco Martem semper habuit quo diabolum aut Deum fictum? et tu tamen . . . . . O Christiane, tribuis virtutem peculiarem supra alios dies ad consummanda negotia Martia, et nullam in te agnoscis superstitionem! O! te si non agnoscas cæcum, mente captum, in profundo superstitionis immersum! Te tamen theologum doctissimum, eruditissi-

speed and strength of the horses are an omen of success.' He then went to Antipho: 'Not the slightest chance or success,' was the reply; 'did you not perceive that four were running before you.' Another, who was going to run, told an interpreter that he dreamed he was changed into an eagle: 'Victory is your's,' he was told; 'no bird flies with more vigor.' But Antipho decides: 'Don't you see you are conquered; that bird, which disturbs and pursues other birds, is always last.'" Omens, therefore, are of so undecided a character, that they may be wrested not only to different but even contradictory interpretations; thus, for example, the answer of the oracle to Cræsus, when he consulted about a victory:

"Cræsus Halym perdet transgressus plurima regna;"

leaving it doubtful whether Cræsus was to be ruined, or to destroy Halys. The answer of the oracle to Pyrrhus, when he consulted whether he could subdue the Romans, is equally ambiguous:

"Aio te Æacidem Romanos vincere posse;"

from which no one could infer whether Pyrrhus was to conquer the Romans, or be conquered by them.

Giraldus's auguries must be ranked with oracles of that class, which have as little connexion with truth as his opinions had with true religion, when he erred so far as to say, that Tuesday was a fortunate day, because it took its name from Mars, the God of War. "It is worthy of remark," he says, "that on Tuesday Limerick was taken, and on Tuesday it was relieved; on Tuesday Waterford was taken, and Dublin on Tuesday. And this not from design, but by chance alone. But it is neither extraordinary nor unreasonable, that martial operations should be completed principally on the day of Mars." He adds in another place, "that the banners of war are unfurled on the day of Mars[q]." These scions of the God of War probably offered up a sacrifice of propitiation, and secured his favor before they marched to battle, and charged with greater courage against the enemy, under the influence of

mum, gravissimum scriptorem et historicum ausi sunt nonnulli salutare! non fecissent si te novissent meliùs aut scivissent inter alios tuos nævos non defuisse mentem vel saltem verba superstitiosa quæ lædere possent et pravis imbuere opinionibus, leves qui tibi credunt lectores."—*White's Apologia*, c. vi.

hostes irruerunt, ut proscriptæ dudum ab Ecclesiâ superstitiones ex inferis jam excitari videantur, viro non solùm Christiano, sed etiam theologiæ non rudimentis, imò scitis magis arduis instructo, eam vim statis diebus indente, ut in eorum sententiam pedibus ire censeatur, qui fidei luce nondum illustrati operi cuipiam aggrediendo nefastos dies, infaustos, fastos, faustos statuerunt; rati mortalium res fatis agi: mirantibus omnibus quempiam Catholicum eâ capi fatuitate, ut fatis vim ullam inesse sentiat, quasi eorum decretis velut cardinibus rerum eventus verterentur. Perinde ac si hominum consilia, negotiorumque vicissitudines, ordine ab eorum arbitrio, non a Dei nutu indicto, progrede-
[47] rentur. Ut jam | theologorum placita Ethnicorum sanctionibus cedere videantur, qui decernunt quòd,

"Fatis agimur, cedite fatis.
Non sollicitæ possunt curæ,
Mutare rati flamina fati,
Quicquid patimur mortale genus:
Quicquid facimus venit ab alto[44]."

Imò ut apertiùs transfugam ad Ethnicorum castra se præberet, noluit nisi ad eorum ritum, vel divinam opem implorare dicens: "Dii me amabilem reddant[45]." Nec adulterinos Deos hâc veneratione prosequi contentus; præstigiatorum etiam numero se aggregare visus est, quòd præstigiis, approbationis suæ calculo fidem hominum ac venerationem conciliare conaretur, dum fidentiùs narrat mobilem insulam, et ab hominum aspectu subducere se consuetum, injecto igne, et firmam perstitisse, et conspiciendam se calcabilemque hominibus præstitisse, narrationem his verbis claudens: "multis patet argumentis phantasmati cuilibet ignem semper inimicissimum[46]."

Atque ut omnes superstitionum formas ab eo perlustratas, et penitus perspectas esse liqueat, ariolationem suæ commendationis expertem esse

[44] Seneca in Œdipo. [45] Præf. in 2[dam] dist. [46] Dist. ii. c. 12.

[r] If forms of this kind were of themselves to be admitted as conclusive proofs of paganism, most of the Catholic *literati* of the sixteenth century should plead guilty to the charge. It is to the manifest partiality of Giraldus for pagan or superstitious observances, that the argument in the text owes whatever force it possesses.

[s] On this passage White remarks: "Si hoc non sit superstitiosum quid tandem superstitio erit? et tamen subtilissima Silvestri Cambrensis Theologia crassas superstitiones istas pro nullis habet, sed naturalem aut supernaturalem antipathiam semper

this god. What is this but evoking from hell superstitions long since anathematized by the Church, when a Christian, nay, a theologian of no ordinary stamp, but one well versed in the higher branches of that study, attributes a virtue to certain days, and actually embraces the opinion of the unenlightened pagans, who, under the belief that the fates controlled the destiny of men, maintained that the "nefasti dies" were unfavorable, the "fasti," favorable, for commencing any enterprise. It is astonishing how any Catholic could attribute a virtue to the fates, as if their decrees were the pivots on which the event of human affairs revolved, and as if all the designs of man, and the vicissitudes of this world, rolled on in that course marked out by them, and not by the providence of God. Then might the decisions of theologians give place to the tenets of pagans, who lay down that

"We're ruled by fate;—adore its power:
No anxious cares can change
The stern award—the destined hour:
All mortal deeds, or sufferings here,
The fates above arrange."

A still more striking proof of his apostacy to paganism is his mode of invoking the divine assistance. No other form could please him, but "May the gods give me favor[r];" and, not content with this homage to false gods, he appears before us as the patron of magicians, whose tricks he recommends to the belief and veneration of men, with the whole weight of his authority; thus, for example, when he tells us of a certain moving island, which sometimes disappeared altogether from human view, but which was fixed firmly, and became visible and accessible to man, when fire was thrown upon it, he closes his narrative thus: "there are a thousand arguments to prove that fire has ever been the most mortal enemy to all sorts of phantoms[s]."

To exhibit his universal and profound acquaintance with every shade of superstition, he gives an elaborate recommendation of divination, and,

existere inter diabolica ludibria sive phantasmata et ignitum ferrum sive ignem quemvis esse arbitratur. Nec advertis O Theologe! quàm latam pandis portam volentibus antipathiâ simili velare sacrilegas superstitiones eorum qui philtris, amuletis, notis magicis aut aliis ex pacto tacito vel expresso cum Dæmone inito habitis, se nullis telis, ignibus aut violentiâ hostili lædi posse persuadent sibi."—*Apologia*, c. vi.

noluit. Contendit enim enixiùs, et exemplis verbosiùs prolatis, robustiùs inculcat: "In armis arietum dextris carne nudatis non assis, sed elixis tam futura prospici; quàm præterita, et antè incognita longè respicit[47]." Itaque tot superstitionum species in illius animo congestæ, illum fascinatione nescio quâ obcæcasse videntur, ut, "ad convicia in Ecclesiam militantem," quam "in multis," decipi "affirmat[48]," et ad blasphemiam in cælites linguam flagitiosè laxaverit, "Sanctos Hiberniæ vindictæ appetibiles, et animi vindicis esse[49]" calumniatus.

Quis igitur non videt Giraldum, non placidum sed turbulentum fuisse, qui molestiâ aliis facessendâ tot turbas excitavit? non probum sed improbum, qui tot superstitionum maculis animum inquinavit: non integrum sed corruptum, qui e contaminatissimis Merlini libris, mendacii, et nequitiæ rivulos hausit; non gravem sed vanissimum, qui somniorum levitate tanquam quovis auræ flatu aliorsum abductus fuit. Non bonum sed perversum, qui Ethnicorum ritus, theologorum placitis prætulit: non modestum sed immodestissimum, qui e longè petitis exemplis, alienissimâque lupi similitudine ansam nationis Hibernicæ universæ, calumniis impetendæ arripuit: non prudentem, sed imprudentissimum, qui ariolationibus extra veritatis limites se ferri passus est.

[47] Itinerarium Cambriæ, lib. i. c. 11. [48] Topog. dist. iii. c. 31. [49] Ibid. caps. 33, 55.

[t] This charge against Giraldus is discussed in detail, *infrà*, p. [348], under the head "Veneratio Sanctis ab Ecclesiâ cultis a Giraldo denegata hæresim sapit."

[u] He makes the same accusation against the Welsh saints, referring principally to

after a lengthened detail of examples, strenuously insists on the following conclusion: "A shoulder of a ram boiled (not roasted), if stripped of all its meat, not only foretells the future, but reveals the past, and other things utterly unknown." Such a medley of superstitions, condensed in the same head, operated like a black spell, and blinded his intellect to such an extraordinary degree, that he assails the Church militant, which he says is deceived in many things[t]; and vomits atrocious blasphemies against the citizens of heaven, by calumniously accusing the Irish saints of being "fond of vengeance, and of a revengeful temper[u]."

Is it not evident, then, that Giraldus was not mild but turbulent, fomenting so great disorders by his injurious attacks on others; not a man of probity, but of infamy; with the foul stain of so many superstitions on his soul; not pure, but corrupt; imbibing copiously falsehood and wickedness from Merlin's most polluted books; not a man of sense, but a mere simpleton, led astray by every flimsy breath to believe in dreams; not a good but a wicked man, preferring the rites of paganism to the conclusions of theologians; not inoffensive, but most offensive, straining every example, and torturing that most inappropriate allegory of the wolf into an occasion to brand his calumnies on the whole Irish nation; not prudent, but most imprudent, quitting the high road of truth for the black recesses of divination.

the excommunications, and other spiritual censures by which, in lawless ages and among barbarous tribes, the Church was protected, and the inviolability of the right of sanctuary enforced.—*Itinerar. Cambriæ*, p. 867. Ed. Francfort.

CAPUT VII.

QUÒD SUIS AC SUORUM LAUDIBUS MAGIS IMMODICÈ QUÀM VERÈ PRÆDICANDIS GIRALDUS INDULSERIT, ET QUOS E SUIS POPULARIBUS AVERSATUS EST VITUPERIIS FALSÒ CUMULAVERIT.

[48] Giraldus quærit gloriam ex Topographiâ.—Stylus Giraldi qualis?—Scripta Giraldi non voluptatem sed nauseam movent.—Stanihurstus Giraldi Topographiam flocci fecit.—Quæ fuerit Stanihursti æstimatio de Hiberniâ Expugnatâ Giraldi.—Giraldus Ovidio ostentatione similis. [49] Plurimùm laudat sua opera.—Gloriatur se recitâsse publicè Topographiam.—Turpis est propriæ laudis prædicatio.—Suos laudat. [50] Laudes Stephanidis.—Laus Reimondi.—Laus Meyleri.—Hyperbolica laus.—Giraldinorum elogia.—Quâ cognatione Giraldus Stephanidem, Reimundum, Meylerum, et Robertum attingit.—Laus Roberti Barrensis. [51] Aliæ laudes Roberti Barrensis.—Laus Mauritii Giraldidis.—Laus filiorum ejus.—Laus Curcæi.—Curcæus Merlini vaticiniis se accommodavit.—Periculum Curcæi.—A Lacœis agitatus.—Amissas terras nunquam recuperavit. [52] Qui a Giraldo commendantur rapinis dediti erant.—Giraldus comitem Stephanidem prædonem tacitè appellat.—Primi expugnatores Hiberniæ quales fuerint.—Illi bona Ecclesiæ rapiebant.—Quatuor postes expugnationes non habuerunt prolem.—Injuriæ factæ Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi.—Miraculum Crucifixi.—Integritas Giraldi in suspicionem venit. [53] Giraldus quos amat laudat, quos odit vituperat.—Giraldi convicia in Aldelmidem.—Eripere uni ecclesiæ quod alii dones malum.—Purgatio Aldelmidis.—Burgorum potentia.—Convicia Giraldi in Aldelmidis nepotem et Robertum.—Ejus in Hærveum cumulus conviciorum. [54] Censura Stanihursti de conviciis Giraldi in Hærveum.—Hærveus fit monachus.—Giraldus adulator.—Giraldus Henricum II. laudat.—Eundem vituperat. [55] Reimundus, non Hærveus carnificii Waterford author.—Mendacia Giraldi.—Veritas Historici anima.—Historicus non quærit suam gloriam.—Non laudet suos neque vituperet alienos.—Affectibus non tenetur.—Historicus non debet affici odio vel studio.—Non debet hostium crimina et suorum laudes scribere.—Historicus sic faciens est potiùs orator quàm historicus. [56] Historicus debet esse similis æquo judici.—Giraldus non observavit istas leges.

NEMO jure mirabitur si Giraldus, in Ecclesiam, et ipsos cæli cives acriùs invectus, furiis quibusdam actus, quâdam animi elatione, post Ecclesiam militantem, et triumphantem conculcatam intumuerit, et ad immodicas sibi suisque laudes accumulandas proruperit. Ac primùm in ipso sui operis vestibulo, in suas laudes licentiùs effunditur: ut inau-

[a] It will appear in the sequel of this chapter that Giraldus was not always partial to his friends; but he never lost the good opinion he had of himself. In his *Retractations* (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 456), he describes himself as the bulwark of popular liberty, the terror of kings, the champion of the Church, the only man fit to succeed St. Thomas of Canterbury, and, among other good things, the handsomest man of his day: "Ut autem ea quæ de ipso verè dici et scribi poterant paucis aperiam. Erat utique vir ille animosus et strenuus, et inter virtutes varias incomparabiliter dapsilitate conspicuus. . . . . . Erat autem principis frœnum et tyrannidis obstaculum, populi fax et solatium."—*Ibid.* Of his personal beauty he says: "Eram staturâ procerus, facie quoque fragilique ac momentaneo naturæ bono, formæ nitore præclarus." Being invited one day by the bishop to sit near him in an assembly of the clergy, an old

CHAPTER VII.

GIRALDUS INDULGED IN FALSE AND EXTRAVAGANT PANEGYRIC OF HIMSELF AND HIS FRIENDS, AND IN UNBRIDLED AND CALUMNIOUS VITUPERATION OF SUCH OF HIS COUNTRYMEN AS WERE HIS ENEMIES.

[48] Giraldus expected undying fame from his Topography.—His style.—His writings disgust rather than please.—Stanihurst's low opinion of the Topography.—His opinion of Giraldus's "Conquest of Ireland."—Giraldus as vain-glorious as Ovid. [49] Praises his works extravagantly.—Boasts that he recited the Topography publicly.—How shameful to praise one's-self!—He praises his friends. [50] Eulogy on Fitzstephen.—On Raymond.—On Meyler.—Hyperbolical eulogy.—Eulogy of the Geraldines.—Relationship of Giraldus to Fitzstephen, Raymond, Meyler, and Robert.—Eulogy on Robert Barry. [51] More eulogy on the same.—On Maurice Fitzgerald, and on his sons.—Eulogy on Courcy.—De Courcy adopted his own projects to the prophecies of Merlin.—Imminent peril of De Courcy.—Harassed by the Lacies.—He never recovered his lost possessions. [52] The persons praised by Giraldus were robbers.—Giraldus tacitly denounces Fitzstephen as a robber.—Character of the first invaders of Ireland.—They plundered the Church.—The four chief men amongst them left no issue.—Injury inflicted by them on the Archbishop of Dublin.—Miraculous crucifix.—Honesty of Giraldus rather questionable. [53] He praised whom he loved, and maligned whom he hated.—His invective against Fitzadelm.—It is robbery to take property from one Church and give it to another.—Defence of Fitzadelm.—Power of the Burkes.—Invective of Giraldus against the nephew of Fitzadelm and Robert.—His unmeasured vituperation of Hervy. [54] Stanihurst's opinion of his attack on Hervy.—Hervy became a monk.—Giraldus a flatterer.—Flattered Henry II., and maligned him. [55] Raymond, and not Hervy, perpetrated the massacre near Waterford.—Falsehoods of Giraldus.—Truth is the soul of history.—The historian should not seek his own glory.—Should not praise all his own countrymen, and malign foreigners.—He should be superior to passion, and not be swayed by malice or affection.—He should not emblazon the crimes of his enemies, and the praises of his friends.—The historian who acts thus may be an orator, but is not an historian. [56] The historian should be like a just judge.—Giraldus violated all these laws.

SINCE Giraldus, under the influence of some furies, has disgorged his virulence against the Church and the citizens of heaven itself, no man can be surprised that, exulting in his victory over the Church militant and the Church triumphant, his crest should swell, and his page exhale the most lavish incense of self-gratulation on himself and on his friends[a]. In the very commencement of his book, he has an elaborate panegyric

Cistercian abbot, called Serlo, looked at me for a few moments, and exclaimed, "do you think so handsome a young man can ever die?"—"putasne ullatenus mori posse tam pulchra juventus?"—*Ang. Sac.*, vol. ii. p. 595. He says he taught the trivium at Paris, *egregiè*, and obtained the highest honors in rhetoric,—"præcipuam laudem in arte Rhetoricâ" (*Res. Ges.* chap. ii.); and that whenever the masters wished to excite their pupils, he was held up as a model of industry, good conduct, and genius.—*Ibid.* When he retired to Paris to study law in his thirtieth year, all the learned men of that great city came to hear him, and were amazed at his eloquence.—*Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 1; *Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 477. His autobiography is in the spirit of Boswell's *Johnson*.

spicata exordia operis decursui omen infaustum portendere videantur. Eo enim consilio Topographiam se aggressum esse fatetur, "ut post vitam, in hominum memoriâ viveret[1]," versibus his inter cæteros productis:

> "Ore legar populi, perque omnia sæcula famâ,
> Si quid habent veri vatum præsagia, vivam."

Eamque potissimùm fuisse causam ait: "cur tantis lucubrationibus elaborandum sibi opus arripuerit? ut invidiam in vitâ, gloriam post
[48] fata compararet." Quod ut | indubitatius foret, alibi adjecit hæc verba: "Quia momentanea, et fluxa est præsens hæc vita, juvat saltem in futurâ memoriâ vivere, et perpetuis famæ titulis laudis honore celebrari. Ægregiæ namque mentis indicium est ad illud enitendum elaborare, quo sibi invidiam in vitâ, gloriam post fata comparaverit." Præterea ominatur, "se humanam per opuscula sua gratiam assecuturum[2]." Non vult enim ut laus sua silentio delitescat. Hâc cantilenâ scriptis passim aspersâ crambem recoquit; non secus ac si omnes ingenii nervos intenderet, ut lectorem non lateret ardenti se fluxæ caducæque laudis aviditate flagrare, quam e re natâ semper captat; commendationem sibi nunc ab industriâ, nunc ab eloquentiâ, universim denique a scriptis emendicans. "Acuenda sunt," inquit, "arma facundiæ, ut exilitatem materiæ gravior stilus attollat, et ferat invalidæ robur facundia causæ[3]." Quasi copiosa eloquentiæ suppellectile instructus susceptam narrationem facundiæ pigmentis præclarissimè adornaret.

Sed ut de dicendi genere illi familiare quid universim sentiam edixero. Ejus oratio exilis, arida, minuta, aliquando inflata, tanquam tumulis plerumque tumet, mox in humiliores valles subsidet, nec æquali fertur incessu, sed saltuatim gradiens lectoris aures strepitu obtundit. Sanè bullatis illi nugis pagina turgescit, semper creperus, semper clamosus, et obstreperus: sed inanis ille strepitus in ventos abit, labitur in aures, non illabitur in animos. Novis vocibus excogitatis, et locutionibus efformatis, gratiam, quam inventione auctiori colligere nitebatur, dictionum novitate perdidit. Ut falsò divinaverit: "Præsens

[1] Præf. i. Topog. [2] Præfatio 2ª editionis. [3] Præf. i. Topog.

[b] The seventh chapter of White's *Apologia* is entitled "Cambrum disertè de se fateri, studio popularis auræ se ad scribendum fuisse incitatum, laudare se sæpiùs, laudari ab aliis se rogare. Panegyrim evulgâsse in laudem suæ familiæ," &c. &c.

on himself, a gloomy portent of what was to follow from so forbidding an exordium. His motive for composing the Topography, he openly confesses, was, "that, after death, he might live in the memory of man." Among others he cites the following:

> "My works will live; and, through all time, my name
> (If oracles be true) adorn the roll of fame."

Such, he declares, was his principal motive "for engaging in the composition of a work which cost him such enormous labor; that I may acquire jealousy during life, but glory after my death." But, lest there should be any doubt of his motives, he writes in another place: "Since the present life is fleeting and frail, it is good to live at least in the memory of posterity, and to be crowned with the lasting titles of fame, the tribute of praise. For it is a mark of a noble soul to strain after the attainment of that which causes jealousy during life, but confers glory after death." Again, he promises himself "that his little works give him a claim on the favor of man." He could not refrain from praising himself. It is the unvarying burden of his page, obtruded again and again, as if all the powers of his mind were set on forcing his readers into the conviction that he burned with an inextinguishable avidity for hollow and fleeting praise. Praise he claims on all occasions, sometimes for his eloquence, then for his industry, and generally for his writings. "The arms of eloquence must be burnished," he says, "in order that dignity of style may compensate for the poverty of the subject, and eloquence may impart vigor to a bad theme;"—that is, that all the varied resources of rhetoric were at his command, to adorn his projected narrative with the most brilliant colors of eloquence[b].

The general estimate which I have formed of his usual style is, that it is dry, barren, stilted, and sometimes bombastic. It has no steady and measured march, but skips and jumps, often soaring to the clouds, then crawling on the ground, but always grating on the hearers' ears with its discordant din. His page is bloated with splendid triflings, always bustling, always clamorous and obstreporous; but the empty noise is lost on the winds; it breaks on the ear, but never penetrates to the heart. By the coining of new words, and the manufacture of new constructions, he has won the laurel of barbarisms, not the grace of polished originality. He was a bad prophet when he said: "That his own time

tempus habere quod luceret, posteritatem quod laudet. Hoc quod lædat, illa quod legat, hoc quod damnet, illa quod amet. Hoc quod reprobet, illa quod probet[4]:" et suos libros, "posteris lectionem, præsentibus livorem: illis delectationem, istis detractionem; illis beneficium, istis odium præstituros[5]." Imo verò livoris et odii, quo te viventem Giralde prosequebantur, qui te intus et in cute noverunt, perpetuus tenor quasi a majoribus per manus traditus ad posteros emanavit[6]. Tantum etiam abest ut posteris delectationem, aut beneficium scribendo præstiteris, ut potiùs injuriâ se non mediocri scriptis tuis affectos esse conquerantur, ut librorum tuorum lectionem, nullam sibi voluptatem, summam verò nauseam movere affirmant: qui si ullo in numero fuissent, non quadringentos totos annos in scriniis, tineas, et blattas pascentes delitescerent, apti tantùm ut scombrorum tunicæ fiant, et condant, thus, et odores, et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis[7], nec prælo unquam committerentur, nisi ab eo, qui de summâ duntaxat cute illos æstimavit. Sed Stanihurstus eos non extimâ cortice metitus, verùm pensiculatiùs evolvens, tantam eruditionem in eorum recessu latere non deprehendit, quanta in fronte apparuit: ut proinde tacitâ illos objurgatione perstrinxerit, cùm e Topographiâ assulis tantùm et frustulamito in proscenium eductis, cæteras partes sipario obductas occuluerit. Quandoquidem inquit: "Qui in Giraldi scriptis sunt volutati, multa in eis nimis altè repetita, et a proposito declinata reperiunt[8]." Et Hiberniæ expugnatæ non tantùm ungulas et pilos præcidit, ac supervacanea expungit, sed etiam integrioribus eum artubus mutilavit. Somnia nimirum abjecit, Merlini vaticinia conviciis meritò proscidit, parergata summovit, aliena omnia procul abegit; quæ ille stylo stridulìori polluit, hic limâ comptiori pollivit. Et ut ex Ennii sterquilinio Virgilius gemmas collegit, sic e Cambrensi præstantiora quæque Stanihurstus excerpsit. Et ut majorem operi venustatem adderet, nævos abstersit, exuberantiam quasi expressâ sanie amputavit. "Giraldus enim" inquit Stanihurstus: "Adeo minutatim omnia minima persecu-

[4] Præf. [5] Ibid. [6] Præf. i. Hib. Expug. in fine; Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 31. [7] Horat. Ep. i. lib. ii. [8] Pag. 221.

[c] It is singular that Dr. Lynch, in his critical remarks on the style of Giraldus, does not notice the excess of alliteration which is found in all his writings. The passage here cited is a specimen of the laborious and perverted ingenuity with which he links a succession of verbal antithesis. An imitation is attempted in the transla-

had what it would lacerate, posterity what it would laud; the former would rebuke, the latter would read; the former would condemn, the latter would cherish; the former would recommend, the latter reprobate[c];" and when he styled his books, "for posterity a study; for his contemporaries objects of envy; for the former a delight, for the latter detraction; for the former a benefit, for the latter an execration." No, Giraldus; the hatred and execration in which you were held by those who knew every turn of your soul, when you were alive, has been transmitted to posterity, by unbroken tradition, from father to son. So far from thanking you for any pleasure or advantage derived from your writings, posterity complains that they are a nuisance; their perusal gives no amusement, it rather provokes disgust; if any value were set on them, would they have lain for four hundred years mouldering unknown on the shelves, feeding the moth and the worms, and fit for nothing but to make fools' caps, or packets for pepper, incense, or scents, or the other ordinary uses of waste paper? They never would have been thought worthy of press except by a person examining them superficially. Stanihurst was intimately acquainted with them. It was no hasty glance he threw over them, yet he never could find that profound erudition to which they lay claim. When he culled fragments and pieces of the Topography, and left the rest under the seal of oblivion, he declares silently but expressively his contempt of them. "Whoever," he says, "turns over Giraldus's productions will find many things entirely out of their place, and bearing no relation to the subject." But with regard to the "Conquest of Ireland" it was not an expurgation, but a mutilation, that Stanihurst applied, he did not clip merely the hair and nails, and other excrescences, but lopped off entire limbs. The dreams disappear, the prophecies of Merlin are rejected with contempt, digressions and all extraneous matter are cut away, and what Giraldus had degraded by his scrawling pen, Stanihurst polished with his more refined style. Thus, as Virgil collected gems from the muddy pages of Ennius, Stanihurst selected whatever was best in Giraldus, cleansing the blemishes and lopping off the rank and fetid exuberance, to impart more beauty and elegance to his work. "For," says he, "Giraldus has detailed so mi-

tion. Alliteration was the favorite figure with the Welsh writers, in prose as well as in poetry, in the days of Giraldus.—*Suprà*, p. 184, note g.

tus est, ut, ne in brevitatem offenderet, maluerit in historiâ videri nimis loquax quàm parum diligens[9]."

Frustra igitur Cambrensis dicit se "mittere ad Regem quæ non possunt amitti" (scilicet Topographiam suam) "et quæ nulla valeat ætas destruere, ac egregium memoriale se mundo relinquere[10]:" ac si cum Ovidio de gloriationis palmâ contenderet, canente:

> "Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
> Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.
> [49] | Cum volet illa dies, quæ nil nisi corporis hujus
> Jus habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat ævi,
> Parte tamen meliore mei, super alta perennis
> Astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum[11]."

Frustra inquam lucubrationes suas speciosis titulis exornare contendit; quas modò "non ociosas," modò "egregias," modò "non ignobiles[12]" appellat, et "Gallicè verti" exoptat, ut plurium manibus tererentur[13]; ac si tantæ fuerint præstantiæ, ut plurimorum interfuerit earum se helluones præstare. Sed mehercule Astydamæ in morem suarum laudum tibicinem agit, et opera sua in cælos præconiis evehit, quæ voluptate nullos, tædio plerosque perfundunt. Licet tantâ ille philantiâ laboraverit, ut non aliter ac si Minerva Phidiæ fuissent, non lectione tantùm eruditis quisquilias suas, ac Mylesias fabulas, sed etiam pronuntiatione imperitæ quoque multitudini infigendas esse censuerit, inanem gloriolæ auram a quorumvis applausu aucupaturus: ac proinde narrat, "magni nominis in Hiberniâ Giraldum et famæ præclaræ exstitisse, et opere completo, et correcto, lucernam accensam non sub modio ponere, sed super candelabrum, ut luceret, erigere cupientem, apud Oxoniam, ubi clerus in Angliâ magis vigebat, et clericatu præcellebat, opus suum in tantâ audientiâ recitare disposuisse. Et quoniam tres erant in libro suo distinctiones, quâlibet recitatæ die, tribus diebus continuis recitatio duravit. Primoque die pauperes omnes oppidi totius ad hoc convocatos hospitio suscepit, et exhibuit. In crastinâ vero doctores diversarum facultatum omnes, et discipulos famæ majoris et notitiæ. Tertio die reliquos scholares, cum militibus oppidanis, et burgensibus multis.

[9] Pag. 59. [10] Præf. i. Topog. Præf. ii. Topog. [11] In fine Metamor. [12] Præf. 2dæ edit. [13] Præf. i. Hib. Expug.

[d] See remarks on Stanihurst's criticisms.—*Suprà*, p. 307.

nutely the most trifling circumstances, that, through fear of being too concise, he preferred that his history should be condemned as too loquacious, rather than as not sufficiently diligent[d]."

How vain, then, was Giraldus's boast, "that he was sending to the King a work which could not be lost, and which time could never destroy,—a splendid monument of himself bequeathed to the world;" as if he would dispute the prize of vain-glorious boasting with Ovid himself:

> "My work is done: which, not the wrath of Jove,
> Nor fire, nor time, nor steel can e'er destroy;
> When the dread doom, which o'er this mortal coil
> Presides, my uncertain course on earth arrests,
> Sublime above the stars my nobler part
> Shall live, and flourish in immortal fame."

It is of little avail to him to adorn his work with pompous titles, to tell us now "that they are not trifling," and next "that they are excellent," and again, "that they are above contempt," and even to express a wish that they were "translated into French," to have a wider circulation, as if the happiness of millions depended on their devouring his lucubrations. But, like Astydamas, he is the trumpeter of his own praise, and extols his works to the stars, though, so far from pleasing, they generally disgust other men. But so inordinate was his self-love, that he not only wished to have his vile and silly tales studied by the learned, like the Minerva of Phidias, but resolved moreover that they should be recited for the vulgar crowd, in order to gather his wreath of applause from every source, no matter how contemptible. "Giraldus," he tells us, "having acquired a great character, and a famous name, in Ireland, resolved, as soon as he had completed and finished his work, that his light should not be hidden under a bushel, but placed in a candelabrum; and accordingly he prepared to recite his work in Oxford, which, as being then the grand resort and principal establishment of the English clergy, would give him the most respectable audience. The recitation lasted for three days, one of the three distinctions of the book being read each day. On the first day, he invited all the poor of the whole town, and entertained them, and read for them; on the second day, all the doctors of the different faculties, and the most distinguished students; and, on the third, the other scholars, the military of the town,

Sumptuosa quidem res et nobilis: quia renovata sunt quodammodo antiqua et authentica in hoc facto poetarum tempora, nec rem similem in Angliâ factam, vel præsens ætas, vel ulla recolit antiquitas[14]."
Igitur

> "Avia Pieridum peragras loca, nullius antè
> Trita pede[15]."

Ab hoc inusitato facinore inusitatum sibi nominis proventum cumulabis, et ut ait Ennius: "volitabis docta per ora virum." Nec non etiam Tiphus alius habeberis, qui nunquam antè calcatum iter primus apperuisti. Ac proinde expetitæ tot modis famæ te modò compotem esse cernis, si non inventi novitate majoris ostentationis specimen edideris, linguæ Latinæ gnaris juxta ac ignaris tua per summum fastum ostentâris. Ut illorum animos suavibus commentis demulceres, his admirationem moveres, singulis mensæ admotis ut hospitalitatis speciem jactantiæ obtenderes. Sed nemo est tam oculatus, ut in propriis æstimandis quâdam animi propensione corruptus non cæcutiat. Quippe notum vulgò est "suos corvo pullos pulchros esse." Agrestis tamen hominis est, et non benè instituti ad sua præconia enarranda orationis habænas laxare. Etenim propria laus, proprio vilescit in ore. Salomonis monitum est: "Laudet te alienus, et non os tuum, extraneus, et non labia tua[16]." Nam ut quidam cecinit:

> "Omnibus invisa est stolidæ jactantia linguæ
> Dum de te loqueris, gloria tua nulla est."

Quòd si grandioris aliquem molis fætum Giraldi nobis ingenium effudisset, aut cosmographiam, aut ipsam geographiam universam, ut Ortelius et Mercator scriptis complecteretur, intolerabili ostentationis insolentiâ sic proculdubio baccharetur, ut lectori aures obtunderet. Cùm verò ultra unius insulæ descriptionem conatus ejus non perrexerit, et eam ipsam truncam, et mutilam nobis exhibuerit, pro tam tenui opellâ ad gloriam nullam, vel profectò ad valde tenuem aspirare debuit.

Recitatio Giraldi commendatione potiùs quàm vituperio cumulanda foret nisi cacozeliâ non rectâ imitatione veterum recitandi morem retulis-

[14] In vitâ suâ apud Ussherum in Sylloge, p. 158. [15] Persius. [16] Proverb. c. xxvii.

[e] Giraldus must have had the command of considerable wealth. During the second contest for the see of St. David's, in 1198, he offered to defray all the expenses to which the Canons might be subjected in supporting him.

and many of the citizens. A costly and magnificent entertainment[e] it was, reviving the good old genuine times of the poets; England never saw the like before nor at the present day,—no, not even in her most ancient records." Thus,

> "The muses' sacred haunts, by mortal tread
> As yet untouched, he penetrates."

By this extraordinary feat, you will reap an abundant harvest of fame, and, as Ennius expresses it, "your praise is hymned on lips of learned men." Nay, you must be regarded as a second Typhus for having explored hitherto untrodden paths, and might revel in the full enjoyment of that fame which had been the object of so many toils, if the very novelty of your plan had not exposed your ostentation, and convicted you of the most preposterous vanity, when you recited your books not only to those who knew Latin, but also to those who did not, regaling some with your own sweet commentaries, stirring up others with tales of the marvellous, and giving a dinner to all, in order to cloak your vanity under the name of hospitality. The wisest man is, by a natural propensity, blinded and corrupt in the estimation he forms of his own qualities. We all know what the proverb says, "the crow thinks all her young are beauties." Yet, whenever a person indulges in lavish self-commendation, it is a sure mark of a vulgar soul and of a bad education. Self-praise is no praise. Solomon advises: "Let another praise, and not thy own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips." For as a certain person sings:

> "All loathe the folly of a braggart tongue;
> Thy praise is nought when by thyself 'tis sung."

If Giraldus had bequeathed to us some splendid monument of genius, a history of the world for instance, or a universal geography, like Ortelius or Mercator, his insolence would be so intolerable, his ostentation so delirious, that he would confound his hearers. But what glory, if any, is he entitled to, when he never extended his gleanings beyond the description of one island, and gives but a mutilated account even of that?

Giraldus should be rather praised than censured for this recitation, had his object been to imitate the commendable custom of the ancients,

set: illi ut lucubrationibus nævi abstergerentur, amicis sua recitabant: sic Horatius de se dixit "non recito cuiquam nisi amicis," et de Augusto, Suetonius, "nonnulla" e scriptis suis "in cœtu familiarium velut in auditorio recitavit[17]," et Plinius "nullum" inquit "emendandi genus omitto, ac primum quæ scripsi mecum ipse pertracto, deinde duobus aut tribus lego, mox aliis trado annotanda, notasque eorum si dubito, cum uno rursus aut altero pensito, novissimè pluribus recito." Hujusmodi "privatæ recitationes," ut inquit, Theophrastus "pariunt emendationes" ut etiam publicæ, cùm ad judicia hominum exquirenda adhibebantur: ut de Silio Plinius dixit "qui nonnunquam judicia hominum recitationibus experiebatur" et Ovidius carmina cùm primùm populo juvenilia legii. Alii recitando plausum tantùm ambiebant. Imò laudatores mercede aut cœnâ promissâ conducebant, qui ad quædam orationis spatia, "sophos," "pulchrò," "benè," "rectè," "præclarè," "festivè," "beatè," acclamabant. Ut hinc Martialis[18], sophôs illos et laudicœnas appellaverit:

> "Et tibi ter geminum mugiet ille sophôs."
> "Laudat te Selius, cœnæ cùm retia tendit."

Itaque Giraldus mercatus esse "grande et insanum" sophôs dicendus est qui tanto sumptu cœnam tantæ convivarum multitudini apposuit, non ut ex auditorum sententiâ operi ejus accessio aliqua præstantiæ fieret, sed ut ipse popularem aurem hâc ostentatione aucuparetur, et ad populum phaleras daret: ut ei possim ex Martiali accinere[19]:

> "Quod tam grande sophôs clamat tibi turba togata
> Non tu Cambrensis, cœna diserta tua est."

Recitandi consuetudo, quam "in Angliâ factam (ut Giraldi placet) vel præsens ætas, vel nulla recolit antiquitas" in Hiberniâ non fuit inusitata. Etenim Amergino Amalgadii filio, Moelruani nepoti poetæ suo Dermicius Carbhalli filius, Hiberniæ rex, Flanno Feapio Scanlani

[17] Lib. vii. [18] Lib. iii. ep. 46: lib. ii. ep. 27: lib. i. ep. 50. [19] Lib. vi. ep. 48.

[f] "Sophocles" is the word in the original; but, as no authority has been found in the references, the reading in the text is adopted. The errors of the press are very common, as the work had not the benefit of the author's correction.

[g] That is, Diarmaid, son of Fergus Ceirbheoil, monarch of Ireland from Anno Domini 544 to 565.—See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 430.

[h] Otherwise Flann Feabhla. He was Archbishop of Armagh from A. D. 688 to

and not mean vanity. They recited their works to their friends, in order to correct defects. Thus Horace says: "I never recite except to friends." Augustus also, according to Suetonius, "recited some of his writings to private parties of his friends." "I make use of every means of correction," says Pliny, "for, in the first place, I revise carefully what I have written, then I read it for two or three, next I submit it to others for annotations, and, if a doubt remain, I again consult with a friend or two on those notes; finally, I recite it before a large party." "Private recitations of this kind," as Theophrastus remarks, "produce solid corrections;" and the same is true of public recitations, if used to elicit the criticisms of the auditory, as Pliny said of Silius, "that he sometimes ascertained the criticisms of other men by recitations." Ovid, also, recited his juvenile essays in poetry before the people. Vanity was, however, the object of many recitations. Persons were even hired, or promised a supper, to praise a composition; and at the delivery of certain passages, they were sure to exclaim, in chorus, "profound," "beautiful," "good," "right," "excellent," "charming," "most happy!" Hence, such critics were styled by Martial, "sophôs[f]," and board-eulogists:

"Repeated bravoes hail thy works divine;
Silius applauds thee, for he loves thy wine!"

Giraldus, therefore, hired a gorgeous but insensate "sophos," by preparing, at enormous cost, a supper for so immense a multitude, not that he might impart any additional excellence to his book by the criticisms of the auditory, but solely to win popular applause by his grand display, and give amusement to the people. We may address him in the words of Martial:

"When flattering crowds these acclamations raise,
Not thee, Cambrensis, but thy board they praise."

The custom of recitation, which, according to Giraldus, "was not known at any time or age in England," was not unusual in Ireland. Thus Dermod Mac Carroll[g], King of Ireland, sitting with Flann Feapla Mac Scanlan[h], and other princes, at the Feis of Tara, listened with pleasure

715, and was not contemporary with the monarch Diarmaid, as erroneously stated in the preface to the Dinnsenchus.—See Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, pp. 105, 106; and Harris's edition of Ware's *Bishops*, p. 40.

filio, aliisque proceribus in Teamoriæ comitiis stipatus? librum de memorabilium Hiberniæ locorum etymologiâ recitanti faciles aures præbuit; Augustum imitatus "qui recitantes benignè et patienter audivit, nec tantùm carmina et historias sed et orationes et dialogos[20]." Et Claudius imperator vel inopinatò recitantibus aliquibus supervenit. Quod si excitet auditor studium, studia atque ingenia tali auditorio excitabantur. Domhnallus etiam Hiberniæ Rex, cum et belli laboribus et reipublicæ negotiis expeditus poterat otium studio suppeditare, historiis legendis atque peritis historiarum viris auscultandis intendebat."

Sed audi quomodo elogia, quibus ipse sublimi feriebat sidera vertice, lubrico excursu cum sanguinis, et patriæ societate sibi conjunctis communicaverit, quos œncomiis potiùs oneravit quàm ornavit. Ita ut illorum panegirim, non susceptæ narrationis historiam texuisse videatur. Cujus rei specimen in Roberto Stephanide exhibeo, ut crimine ab uno omnes ediscas Giraldi lapsus in laudationum profusione. "O virum,"
[50] inquit, "virtutis unicum, | verique laboris exemplum, fortunæ variæ, sortique adversæ plusquam prosperæ semper obnoxium. O virum toties, tam in Hiberniâ, quàm in Cambriâ, utrasque rotæ circumferentias æquanimiter expertum, et omnia passum, quæ pejor fortuna potest, atque omnibus usum quæ melior. O! verè Marium secundum Stephanidem[21]," etc. Sed obtrectator aliquis mihi obstrepens submurmurabit unam hirundinem non facere ver, nec patronum uno argumento causam evincere. Equidem nisi fastidium, et lectori, et mihi creare pertimescerem, uberem documentorum segetem huc congerere possem, quæ Giraldum suorum prædicationi nimio plus indulsisse palam arguerent. Quibus igitur laudibus, Reimundum ad cælos extulit accipe: "Nunquam," inquit, "vel rarissimè, cui præerat manus, aut temerariis ausibus, aut per incuriam oberravit. Vir modestus, et providus, neccibo, nec veste delicatus, caloris ei algorisque patientia par. Vir patiens iræ, patiensque laboris. Quibus præsidebat prodesse magis quàm præesse, potiusque minister quàm magister videri volens. Vir erat liberalis, et lenis, providus et prudens[22]," etc. etc. Pari quoque liberalitate in Meylerum laudes profudit, "qui fuit" (ut Giraldus ait) "miles

[20] Suetonius. [21] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 27. [22] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 9.

[i] This is the work commonly called the Dinnsenchus, of which there are copies preserved in the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and in Lib. T. C. D., H. 2. 15, and H. 3. 3.

to his bard, Amergin Mac Auley, grandson of Moelruan, reciting a work on the etymology[1] of the remarkable places in Ireland; as we read of Augustus, "who listened, with patience and kindness, to recitations not only of poems and history, but also of orations and dialogues." The Emperor Claudius, also, sometimes assisted, even uninvited, at recitations; and if an auditory be a stimulant to exertion, study and talent must have been fostered and developed by such auditors. Domhnald, King of Ireland, spent the few intervals of leisure, snatched from the fatigues of war and the cares of state, in the study of history, and in the society of those who were masters of that branch of knowledge.

But it is not in praising himself alone that Giraldus lifts his crest to the stars. All his friends and countrymen get a liberal share of his eulogy. He devotes to them many a false digression; but he depresses rather than exalts their character, though the grand object of his book appears to be a panegyric on them, and not a history of the events which he had intended to record. Take the following specimen on Robert Fitzstephen, as one instance of the criminal lengths to which Giraldus proceeds in his fulsome flattery: "O hero! thou unpassable model of virtue and true constancy, in the vicissitudes of thy chequered and generally adverse destiny. O hero! who hast so often, both in Cambria and Ireland, experienced with equanimity every point on the wheel, enduring the heaviest visitations of the worst, and enjoying the choicest favors of the best fortune. O Fitzstephen! thou second Marius," &c. But some person may urge against me that one swallow does not make a summer, nor one argument gain his cause for the advocate. My only motive, however, for not entering into a full detail of the proofs of Giraldus's excessive partiality to his friends, is the dread of fatiguing and disgusting myself and my readers. Hear how he extols Raymond to the stars: "Any detachment commanded by him rarely or never miscarried through rashness or negligence. He was a modest and prudent man, choice neither in dress nor food, and patient both of heat and cold. Master of his temper, and superior to fatigue, he always wished to be rather the servant than the master, and to consult for the happiness rather than to govern through the fears of those whom he commanded. He was a man, mild, liberal, provident, and prudent," &c. &c. His panegyric on Meyler is equally liberal: "He was a courageous and aspiring knight, who never shrunk from any enterprise that could be

animosus, et æmulus nihil unquam abhorrens, quod aggredi quis vel solus debeat vel comitatus. Primus in prælium ire, ultimus conferto prælio redire consuetus. In omni conflictu, omni strenuitatis operâ seu perire paratus, seu præire. Adeo impatiens et præceps, ut vel vota statim, vel fata complere dignum ducat. Inter mortis, vel Martis triumphos nil medium ponens, adeo laudis cupidus, et gloriæ, quòd si vivendo forte non valeat, vincere velit vel moriendo[23]." Porro in singulorum laudibus promendis diutiùs hærere pertæsus, ad plures nominàtim præconiis efferendos vela orationis expandit, ac tandem, tanquam portu capessito acquiescens: "O genus," inquit, "O gens, gemina natura, a Trojanis animositatem, a Gallis armorum usum originaliter trahens. O genus, O gens quæ ad Regni cujuslibet expugnationem per se sufficeret[24]." Miror quòd non dixerit: "Deus est in utroque parente." Et hinc oratione laxiùs effusâ, ad Giraldidarum elogia pandenda excurrit, mutuatus ex oratorum principe loquendi formulam, ut suas altiùs eveheret. "Qui sunt," inquit, "qui penetrârunt hostis penetralia?—Giraldidæ. Qui sunt quos hostes formidant?—Giraldidæ, Giraldidæ. Felices facti si quid mea carmina possunt[25]."

Ut jam videas hominem non historici, sed oratoris partes obire, qui a nudâ rei narratione ad suorum exornationes orationis cursum flectit: imo et poetam agere, qui carmine quoque suorum se facta proditurum confitetur[26]. Ut vel hinc ejus testimonium in suspicionem falsi veniat, quod domesticus, ut aiunt, testis sit, legibus fidem domesticis in testimonio perhibendo adimentibus[27]. Giraldum autem domesticum fuisse, sive quod perinde est, omnibus in quos laudum torrentem effudit, genere propinquum esse constat. Ait enim David Povellus in notis ad Itinerarium Cambriæ: "Næstam Rufi principis Dæmetiæ filiam præstantis cujusdam formæ elegantiâ inter omnes sui temporis mulieres conspicuam fuisse, ex quâ Henricus primus Angliæ Rex filium genuit nomine Henricum. Deinde Giraldus Windsorus eam (Rege consentiente) matrimonio sibi copulavit. Unde Mauritius filius Giraldi, atque omnes Giraldidæ Hibernenses genus traxerunt. Post mortem Giraldi, Stepha-

[23] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 10. [24] Ibid. c. 11. [25] Ibid. c. 16. [26] Ibid. [27] Pandect. de testibus. Cod. lib. iv.

[j] Alluding, probably, to the legendary descent of the Britons from the Trojans.—See *Irish Nen.* p. 35, and *Hib. Ex.* i. c. 9.

[k] Demetia, or West Wales, is that district

carried by individual valor, or the assistance of others. He was the first in the field, and generally the last to hear the signal to retreat. In every engagement his spirits were wound up to conquer or perish. He was so impatient and enthusiastic, that, to him, nothing was honorable except the instant attainment of his object, or the close of his mortal career. He knew no medium between the laurels of Mars and of the tomb; and so ambitious was he of fame and glory, that if he could not win them by a brave life, he was ready to die for them." But when Giraldus grew tired of belaboring individuals with his eulogies, he crowds all his canvass, and, mustering them in groups before him, at length exclaims, as if arrived safely in port: "O race! O nation!—combining the qualities of two different natures,—your courage you have from the Trojans[j], the use of arms from the Gauls; O race! O tribe! your own prowess alone could conquer any kingdom." The wonder is he did not say, "they were gods by both sides." He then proceeds in a diffuse strain to descant on the merits of the Geraldines, borrowing a rhetorical figure from the prince of orators, to strike home with more vigor. "Who burst into the heart of the enemy's strongholds?—the Geraldines. Who are the terror of the enemy?—the Geraldines, the Geraldines. If my songs avail, your memory is immortal."

This is not an historian but an orator, launching out from the destined course of his narrative, into elaborate panegyrics on his friends. Nay, he plays the poet, and boasts that he will enrol their deeds in honied rhyme. This circumstance alone should impeach his veracity, because he is witness in his own cause, and the laws themselves declare that such a witness is not to be admitted in evidence. It is clear that Giraldus was a witness in his own cause, or, what comes to the same, that he was closely allied to the persons whom he overwhelmed with those eulogies. David Powell, in his notes to the "Itinerary of Cambria," states that "Nesta, daughter of Rufus, Prince of Demetia[k], was distinguished as the most beautiful woman of her day. She bore a son, Henry, to Henry the First, King of England. Afterwards, with the consent of the King, she was married to Gerald of Windsor, and, from this marriage, Maurice Fitzgerald, and all the Geraldines of Ireland, are

now called Pembrokeshire, where a colony of Normans established themselves immediately after the Norman conquest.—See Thierry's *Norman Conquest*.

nus Abertinensis Castri Custos, eam duxit, ex eâque genuit Robertum Stephanidem[28]." Giraldus autem ille Windsorus e conjuge suâ Næstâ filiam præterea suscepit nomine "Augareth" matrem Giraldi Cambrensis. Itaque jam liquet Stephanidem Giraldi fuisse avunculum, quem ipse alibi "filium Næstæ," et alibi ejusdem se "Stephanidæ nepotem" appellat. Reimundum verò ipse "tam Stephanidæ, quàm Mauritii ex fratre primævo nepotem" fuisse testatur, scilicet illius Henrici, quem e Næstâ Henricus primus sustulit, ut existimo filium[29]. Memoratum etiam "Meylerum, et Robertum Barrensem, Stephanidæ ait esse alterum ex fratre, alterum ex sorore nepotem." Illum "consobrinum" Reymundi, hunc fratrem Giraldi[30]. Ita ut hactenus avunculum dumtaxat, et consobrinos laudibus cumulaverit. Nunc audiamus quo elogiorum rore fratrem Robertum irrigârit dicens[31]: "Inter varia virtutis ejusdem indicia, hoc præcipuè de ipso prædicari solet, quòd nullâ unquam violentiâ vel inopinatâ, nullâ præoccupatione, nulla de subitatione, vel desperanter meticulosus, vel in fugam turpiter conversus, vel animo consternatus, semper ad tutelam promptus, semper ad
[51] arma paratus. Fortissimus ille nimirum est, qui | promptus metuenda pati, si comminus instent, et deferre potens." Alias quoque laudes ejus in eodem capite præponit, aiens quòd fuit "in natâ strenuitate valdè præclarus, nec laudis exactor, nec auræ popularis aucupator: inter primos præcipuus magis esse volebat quàm videri, cui et animum natura sic instituerat, ut puellari verecundiâ nec jactabundus, nec verbosus existens: egregia sui facinora nec ipse prædicare, nec ab aliis in laudem efferri gestiebat. Unde et effectum est, ut quo minùs gloriam appeteret, tanto ampliùs eam assequeretur." De ambobus denique sic loqui-

[28] Lib. i. c. 12. [29] Giraldus in vitâ, lib. ii. c. 10; Ussher Syllog. p. 156; Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 2; lib. ii. c. 19. [30] Ibid. lib. i. c. 13. [31] Ibid. lib. i. c. 4.

[l] Raymond was son of William Fitzgerald, eldest brother of Maurice Fitzgerald. —*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 2. Raymond married Basilia, sister of Richard Strongbow. —*Ibid.* c. 3. Aline, daughter of Strongbow, married William, eldest son of William Fitzgerald.—*Ibid.* c. 4. Most of the first invaders were connected by blood or affinity. Milo de Cogan was also nephew of Fitzstephen.—*Ibid.* c. 11.

[m] There were several Meylers in the invading army.—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 16. Fitzhenry was son of Nesta by Henry I., and father of Henry, Robert, and Meyler Fitzhenry, nephews of Fitzstephen, and cousins-german to Giraldus.

[n] Giraldus mentions two persons of this name.—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 11. Also

descended. On Gerald's death, she was married again to Stephen, Warden of the Castle of Aberteiffe, and had a son, Robert Fitzstephen." Gerald of Windsor had by the same Nesta a daughter also, called "Angareth," who was mother to Giraldus Cambrensis. Giraldus was, therefore, nephew to Fitzstephen, whom he calls "a son of Nesta." In another place, he expressly calls himself "nephew of Fitzstephen." He also states that Raymond was son of an elder brother of Maurice and Fitzstephen. I think that elder brother was the son of Henry, whom Nesta bore to the King of England[l]. Meyler[m] and Robert Barry[n] were also nephews of Fitzstephen, one by a brother, the other by a sister; the former was cousin of Raymond, the latter a brother of Giraldus Barry. Hence the persons whom he has hitherto praised were either his cousins or his uncles." Now we come to the rose water he lavishes on his brother Robert: "Among the many indications of his virtue, the most singular were, that no violence, however unexpected, no surprise, no sudden movement was ever known to coward him into despair, or to drive him to an ignominious flight, or to shake his courage. He was always prompt in assistance, and ready for the field. The highest valor is that which is able to ward off evil, and to face it should it come on." He celebrates him in another strain, in a different passage in the same chapter, as a man eminently distinguished for genuine valor, neither ambitious of praise nor pandering for popular applause; his ambition was to be, rather than appear to be, a leader among the best; for kind nature had endowed him with all the modesty of a young girl, opposed alike to boasting and loquacity; he neither extolled his own great deeds nor wished to hear them extolled by others; and hence the less ambitious of glory he appeared, the more liberally was it conferred on him." Finally, including both in a common eulogy, he exclaims: "In every

Philip Barry, his brother, with whom he came to Ireland. "In the same passage," he says, "also came Giraldus (another nephew of Fitzstephen, and brother to Philip Barry), who, with his good advice and counsel, did very much pleasure, and help both his uncle and brother; for he was learned, and a great traveller in searching to learn the site and nature of that land." —*Hooker's Translation*, *Hib. Ex.* lib. ii. c. 22. After praising the Barries, the descendants of this Philip, for their valour, and other qualities, Hooker exclaims: "but would to God they were not so nuzled, rooted, and altogether seasoned in Irishry! the name and honor being only English, all the rest, for the most part, Irish."—*Dublin Ed.* p. 204.

tur: "In cunctis congressibus, inter universos strenuitate laudabili cum Roberto Barrensi, Meylerus emicuit[32]." Alium etiam avunculum suum Mauricium Giraldidem appellat "virum fide et strenuitate conspicuum, virum puellari verecundiâ, tam animi, quàm verbi constantiâ clarum[33];" et alibi "virum modestum, prudentem, ac strenuum, qui alium in Hiberniâ post se constantiâ, et fide firmiorem, vel strenuitate præstantiorem non reliquit." Cujus filius uterque, tam Alexander, quàm Giraldus vir quamquam staturâ pusillus, prudentiâ tamen, et probitate non modicus strenuitatis opera in Lageniæ partibus floruerunt[34]," non satis habens universos amplissimis titulis decorare, nisi singulis etiam virtutis famam compararet. In eo fastigio cognatos verborum artificio collocans, quod factis pertingere vix, ac ne vix quidem poterant; quo virtus eorum tanti æstimetur, quantùm verbis ea potuit illius ingenium extollere. Ut Alexandrum, Pompeium, Annibalem, Cæsarem, aliosque viros Martis alumnos rerum gestarum gloriam non solùm æquare, sed etiam nominis celebritate superare videantur.

Imò Cambrensibus utpote popularibus suis, et quibus cognatione annexus erat, honoratiores illas commendationes sic affixit, ut eas Anglis ejusdem militiæ sociis parciùs impertierit. Ecce tibi quâ commendatione Curcæum prosequitur, qui, illo dicente, "vir fortis, et bellator erat, ab adolescentiâ, semper in acie primus, semper gravioris periculi

[32] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 11. [33] Ibid. lib. i. c. 16. [34] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 24.

[o] "This Fitzgerald, the progenitor of all the Geraldines, was buried, and yet lieth in a monastery of Grey Friars, without the walls of the town of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his burial almost destroyed, there wanting some good and worthy man to restore the same againe. He deserved well of his prince and country, and therefore lamentable it is, that in so unkind a country no one good man is to be found, that of so worthy a knight will not restore so worthy a monument."—Hooker's note to *Hib. Expug.* book ii. c. 16.

[p] "O Camber! non meministi verborum tui Ciceronis, qui dicebat 'minorem esse fidem, minorem esse auctoritatem' eorum qui præcones fiunt laudum suorum. Neque cùm panegyres istas scribebas, prævidebas ideo inter plurimas causas alias, vestros libros a lectoribus olim in diebus tuis passim illaudatos et contemptos, partim quòd in illis ubique egeris præconem tuorum encomiorum," &c. &c. — White's *Apologia*, c. 7.

[q] Giraldus does not praise all the Welsh. His patriotism was confined to his own family. "In this history, as in a glass, a man may evidently see the truth, who, and what they were, who deserved most honor in this contest; whether the first adventurers out of the diocese of St. David, my own cousins and kinsmen, or they of the

engagement Meyler and Robert Barry bore away the palm of valor from all their compeers." His other uncle, Maurice Fitzgerald[o], is thus described: "A man distinguished for fidelity and valor, of feminine modesty, but in truth of word and soul inferior to none." And, again: "A brave, prudent, and modest man, who did not leave his like after him in Ireland, whether for unflinching constancy and fidelity, or heroic valor. His two sons, Alexander and Gerald (the latter of whom, though of small stature, was distinguished for prudence and probity), won wreaths of military glory on the plains of Leinster." Not content with the lavish encomiums he passed on them as a body, he singles out individuals, and makes each of them a hero. These strained and elaborate panegyrics on his cousins could hardly be justified by their actions; their worth cannot be of that exalted order which his ingenious coloring represents; he pictures them not only as rivalling the martial glory of Alexander, Pompey, Annibal, Cæsar, and other sons of Mars, but as far transcending them in fame[p].

But it is worth noticing, that while he thus praises the Welsh[q] in a most extravagant manner, who were his countrymen and kindred, he was rather niggard of his praise to their English associates[r] in the invasion. The following, for instance, is his character of De Courcy: "He was a brave man, bred up to arms from his youth, always in the front

diocese of Landaff, who came next, and who in very deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act."—*Præf.* 2*dæ ed. Hib. Expug.* The Welsh soldiers were, in his opinion, better adapted for Irish warfare than either the English or Normans, "by reason of their continual wars,—being valiant, bold, and of great experience; they can endure any pains and labours; they are used to watchings and wardings; can abide hunger and thirst; and know how to take advantage of their enemy." — *Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 40. By them the conquest was commenced, he says, and by them only could it be completed, when the Norman men-at-arms had driven the Irish to the bogs and mountains.

[r] Giraldus does not appear prejudiced against De Courcy, nor against the English, so much as against the Normans, who were "the highest in credit and estimation." "They were fine in apparel, delicate in diet, and could not digest their meat without wine at each meal. They would not serve in the marches, or any remote place, but they would be where they had plenty; they could talk and brag, swear and stare, and, standing in their own reputation, disdain all others. The noble servitors, who had first adventured and made conquests, were held in contempt and suspicion, while the new comers only were called to counsel, and they only credited and honored."—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 34. Each successive colony, during 700 years, has made the last complaint.

pondus arripiens. Adeo belli cupidus, et ardens, ut militi dux præfectus, ducali plerumque desertâ constantiâ ducem exuens, et militem induens, inter primos impetuosus, et præceps, turmâ vacillante suorum, nimiâ vincendi cupiditate victoriam amisisse videretur. Et quamquam in armis immoderatus, et plus militis quàm ducis habens, inermis tamen, modestus, ac sobrius, et ecclesiæ debitam reverentiam præstans, divino cultui per omnia deditus: gratiæque supernæ quoties ei successerat, cum gratiarum actione totam ascribens: Deoque dans gloriam quoties aliquid fecerat gloriosum[35]." Eundem tamen Stanihurstus scribit: "ineptis Merlini ariolationibus ductum, primùm in amictu, deinde gestu, deinde scuto, deinde albo equo, se totum Merlino, usque eo plenè accommodâsse, ut in Ultoniam tanquam personatus comœdus advolârit[36]." Quomodo ergo divinationum studiis irretitus, resque suas gestas ab iis pendere persuasus, et ad eorum præscriptum actionum suarum cursum sollicitè flectens, vel secundiores eventus Deo acceptos referre, vel eidem Deo pro acceptâ fælicitate, et non fatorum ordini, gratiarum vices rependere poterit? Abhorret enim a religione superstitio; ut qui hâc impensè sit imbutus, illius penitus expertem esse oporteat. Præterea huic Joanni carcere clauso, se Trinitas dormienti visendum præbuit, eumque objurgavit quòd templum Dunense, Sanctæ Trinitati antea consecratum, Divo Patricio postea dicari curavit[37]: certè quòd sinistro exitu Curcæi cæpta excepta sint, non Deo sed ipsius superstitioni abscribendum est. Res enim malè dilapsæ, non obscuro sunt judicio, easdem malè partas fuisse. Ille pugnâ victor aliquoties, subinde victus excessit. Unâ verò vice e prælio "non procul a Ferley" commisso "vix se et undecim commilitones eripuit: atque in ipsâ fugâ coactus erat amissis equis, per triginta milliarium intervallum, se et suos defendere, a continuis hostium cursibus, qui fugatorum persequentissimi erant: et biduum cum contubernalibus, jejunus, pedester, armatus, fatigatus, itineri infesto, et periculoso se committens, incredi-

[35] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 20. [36] Pag. 181. [37] Annal. Hiber. Camdenus. anno 1204.

[a] For a copious illustration of the career of De Courcy, see O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 29, 41, 114, 139. Giraldus states that "De Courcy, in the Ulster expedition, happened by chance (*fortè*) to ride on a white horse, and that he had little birds painted on his shield."—*Ibid.* p. 32. He always carried with him a volume of prophecies attributed to St. Columbkille, in which, as he believed, his victories in Ulster were foretold.

[1] In the original copy, Dr. Lynch, fol-

of the battle, and coveting the pass of danger. So fond of the fight and enthusiastic, that, when he commanded a troop, he forgot the cool self-command of a general, and rushed like a common soldier headlong and enthusiastic to the front of the battle; so that when his battalions reeled before the enemy, his immoderate ambition to conquer involved him in defeat. But though he was reckless, and rather a soldier than a general on the field, in peace he was modest and sober, paid due reverence to the Church, was zealous for the divine honor, and, with humble thanksgiving, confessed that to the grace of God he owed whatever glorious actions he had performed, and that to God was due all the glory of his success." Stanihurst, however, gives a different story: "When he was marching against Ulster," he says, "he was induced by the prophecies of Merlin to accommodate himself in dress, in gesture, in his shield, and even his white horse, to the prophecies; so that he looked more like a merry-Andrew than a warrior[s]." Could it be possible that a man blinded in the mazes of divination, firmly believing that his fate depended on it, and sedulously accommodating his conduct to its oracles, would attribute his good fortune to God, or return thanks to that God, and not rather to destiny, for the favors received? Superstition and religion are irreconcilable; whoever has the latter must be entirely free from the former. Again, when this John de Courcy was in prison, the Trinity appeared to him in a vision, and reproached him with having dedicated to St. Patrick the Cathedral of Down, which had formerly been dedicated to the Trinity. But, beyond a doubt, the failure of Courcy's enterprises must not be attributed to God, but to superstition. Ill-gone is an excellent sign that things were ill-gotten. Though victorious in many fields, he was conquered in the end. In a battle "which he fought near Firlee[t], he escaped with great difficulty, with only eleven surviving companions, and in the flight they were compelled, after losing their horses, to defend themselves for thirty miles against the enemy, who closely pursued them, for two long days, armed. On foot, without food, fatigued, and cutting his way through a difficult and hostile country, he bore up with the greatest fortune against incredible

lowing Stanihurst, writes "Fernia," a barony in the county of Monaghan. But Giraldus writes "Ferley," and the Four Masters Fir Lí, "a tribe and territory situated on the Bann, in the county of Antrim"—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 41.

biles molestias summo animi robore devorans[38]." A Lacæis deinde agitatus, omnique ditione tandem exutus, peregrè amandatus est. "Unde cum centum navibus in Ultoniam ingressus, in portu qui vocatur Stranford, segniter obsedit castellum de Rath, sed Walterus de Lacey, superveniens cum exercitu, eum fugavit. Dehinc Curcæus terram suam nunquam recuperavit[39]."

[52] | Nec illi populares Giraldi, nec reliqui hæroes Giraldo commendatissimi tam rebus præclarè gestis, quàm latrocinio, et impietate memorabiles erant, qui obviis quibusque per vim, et summam injuriam, sua diripuerunt, et in Ecclesiæ bona scelestè involârunt. "Non enim tantùm Lageniam, sed et alia quædam nec Comiti, nec uxori suæ ullo jure competentia invaserunt[40]." Et Stephanides "Hiberniam citra Regis Henrici assensum intravit, aliisque malignandi occasionem præbuit[41]:" ut proinde Regis offensionem promeritus, vinculis et carcere diu multatus fuerit. Qui Comiti junctus Dermicium, "ille fidelitatis, iste filiæ ratione, justè restituentes, ejusdem jure suffulti, a prædonum injuriâ quoad Lageniam longè distare noscuntur. Quoad Waterfordiam verò, et tam Desmoniam, quàm etiam Midiæ partes insolenter occupatas, Comitem non excuso[42]." Cujus consortio cùm Stephanides in Desmoniâ populationibus peragrandâ non abstinuerit, prædonis titulum comiti a Giraldo inditum Stephanidi non adimo. Non enim ab æquo abhorret, ut, cui se direptionis comitem adjunxit, eidem tituli societate copuletur: ut iniquissimum se judicem Giraldus præbuerit, qui avunculi studio recti limites transilivit, et in eodem scelere positos, ejusdem dedecoris participes non fecit. Cùm præsertim Neubrigensis mihi non obscurè accinat his verbis. "Angli sub specie militantium Hiberniæ Insulæ irrepserunt, et deinde accitis ex Angliâ viris inopiâ laborantibus, et lucri cupidis, vires paulatim auxerunt. Tandem accesserunt ex Angliâ præficiendum sibi, virum nobilem et potentem, comitem scilicet Richardum, qui nimirum cùm esset magnanimus, et supra vires rei familiaris profusus, amplissimis redditibus exinanitis, et exhausto ferè patrimonio, creditoribus erat supra modum obnoxius[43]."

[38] Stanihurst, p. 182, et seq. [39] Chronicon Manniæ apud Camdenum. [40] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 19. [41] Ibid. c. 29. [42] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 35. [43] Lib. ii. c. 26.

[a] Earl Strongbow having married Eva, daughter of Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, claimed that province in right of his wife.

difficulties." At length, being attacked by the De Lacies, he was despoiled of all his property and banished. "Thence returning to Ulster with one hundred ships, to the port of Strangford, he endeavoured to besiege Rath, but Walter de Lacy, coming up with an army, beat him away. From that day Courcy never recovered his land."

But Giraldus's friends, and those heroes whom he has so highly extolled, were not so remarkable for their noble deeds as for their impiety and robbery, plundering, in violation of all laws, every person they met, and pouncing with sacrilegious fury on the property of the Church. "For they invaded not Leinster alone[u], but other kingdoms, to which neither the Earl nor his wife had the slightest claim." Fitzstephen entered the kingdom of Ireland without the King's consent, and gave others an opportunity of maligning him, "so that he incurred the King's displeasure, and was cast into prison, where he was long detained in chains. As to the occupation of Leinster, neither Fitzstephen nor the Earl can be called a robber, because both were connected with Dermod, the former as a liegeman, the latter as a son-in-law; and by his title both justly held their acquisitions. But, with regard to Waterford and Desmond, and also the parts of Meath unjustifiably seized by the Earl, I do not undertake to defend him." Now, as Fitzstephen co-operated with the Earl in his predatory incursions into Munster, I say if the Earl was a robber, Fitzstephen was one also. For if a man associate and eat with a band of robbers, is there any injustice in calling him a robber? and is it not most unjust in Giraldus, a most flagrant violation of equity, in favor of his uncle, not to make both bear the disgrace of a crime in which both are accomplices[v]? Especially when Newbury appears to confirm my view: "The English crept into Ireland as mercenary soldiers, and then, sending for auxiliaries, swelled their ranks with men of broken fortunes and thirsting for money. At length they invited over from England Earl Richard to command them, a great and powerful nobleman, but who, in his magnanimity, was liberal beyond his means, and had squandered his immense revenues and wasted his patrimony, and was completely at the mercy of his creditors[w]."

[v] Where all were robbers, from the King to the clown, it is not of much use to point out the different shades of injustice.

[w] White, after citing this passage of Newbury, adds: "Hæc Neubrigensis relatio, tuis Gyralde satis nota olim lectoribus

Quòd autem Ecclesiæ bonis diripiendis avidiùs inhiaverint, et iisdem sibi flagitiosè vendicatis, animas contaminaverint, vel inde liquet, quòd Giraldus constare conqueritur, expilandarum Ecclesiæ fortunarum vitium toti ferè "militiæ" Anglicæ "a primo adventu usque in hodiernum diem commune fuisse[44];" ita ut inquit: "mendicet miser in Hiberniâ clerus, lugent Ecclesiæ Cathedrales terris suis, et prædiis amplis quondam sibi fideliter, et devotè collatis spoliatæ[45]." Postquam autem Giraldus dixerit: "Meylerum laudis amatorem, et gloriæ, cuncta sui gesta ad hæc summopere referentem: quidquid ejus famam amplificare potuerat, illud adimplere modis omnibus satagebat, longèque majori curâ videri virtuosus, quàm esse cupiebat[46]," alibi subjecit: "quòd ille et Reymundus fuerint cumulatâ laude digni, si ambitione posthabitâ, Christi Ecclesiam debitâ devotione venerantes, antiqua, et authentica ejusdem jura non tantùm illibata conservassent; quinimo tam novæ, tamque cruentæ conquisitionis (plurimâ quippe sanguinis effusione Christianæque, gentis interemptione fœdatæ) partem placabilem Deoque placentem laudabili largitione contulissent[47]." Atqui ex hoc fonte cùm plura mala ad peregrinos Hiberniæ aggressores emanâsse, tum primis expugnationis postibus Stephanidi, Raimundo, Curcæo, et Meylero, id obvenisse Cambrensis affirmat, ut nullâ e legitimo matrimonio sobole susceptâ improles obierint[48]. Quid memorem ostenta divinitùs exhibita a quibus in hujusce criminis affines, iram Dei exarsisse patuit, quæ de iis patrati flagitii pœnas quàm gravissimas sumpsit? Quarum

[44] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 10. [45] Præf. 2dæ edit. [46] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 4. [47] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 10. [48] Præf. 2dæ edit. et lib. ii. c. 20.

librorum tuorum dederat ipsis ansam non multum fidendi tuis de te, tuisque encomiis. Audisti tuos tantos illos Trojanos et viros a te in cælos elatos ferè omnes fuisse homines inopiâ laborantes, cupidos lucri, ære alieno exhaustos: et miraris lectoribus ista et plura scientibus contemptam fuisse fidem et lectionem librorum tuorum." — *Apologia*, c. vii.

[x] The first English invaders paid as little respect to the property of the Church as the Reformers of the sixteenth century. But though they plundered the mere Irish churches and monasteries, they left after them in all our old towns, and in many places in the country, very respectable and numerous monuments of their religious zeal. It was the age of great religious foundations.

[y] This admission proves that Giraldus was not so blind to the crimes of his kindred as Dr. Lynch asserted. Hervy De Monte Marisco also died without lawful issue.—*Præf. 2dæ edit. Hib. Expug.* Whether De Courcy had lawful issue, see *Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 143, and vol. ii. p. 2269.

As to the rapacious eye they cast on the property of the Church, and the contamination of their souls, by their sacrilegious appropriation of her revenues, Giraldus himself is our witness. He complains that the plunder and destruction of church property was a crime of which all the English soldiers, without exception, were guilty, from the very first day of their arrival; so that, in his own words, "Beggary is on this wretched clergy in Ireland; the cathedral churches mourn, despoiled of their lands, and robbed of those ample domains vested in them by the confiding and fervent piety of former ages." But after he had stated that "Meyler was ambitious of fame and glory, and referred all his actions to those ends, that whatever extended his fame that he labored by all means to accomplish, and that he was far more ambitious to be reputed, than to be in reality virtuous," he adds, in another place, "that both he and Raymond would have won for themselves the brightest wreath of glory, if they had renounced their ambition, and, like dutiful children of the Church of Christ, had not only preserved intact all her old and undoubted rights, but had also, by a generous liberality, offered to her an atonement to Heaven, a portion of their new and blood-stained acquisitions, as a penance for a conquest polluted by the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the extirpation of a people[x]." This was the fatal fount of the many maledictions that fell on the first invaders of Ireland, and especially on Fitzstephen, Raymond, de Courcy, and Meyler, who, according to Giraldus himself, left no legitimate heir to inherit their property[y]. Why should I mention the visitations from heaven, by which the anger of God manifested itself against the perpetrators of those crimes, and punished them with the most terrible judgments[z]? Cambrensis himself gives a detailed history of

[z] The deaths of several of the chief invaders are given from Irish authorities in Mr. O'Donovan's Four Masters, vol. i. "The English Earl Richard (Strongbow) died in Dublin of an ulcer, which had broken out in his foot, through the miracles of SS. Bridget and Columbkille, and of all the other saints, whose churches had been destroyed by him. He saw, as he thought, St. Bridget in the act of killing him."—p. 25. "Hugo De Lacy, the profaner and destroyer of the sanctuaries and churches of Ireland, was killed in revenge of Columbkille, while making a castle at Durrow." —p. 73. "John de Courcy, the plunderer of churches and sanctuaries, was driven by the son of Hugh de Lacy into Tyrone."—p. 141. "William Burke (the progenitor of all the Burkes), plundered Connaught, as well churches as territories;

aliquas Cambrensis ipse fusiùs prosequitur[49]. Nec mediocre violatæ ab iisdem Ecclesiæ argumentum est, "quòd Haimo de Valois, et cæteri custodes Hiberniæ, homines Comitis Joannis fratris Richardi Regis Angliæ injurias maximas fecerunt Joanni Cumen Dubliniensi Archiepiscopo; unde idem Archiepiscopus malens exulare, quàm enormitates illas sibi, et Ecclesiæ suæ factas diutiùs sustinere impunitas, excommunicavit prædictos præsumptores, et interdicti sententiam dedit in Archiepiscopatum suum[50]." Prolixiori oratione rem hanc Hovedenus prosequitur, narratque crucifixi imaginem Dublinii totam sudore multo perfusam, ex oculis lachrimas, e latere sanguinem effudisse[51], Deo injuriam Ecclesiæ suæ illatam a se atrociter latam fuisse hoc prodigio indicante. Hìc etiam in Giraldo integritas historici (quod obiter adverto) desiderari mihi videtur, quòd quamquam scribit hunc Joannem "Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ egregiè sublimaturum fuisse nisi semper gladius gladio, sacerdotium Regno, virtus invidiâ reprimeretur," non tamen totam rei seriem ad amussim aperuit; malens innuere quàm planè pate-
[53] facere facinoris atrocitatem, ne inimicitias eorum | fortè contraxisset, qui ejus criminis rei fuerunt. Cæterùm hinc judico primos istos invasores incredibili rapacitate in Hibernici cleri fortunas ruisse, qui manus impias, a bonis Antistitis suæ gentis abripiendis non coercuerunt. "Joannes enim" (ut ait Cambrensis) "vir Anglicus natione, et literatæ vir eloquentiæ, justiciæ zelo præditus, a Romano Pontifice Lucio, presbyter Cardinalis ordinatus et consecratus fuit[52]."

Sed ad Cambrensem redeo, qui sicut eos, quos in amore, et honore habuit, laudibus justo pluribus cumulavit: sic eos e suis, quos aversatus est, probris laceravit, facta non veritate sed studio metitus. En tibi quomodo virus acerbitatis suæ in Guillelmum Aldelmidem evomuit; ideo citra dubium, quòd Hiberniæ administrandæ admotus fastum

[49] Topog. Hib. dist. ii. a cap. 44, usque ad 55. [50] Ubi suprà. [51] An. 1197. [52] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 26.

but God and the saints took vengeance on him, for he died of a singular disease, too shameful to be described."—p. 143. "His entrails fell from his privie place, and trailed after him to the very earth, whereof he died impenitently, without shrive or extreme unction, or good burial in any church in the kingdom, but in a waste town."—p. 144.

[a] For several notices of this crucifix, see *Introduction to the Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church*, p. vi.

[b] Giraldus cannot be accused of suppressing his indignation at the spoliation of the Church. He records, in his Topography,

them. A most conclusive proof of the sacrilege against the church is, that "Hamo de Valois, and other justices of Ireland, the attendants of John, brother of Richard, King of England, inflicted great injuries on John Cumin, Archbishop of Dublin; the Archbishop, rather than allow such outrages on himself and on his church to go unpunished, preferred going into exile, excommunicated the above-named criminals, and laid his archdiocese under an interdict." Hoveden gives a more detailed account of this matter. He states, among other things, that a crucifix in Dublin was covered over with a profuse sweat, and poured tears from its eyes, and blood from its side[a], God himself manifesting by this prodigy, his detestation of the atrocious outrage. And here I may remark that Giraldus was deficient in the duty of a historian, for, though he tells us "that this John would exalt to an eminent degree the state of the Irish Church, if sword had not been opposed to sword, the State to the clergy, and envy to virtue," still he does not give the whole history in detail; he rather suggests than boldly denounces the atrocity of the crimes, lest perhaps he might incur thereby the wrath of the perpetrators[b]. The fact, however, is a proof of the incredible rapacity with which the first invaders must have pillaged the property of the Irish clergy, when they could not be restrained from plundering the property of a prelate of their own nation. "For John," as Cambrensis assures us, "an Englishman by birth, a man of polished eloquence, and animated with a zeal for justice, was ordained cardinal-priest, and consecrated by Lucius, the Roman Pontiff[c]."

But to return to my charge against Cambrensis,—that his eulogies of those whom he loved or honored were as extravagant as his invectives against his enemies were scathing and merciless; in a word, that partisanship, not truth, was his guide, I give, in the first place, the torrent of ribaldry he pours out against William Fitzadelm, who repressed the insolence of Giraldus's favorites[d]. He accuses Fitzadelm of avarice and fraud,

several instances of what he believed were miraculous manifestations of God's vengeance against sacrilege.—See also note [a], p. 391, *suprà*.

[c] But Giraldus accuses him "of being too worldly, and seeking to please worldly princes, and of having been in the King's favor."—*Hooker's Translation, Hib. Ex.* book ii. c. 26.

[d] White, *Apologia*, c. 9, Duald Mac Firbis, and Four Masters, vol. i. p. 145, as well as Dr. Lynch, attempt to defend Fitzadelm against the censures of Giraldus. Fitzadelm was ancestor of the Burkes; many of

eorum, quos Giraldus in delitiis habebat, coercuit. Avaritiæ illi notam, et fraudulentiæ inurit, ut qui præclarissima quæque popularibus suis ademerit, et vilissima contulerit; et præsordidâ tenacitate, quæ Rex bellatoribus elargitus est, unguibus suis elabi non permisit[53]. Denique vir fuit si Cambrensi credimus "semper in insidiis, semper in dolo, semper propinans sub melle venenum, semper latens anguis in herbâ[54]. Vir in facie liberalis, et lenis, intus verò plus aloës quàm mellis habens, semper

"Pelliculam veterem retinens, vir fronte politus,
Astutam vapido portans sub pectore vulpem.
Impia sub dulci melli venena ferens."

Molliti sermones ejus super oleum, sed ipsi sunt jacula, cujus hodie venerator, cras ejusdem spoliator existens vel delator: imbellium debellator, rebellium blanditor: indomitis domitus, domitis indomitus: hosti suavissimus: subdito gravissimus: nec illi formidabilis, nec isti fidelis. Vir dolosus, blandus, meticulosus, etc. etc. Et deinde qui nihil ægregium in Hiberniâ gessit, præter hoc solum, quòd baculum virtuosissimum, quem baculum Jesu vocant, ab Ardmachâ Dublinium transferri procuravit[55]." Perinde ac si facinus esset prædicatione celebrandum, alterius aræ spoliis aliam exornare, et victimâ rapto comparatâ litare ac potius æquè Deo ingratum ac Saulis immolatio ex pinguibus Amalilectarum armentis. "Honora dominum de tuâ substantiâ." "De tuâ substantiâ fac eleemosynam." "Qui offert sacrificium ex substantiâ pauperis, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris sui." Intulistis de rapinis munus, numquid suscipiam de manu vestrâ, dicit Dominus." "Nec est," ut ait Seneca, "magni animi qui de alieno liberalis est, sed ille qui quod alteri donat, sibi detrahit," ait enim Cicero, "Qui aliis nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eâdem sunt injustitiâ, ut si in suam rem aliena convertant." "Nec permissum est ut impune nobis liceat, quod alicui eripuerimus, id alteri tradere[56]." Non tenui profectò admiratione teneor cur Aldelmides supremo Hibernis magistratu amotus, repetundarum

[53] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. cc. 16, 22. [54] Ibid. c 17. [55] Ibid. c. 22. [56] Cicero in Verrem. iv. 53.

whom, especially the Earl of Clanrickard, were very powerful, and still Catholic when Dr. Lynch and Mac Firbis were writing; a circumstance which may explain why they endeavoured to throw a veil over the iniquity of the first Burke. But see the character given of him by Giraldus confirmed by the Irish Annals, note [z], p. 391, *suprà*.

in taking away from his countrymen all parts of honor and emolument, and giving them only the worst; nay, extending his claims, wresting from them, with the most griping sordidness, the lands which the King had bestowed on his soldiers. In a word, if we can believe Cambrensis, he was a man always intriguing, always treacherous, always mingling poison with his honey, always a snake lurking in the grass, a man with an open and mild expression of face, but covering an interior more full of gall than of honey; always

> "Confirmed in vice, with brow composed and bland;
> Dark treason lurking in his heart corrupt,
> Fell poison mingles with his honeyed words."

His words were softer than oil, but they were arrows to him; the man whom he fawned on to-day, he betrayed or plundered to-morrow; a conqueror of the unarmed; a partisan of rebels; yielding to the intrepid, intrepid to the yielding; most agreeable to the enemy, most oppressive to the subject; neither formidable to the former, nor faithful to the latter. A bland, treacherous, and cowardly man, &c. &c., who, in fine, did nothing in Ireland worth commemorating, except the translation to Dublin from Armagh of the most precious staff, which is called the staff of Jesus[e]," as if decking one altar with the spoils of another were an heroic exploit, or the sacrifice of a stolen victim could be an expiation, and not as great an abomination in the sight of God as the sacrifice by Saul of the rich herds of the Amalecites. "Honor the Lord with thy substance." Give alms out of thy substance. "He that offers sacrifice out of the substance of the poor, is like to one who slays the son before the father's eyes." You have brought in a gift of rapine, shall I accept it at your hands? saith the Lord. "To be liberal with the property of another," says Seneca, "is not generosity :" but to give to another what one takes from himself; for, as Cicero observes, "They who injure some that they may be liberal to others, are guilty of the same injustice as those who turn the property of another to their own use. "We cannot, without guilt, make over to one man what we have robbed from another." But is it not amazing that Fitzadelm, when he was removed from the government of Ireland, was not accused of peculation by the King[f]? Yet

He robbed all the churches in Connaught.

[e] See *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church*, Introduction, p. viii.

[f] This is a singular argument. It might

apud Regem non sit insimulatus: qui tantùm abest, ut in illum ullo pacto animadverterit, ut potius eum summo loco semper habuerit, dapiferi dignitate nunquam exuerit, Regi Hiberniæ ad "Concordiam" adducendo adhibuerit, plurimis fundis in agro Limbricensi, et amplâ potestate in Wexfordiensi donaverit[57]. Ut in ejus patrocinium non traham quòd Guillelmi Conquestoris nomine a scriptoribus nostris insigniatur[58], eandem appellationem cum decantato illo Guillelmo Notho sortitus; quòd simili prorsus ratione, hic Angliam, ille Hiberniam expugnaverit; quòd prole fœcundus, et nobilissimæ Burgorum familiæ generis author fuit. Cujus propago adeo longè latèque per Hiberniam diffusa est, ut in singulis Insulæ regionibus, latifundia plurima, et summam plerumque dominationem retulerit: honorariis titulis, et supremâ rerum administratione sæpissimè potita.

Sed Giraldus a Aldelmidæ conviciis proscindendo, ad nepotem ejus Gualterum simili injuriâ persequendum transilit, quem "Allemanum nuncupatione non naturâ, non staturâ, ab avunculi moribus non degenerâsse dicit[59]." Deinde Robertum Poerum "maledicentiæ" aspergine irrorat[60]. Sed in Hervæum a Monte Maurisco invectivarum torrentem, quasi rupto aggere effundit. Eum enim inquit "variis vitiorum maculis malitia deformaverat; erat quippe vir a pueritiâ veneri datus, nec incestus ullos, nec adulteria vitans; vir invidus, delator, et duplex, vir subdolus, facetus et fallax, cujus sub linguâ mel, et lac veneno contecta: vir vagus et vanus præter inconstantiæ solius, nullius rei constantiam habens, vir olim Gallicâ militiâ strenuus, sed hodie plus habens malitiæ quàm militiæ, plus fraudis, quàm laudis, plus verbositatis quàm veritatis[61]."

Sed Stanihurstus magnus alioqui Giraldi cultor, "nescit an Giral-

[57] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 32. [58] Warræus Antiq. Hib. p. 241. [59] Hib. Expug. lib. ii. c. 15. [60] Ibid. c. 9. [61] Ibid. cc. 11, 19.

have some weight if the most successful robbers were not in those days often regarded as the most loyal subjects and faithful servants. Philip of Worcester, who was sent over as deputy after De Lacy, "to bring the land to order," robbed the church of Armagh, and returned to Dublin well laden with gold, silver, and money, which he had exacted in every place where he came, for other good he did none."—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 27.

[g] He is not called Conqueror of Ireland, but of Connaught, and that principally by the Connaught Annalists, because some of

there was not only no charge made against him, but he continued to the last in high favor at Court, enjoyed to his death his office of royal cup-bearer, was employed to bring about a peace with the King of Ireland, and endowed with ample lands in the county of Limerick, and great power in Wexford. I might also, if necessary, urge in his defence that our writers generally call him William the Conqueror[g], for as William the Bastard conquered England, so William Fitzadelm conquered Ireland, where he had a numerous family, and was founder of the most noble family of the Burkes. So generally did this family extend itself through Ireland, that, in almost every district, they held extensive possessions, and sometimes were the sole occupiers, while they also attained to the highest titles of honor, and often to the supreme government of the State.

After having launched these invectives against Fitzadelm, his nephew Walter[h] is next selected for similar abuse. "He was a German," says Giraldus, "not by nature, nor in stature, but in name alone; a faithful representative of his uncle's depravity." Then he showers down on Robert Poer[i] the hail of his sarcasm; but Hervy de Monte Marisco is assailed with a torrent of abuse that bursts all bounds. "Depravity," he says, "had polluted him with various kinds of crimes. From his earliest days he was a slave of impurity, and stopped at no incests or adulteries; envious, tale-bearing, and double-minded; a crafty, polished, and treacherous villain, with the milk and honey of kindness on his tongue, to conceal his poison; a vain and inconsistent character, without one trait of constancy, save inconstancy itself. He once performed great feats of arms in the French wars, but to-day he is more vicious than valorous, more deceitful than distinguished, more talkative than truthful."

Stanihurst, however, who in general is a great follower of Giraldus,

the first successful invasions into that province were directed by him. He had very poor claims to the title "Conqueror" of Ireland. Hugh de Lacy, who succeeded him in the government, contributed more to the permanent occupation of Ireland than any of the first adventurers. — See *Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 71, 144.

[h] His name was Walter "Allemannus." "Allemande," i. e. German, as I understand it.

[i] "'Poer,' in modern times 'Power,' literally 'pauvre,' or 'poor,' from the poverty of Roger, the founder of the family, who came over to Ireland a penniless adventurer."—See Thierry's *Norman Conquest*.

dus Hervæum ubique sat sincerè insectetur[62]:" et Hervæi mores ex [54] Giraldo depingere aggrediens addit: | "si Giraldo Cambrensi fides adhibenda sit[63]." Post autem eorum deformitatem exhibitam, subjungit: "Verè an secus pro certo affirmare non queo: verisimile tamen mihi videtur Hervæum Giraldi voluntatem læsisse, quandoquidem in quâvis ferè libelli sui paginulâ, ejus famam omni contumeliâ attingit. Et si depravatos hominis mores sincerè expresserit, historici integritatem religionemque plurimùm laudo: sin domestici odii publicos testes colligere voluerit maledicum bacchandi calumniam multùm reprehendo[64]." Præterea "durus est," inquit, "in Hervæum scriptor, Giraldus Cambrensis quem invidiosis maledictorum notis tradere voluit posteritatis memoriæ. Sed quoniam malevolentia congruenter veritati convenienterque perrarò loquitur, talesque suos inimicos fingit, quales esse et videri optat, æquum erit in narratione iniquo calumniatori fidem derogare[65]." Hervæus, enim nuntio rebus humanis remisso, cùm "ordini" monastico se aggregâsset, et plura "prædia" cœnobiis contulisset, sciscitatur Stanihurstus "quorsum pertinet humano modo peccantem tam acriter criminari, cùm liceat penitentem melioris vitæ sensum capientem admirari? Quippe hoc nihil aliud est, quàm in alienum nævum lyncæis oculis intueri, nostram strumam instar talpæ non dispicere[66]." Nec nimiis tantùm in amicos blanditiis, et in æmulos odiis sed frequentiori quoque adulatione historicorum se albo expungit, immodicis nunc laudibus, nunc vituperiis, pro studii sui impetu, in Henricum Regem congestis, quem "invictissimum appellat," utpote cujus "victoriæ cum orbe terrarum certant, cùm a Pirenæis montibus in Occiduos, et extremos Borealis oceani fines Alexander occidentalis brachium extendit. Si excursuum ejus metæ quærantur, priùs deerit orbis quàm aderit finis[67]." Innuit illum "tam Orientalis Asiæ, quàm etiam Hispaniæ victorias retulisse[68]." Et a misericordiâ et clementiâ illum, literis etiam ac sapientiâ depredi-

[62] Pag. 154. [63] Pag. 154. [64] Pag. 154. [65] Pag. 192. [66] Idem. ibid. et Waræus Antiq. p. 151. [67] Top. dist. iii. cc. 46, 47. [68] Ibid. c. 48.

[k] Hervy, according to Giraldus, was jealous of the reputation of Raymond, and continually plotted his ruin. He was married to a cousin-german of Giraldus, namely, Nesta, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald.—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 4. He reported secretly to the King against Raymond.—*Ibid.* c. 13.

[l] Giraldus does not conceal this fact, though he impugns the motive. "Hervy

"doubts whether Giraldus's invectives against Hervy were honest;" and, when he was about to draw the character of Hervy, he premises, "if Giraldus can be believed!" Having recounted all Hervy's enormities, he adds: "Whether these be true or false, I cannot undertake to say: yet I think it highly probable that Hervy gave some offence to Giraldus[k], because there is hardly one little page in the book in which some calumnious attack is not levelled against him. If the account of the depraved morals of the man be true, I commend the honesty and virtuous indignation of the historian; but if those public attacks are but the effervescence of private hatred, I severely reprobate the bacchanalian licentiousness of the slanderer." Again, he writes: "Giraldus Cambrensis is very severe against Hervy, whose character he endeavours to blast to all posterity with the blackest hues. But since malicious enmity rarely speaks in accordance with truth, but rather depicts its victim in the colors which it fancies, and wishes others to believe, justice requires that we place no reliance on the narrative of the unjust calumniator." Hervy renounced the world, and not only embraced the monastic life, but gave rich endowments to several monasteries[l]. "What avails it," asks Stanihurst, "to assail so mercilessly a man whom the frailty of our nature had hurried into crime, when the repentance of the same man supplies a noble theme for admiration? What is this but to scan with lynx-eyes the mote of another man, while we are blind as a toad to our own beam." Besides those lavish panegyrics on his friends, and calumnies against his enemies, he was guilty of other faults inconsistent with the duty of an historian. King Henry the Second was, by turns, the object of his most loathsome adulation, and bitter sarcasms. At one time he was the "most invincible King," "the Alexander of the West, whose victories were known in the whole world, from the Pyrenees on the south, to the extreme verge of the Frozen Ocean on the north." He insinuates that "the King had gained victories in Eastern Asia and in Spain;" nay, he was "a second Solomon" for mercy, and

professed himself a monk in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, and gave to the same in frank and pure alms all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches lying by the sea-coast between Waterford and Wexford. As he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind, and as he had laid away his secular weeds had cast off his malicious disposition."—*Hib. Expug.* lib. ii. c. 22. He founded Dunbrody Abbey, in the county of Wexford, where the Suir and Barrow unite.

cat, "Solomonem alterum" eum nominans, additque "famam ejus meritis minorem; debacchantem tam Asiæ quàm Europæ gentilium furorem coercuisse." Postea "piissimum" eum vocat, et Hibernis divinitus obtigisse, "cujus ecclesiam et regnum ei debere" ait "quicquid de bono pacis et incrementi religionis est assecuta[69]." In eo denique "Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium" implendum esse, passim pronuntiat, ut ex oraculorum prænuntione laudem illi aucupetur.

Sed quem vivum his laudibus, eumdem extinctum opprobriis alibi[70] cumulat: inconstantiæ nimirum et publicæ fidei violatæ reum agit, docetque illum tam in promissis faciendis liberalem, quàm in eisdem non præstandis infidum fuisse: ac adeo a pietate alienum, ut sacro assistens vix ad sacræ hostiæ elationem in genua demissus, reliquum tempus colloquis profanis impenderet. Præterea fortunas amplas viris Ecclesiasticis per injuriam ereptas, in profanos homines contulerit, "et alia multa" enormis vitæ delicta patraverit. Quid multis? David Povellus scribit "Giraldum parum candidè de Henrico Rege sentiisse, et in libro de principis instructione, acerbè admodum in Regem Henricum II. invectum fuisse, ubi suæ malevolentiæ virus ita evomit, ut suum inveteratum odium satis manifestè prodat[71]."

Alexander magnus historiam Aristobuli laudes immodicas, et ultra veri fines longè progressas Alexandro tribuentem in profluentem abjecit: quâ igitur voragine, aut conflagratione liber Giraldi perire dignus est? qui non solùm indebitis laudibus Henricum ornavit, sed immodicis etiam vituperiis eundem deformavit. Nulla unquam fides laudanti et lædenti habita est, qui dum ridet, mordet, et fella spergit, dum mentitur, saccarum renidentibus labris, venena devomit. "Ut Bias sciscitanti

[69] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 31; ibid. c. 35. [70] Hib. Expug. lib. i. c. 46. [71] Itiner. Cambriæ, lib. i. c. 2; ibid. c. 4, et annot. ad c. 4. [72] Hib. Expug. lib. i. cc. 14, 15.

[m] Chapters x. and xi. of White's *Apologia* are on this subject. He gives, at great length, the character of Henry, as drawn by Giraldus before and after that King's death. The chapters are entitled "Apertæ adulationes Cambri adversus Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, et Henricum II. Regem Anglorum adhuc viventem, qui reus erat mortis Martyris, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis." "Quos principes viros valdè laudarât, vitâ functos valdè vituperat Camber." The "Topography of Ireland," in which the chief eulogy is lavished on Henry II., was composed when Giraldus was in the thirtieth year of his age; the "Itinerary of Wales," and the "Description of Wales," ten years later; and the "Gesta Giraldi," in his fiftieth year.—*Anglia Sa-*

clemency, and learning, and wisdom; "and his very name, though fame had not done it full justice, had curbed the riotous fury of the Gentiles of Asia as well as of Europe." Afterwards he calls him "a most pious King," and "a great gift of God to the Irish," whose Church and State owed to him alone whatever progress had been made in peace and religion. The oracles themselves are pressed into the panegyric. The prophecies of Ambrosius, Merlin, Giraldus assures us, in a thousand places, were all to be fulfilled in King Henry the Second, while alive.

But when this King died, the picture is reversed. He is then discovered to have been fickle, and to have disgracefully broken through public covenants, and treaties solemnly guaranteed; he was as liberal and hollow in making promises as he was faithless and treacherous in keeping them; nay, this "most pious King" was the very reverse of piety, and whenever he assisted at mass, would hardly go on his knees even at the elevation of the Host, but spent the whole time in profane conversation. He enriched his dependants with the plunder of the Church, whose property he alienated from its sacred purposes, and perpetrated "many other" enormous crimes[m]. What more? David Powell writes: "Giraldus acted a very unfair part towards King Henry; and, in his book on the 'Education of a Prince,' launches out into the most scathing invectives; but the envenomed tone of the attack betrays unmistakeable evidence of the rancorous malignity of the writer."

Aristobulus wrote a history in which he celebrated Alexander in the most extravagant strain, far transcending the real state of events. Alexander ordered the book to be flung into the river. What gulf or furnace could be sufficient punishment for Giraldus's book? combining, as it did, not only excessive praise of King Henry, but also the most outrageous calumnies. Who ever believed a man who praises and calumniates in the same breath; who smiles while he stings and deposits his gall, and vomits forth his poisonous lies from lips exhaling and glittering with honey." When Bias was asked what was the most noxious

cra, vol. ii. p. 626. In several passages of these works, composed after the Topography, he attacks the memory of Henry II.; but the matter is not worth further inquiry. See Frankfort edition, for instance, pp. 823, 834, 835, where he promised to give a full portrait of his royal master, in a work entitled "*Institutio Principis.*" That work has been, for the first time, published in 1846. It will be useful in illustrating the character of Henry II. as a reformer of the Irish Church.

quodnam esset ex animalibus perniciosissimum, rectè responderit "silvestrium tyrannum, domesticorum adulatorem." Sicut Regum aulis adulatores abiguntur, sic historicorum ordine Giraldus exturbandus est, cujus narrationes studio ac voluntate tamquam cardine, non veritate vertuntur.

Porro non potui admiratione non percelli, tanto Hervæi odio Giraldum flagrâsse, ut ejus "suasu" Reymundo "dissuadente" tam immani laniená in Waterfordienses sævitum fuisse affirmaverit[72], cùm Mauritius Reganus Dermitii Lageniæ Regis interpres, et famulus, qui rei gestæ seriem non auditu solùm, sed etiam oculis percipere potuit, utpote tum
[55] cum domino | suo intra Lageniæ fines, ad cujus limites carnificina illa edita est, commemoratus, in historiâ quam de rebus suo tempore in Hiberniâ gestis satis diligenter elucubravit[73], asserere non dubitaverit Reymundum, cujusdam de Buæin amici sui nece exulceratum, ad tam atrocem internicionem perpetrandam suos attraxisse: turpi se igitur mendacio Giraldus inquinavit, ut noxæ dedecus a consobrino ad æmulum averteret. Ut mendacium ejus aliud sileam, Waterfordienses præcipites actos esse dicentis: cùm, tantùm occisos fuisse Reganus memoret. Ista nempe ideo commentus est, ut major truculentia majorem Hervæo infamiam conflaret. Ejus igitur historia mendaciis contaminata, explodenda, et flocci facienda est. Ut enim animanti si eruantur oculi, reliquum inutile fit, sic si veritas dematur historiæ, ubique errabitur. Imò, qui veritatem historiæ subducit, nervos historiæ succidit, ossa confringit, et ipsam denique animam eripit. Nam veritas historiæ fundamentum, firmamentum, spiritus, et anima est[74], absque quâ nullam neque formam, neque fidem habebit, "citra quam" (ut ait ipse Giraldus) "omnis historia non solùm authoritatem, sed et nomen historiæ demeretur[75]." Debemus enim fugere ut falsum quid vel minimâ ex parte narret. Ut jure merito Cicero dixerit "primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat. Ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis: hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus[76]."

Sicut autem a veritate plurimùm recessisse Giraldus proximè de-

[72] Hib. Expug. lib. i. cc. 14, 15. [73] Waræus de Scrip. Hib. p. 56. [74] Dion. Scaliger. Balduin de His. p. 626; Viperan, c. 10; Foxius. [75] Hib. Ex. lib. i. c. 5. [76] De Orat. lib. ii.

[n] Harris, who edited a translation of Regan's History, reasons like Dr. Lynch. Moore, M'Geoghegan, and others, defend Raymond. The rock whence the captives

of all animals, he answered truly, "the peasants' tyrant, and the flatterer of his friend." Flatterers are expelled from the palaces of Kings; so Giraldus's name must be expunged from the roll of historians. Prejudice and whim, not the interests of truth, were the guiding star of his narrative.

In his account of the atrocious cruelties perpetrated against the inhabitants of Waterford, Giraldus gives an astounding proof of his great hatred of Hervy, who, he maintains, committed those crimes "in despite of the remonstrance" of Raymond. But Maurice Regan, the interpreter and servant of King Dermod, had a good opportunity of hearing and even witnessing those scenes, as he was then living with his master in Leinster, on the borders of which province the massacre was committed. Now, in his "History of the Affairs of Ireland in his own Time," Regan distinctly asserts, that Raymond had excited his followers to the massacre, in order to avenge the death of De Bucein, one of his friends[n]. Giraldus has, therefore, been guilty of a flagitious lie, to shield the fair name of his cousin from the black stain of infamy. Another falsehood is what he tells of the victims being thrown down from the rocks, whereas Regan states merely that they were slain. Giraldus added the other circumstance, in order to fix on Hervy a still more savage taint of barbarity. His whole history, therefore, being one tissue of lies, what credit or respect is it entitled to? Put out the eyes of a living creature, and the remainder is useless; follow a history without truth, and every step is an error. For truth is the foundation, the strength, the life, the soul of history, without which it is a monster without shape or grace; "without truth," in Giraldus's own words, "no history can have any authority, nor deserve the name even of a history: even on the most trifling points great care should be taken not to tell even the slightest falsehood." Cicero was perfectly right: "The first law of history is not to dare to state anything false; that the writer be free alike from prepossession and prejudice: these are principles which every one knows."

In the course of my work abundant proofs shall appear of Giraldus's

were thrown is called Dundoloph by Giraldus. It is situated at Passage, four "large Irish" miles east of Waterford; and in Hooker's time was called Dundorogh. Dr. O'Conor questions the authority of the work ascribed to Regan.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. 146.

monstratus est: sic superiùs non solùm naviter gratiæ colligendæ, simultatique exercendæ, sed etiam propriæ laudi turpiter evulgandæ studuisse convincitur; refragantibus condendæ historiæ præceptoribus, et monentibus ut in scribendâ historiâ omnis ingenii, et doctrinæ ostentatio, imò et ostentationis suspicio vitetur[77]. Multùm enim historiæ dignitati detrahetur, si gloriæ querendæ, si gratiæ ineundæ, si nimii in res patrias studii odiive in alienos, si ostentandæ doctrinæ causâ suscepta esse videatur. Porro cùm Cicero non minus verè quàm politè dixerit, Romanam historiam laudationibus funebribus, et familiarum factam esse mendaciorem, quis historiam Giraldi mendis abundè cumulatam esse diffitebitur, qui in toto historiæ decursu, in suorum laudes, et adversariorum opprobria habenas orationi laxat? cùm tamen vitandum sit historico ne in laudem principum, aut ducum, qui suæ partis sunt, aut in partis alterius vituperium plus satis dicat, quòd hoc suspectam reddat historiam[78]. Non enim est sperandum ut ab eo, qui erga alteram partem odio aut amicitiâ affectus est, res omnino vera proficiscatur. Quandoquidem historico ut tutò credatur, necessum est, ut ab omnibus affectibus sit alienus. Etenim ut vulgò dicitur: "periit rationis judicium cùm res transiit in affectum."

Quippe videndum est, ne cupiditate, metu, adulationis affectu, odio, studiove quicquam dicatur, cùm veritas nudè narrari debeat, nullo autem colore adumbrari. Nam si quis veritatem narraturus sit, sine fuco, aut pretextu, nihil studio aut affectu tacebit, nihil odio dicet, nihil cupiditate avaritiâve in gratiam aut adulationem scribet[79]. Nimirum æquum non est, neque sanctæ historiæ legi consentaneum, suorum errata tegere, et factum aliquod insigne laudibus extollere, hostium verò malefacta maledictis incessere, et præclara facinora silentio præterire. Neque tum historiam scriberes, sed tuam causam contra adversarios ageres, nec historici personam gereres sed oratoris, qui hoc in primis cavet ne quid contra seipsum dicat, aut sentiat[80]. Scilicet videre quosdam licet, qui non rerum narratores, sed in historiâ laudatores se declarant, in principum laudes evagantes, cumque præstantissimis Imperatoribus eos conferentes, et laudibus afficientes penè divinis, tamque ambitiosè de

[77] Viperan. Foxius. Bruto. [78] Francis Patricius. [79] Foxius. [80] Viperan.

[o] Few nations on the earth have taken more trouble than the Irish to trace the genealogies of their aristocracy, and none have been worse requited for their pains.

flagrant offences against truth. What I have written already convicts him not only of having indulged personal prejudices, and pandered ignominiously to the will of others, but also of having shamelessly emblazoned his own panegyrics, in defiance of this rule laid down for the composition of a history, that the historian should forget himself, and not only make no parade of his talents or learning, but avoid even the slightest suspicion of ostentation. It degrades the dignity of history, when any design appears either of acquiring celebrity or favor, or of indulging an excessive love of our own, or hatred of a foreign country, or of parading our learning. Cicero has observed, with equal truth and elegance, that even the history of Rome herself has adopted too much of the funeral orations and panegyrics on her great families[o]; what then must we think of the innumerable errors of Giraldus, who never checked his pen in the whole course of his work, when enemies were to be abused, or friends panegyrized? especially when a historian is bound, under pain of depreciating his credit, never to exceed the strict limits of truth in praising the princes or great men of his own party, or censuring their antagonists. When a man betrays favor or hatred towards any party, there is no hope of getting truth unadulterated. To command our unhesitating assent, the historian must prove himself superior to passion and prejudice: the proverb says truly, " that the discernment of reason disappears whenever the subject interests the passions."

Cupidity or fear, flattery, party-spirit or hatred, should never guide our pen. Let the truth be stated plainly, without any false shades or coloring. For if a person write the truth without disguise or dissembling, he will suppress nothing through passion or party-spirit; say nothing through hatred; write nothing from cupidity or avarice, to flatter or to please. It is unjust, and contrary to a sacred law of history, to gloss over or suppress the faults of our friends, and emblazon their good deeds, while the noble actions of our enemies are suppressed, and their crimes made the theme of virulent invective. To act thus, is not to write history, but to plead your own cause against an enemy; you are not an historian, but an orator, whose great maxim is never to say anything that may damage his own cause. There are but too many examples of writers, whose histories are rather labored panegyrics than narratives of facts. Kings and princes, and their great merits, are the burden of the page; they are compared and preferred to the most renowned Empe-

suis civibus scribentes ut nec quicquam aliis tribuant, nec sibi Deos (ut dicitur) pares esse putent, narrationem ipsam sæpe prætermittentes, et nunc hujus, nunc illius laudibus insistentes[81]. Aut sæpè etiam stu-
[56] dentes hostem adducere in | contemptionem suorum magis quàm illorum studiosus, ita ut hâc ratione historiam fœdissimè corrumpant[82]. Itaque historicus putet se judicis boni, et integri sustinere personam, quam summum scelus sit affectu aliquo perturbatam aliquando non tueri: qui scire debet minus dicere quàm res sit, imperfectum esse; et nihilo multum efficere, opus esse poetarum: augere autem id quod minus existit, oratoribus tanquam proprium attribui[83]. Quare relinqui historico, ut verum profiteatur, et tantum verbis exprimat, quantum res ipsa continet. Quomodo autem Giraldus verbosiori oratione, in se suisque immoderatè laudandis, et adversariis invidiosè rodendis, profuso illarum historiæ legum jugo collum extraxerit, hoc capite uberiùs docui.

[81] Robertellus. [82] Foxius. [83] Franciscus Patricius.

rors, and celebrated with honors almost divine. Friends and fellow-countrymen are described in such terms as to monopolize all good qualities, and rival the Gods themselves. The course of the narrative is repeatedly interrupted by eulogies on the writer's favorites, or his partiality to them leads him to strain all his might to bring their enemies into contempt. These are the foul stains which defile so many of our histories. The historian should never forget that he holds the office of a good and upright judge, who must be inaccessible to every movement of passion, or be guilty of the greatest crime; who ought to know that to state things less than they are is wrong, to make much of nothing is the province of the poet, and to amplify what is less important is the peculiar attribute of the orator. For the historian is reserved the duty of writing the truth, stating facts in words such as they were in deed. This chapter contains abundant evidence that Giraldus dispensed with those salutary laws of history in his extravagant panegyrics of his own friends, and his calumnious invectives against their enemies.

CAPUT VIII.

CÙM GIRALDUS, CONTRA LEGES HISTORIÆ VERITATEM IN PLURIBUS REBUS, AC PRESERTIM IN REGUM HIBERNIÆ NOMINIBUS ET GESTIS OMITTENDIS, CŒLAVERIT: REGUM HIBERNIÆ NOMINA SIGILLATIM ET ALIQUÆ RES EORUM GESTÆ BREVISSIMÈ PROPONUNTUR.

[56] Quod vitium reticentia?—Reticentia Sallustii.—Reticentia Thucydides.—Quàm grave crimen historici sit reticentia?—Reticentia Giraldi contra promissa, nullum verbum facit de Tua-de-Danannis. [57] Nec nomina, nec res gestas Hiberniæ regum Giraldus retulit.—Res memorabiles omisit, frivolas inseruit.—Falsò dicit reges Hiberniæ nihil insigne fecisse.—Anni regnorum regum Hiberniæ.—SLANGIUS PRIMUS HIBERNIÆ REX.—Hibernia in quinque partes divisa.—Novem reges Gentis Firbolgæ Hiberniam administrabant. [58] REGES TUA-DE-DANANNI HIBERNIÆ.—Pugna Taltinensis.—Regnum Hiberniæ Tua-de-Danannis ademptum.—FILII MILESII REGES HIBERNIÆ.—Heber.—Heremon. [59] Munneus, Lugneus, et Lagneus, reges.—Irialus vates.—Sexdecem nemora succisa.—Oppida fossis cincta.—Ethrialus.—Tigernmasius.—Aurifodinæ primò inventæ.—Cultus idolorum, aurei scaphi, etc. etc.—Eochodius Edghadhach.—Colores vestium cæpti.—Kearmnaus, Sobarchiusque reges.—Eochodius Fibherglas.—Septem nemora succisa.—Fiachus Labhrannius.—Eochodius Mumho, a quo Momoniæ dictæ.—Ængusius Olmucadh.—Decem nemora succisa. Ændeus Argteach.—Scuta argentea in Hiberniâ primùm fabricata. [60] Rotheachtus.—Sednæus.—Fiach Finscothach.—Magna fœtuum et fructûs abundantia.—Munemonius.—Catenæ aureæ.—Aldergdodius.—Annuli aurei.—OLLAMUS FODLAUS.—Comitia Temoriæ instituta et leges latæ.—Finnachtus.—Vinum cælo defluens.—Slannollus.—Hibernia morbi expers.—Gædius Ollgothach.—Canoræ hominum voces.—Fiachus Fionnolceas.—Berngalius.—Olildus.—Sirnaus Saolach. [61] Rothechtachus.—Elimius Ollfinacha.—Gillchadius.—Airturus Imleach.—Septem munimenta fossata.—Nuadius Fionfail.—Brœassius.—Fomorii fusi.—Eochodius Optach.—Pestis maxima.—Finnius.—Sædneus.—Operæ mercede locari cæptæ.—Simon Breac.—Hectoris Boethii error de Simone.—Duachus Candidus. [62] Muredach Bolgrach.—Endeus Ruber.—Argentum signari cæptum.—Lugadius Iardhon.—Syorlamius.—Eochodius Uaircheas.—Scaphi ex crate.—Eochodius Fiadhmundus et Conangus Begaglach.—Lugadius Lamhdhearg.—Conangus Begaglach.—Airturus Lamhdheargi filius.—Fiach Tolgrach.—Olillus Finnius.—Eochodius.—Argetmarus. [63] Duachus Ladghrach.—Lugadius Laighde.—Aidus Rufus.—Dithorbus.—KIMBAOTHUS.—MEACHA REGINA.—EAMANIA FUNDATA.—Rectachus Ridghdearg.—Rex Hiberniæ et Albaniæ.—Hugonius Magnus.—Hibernia in viginti quinque partes distributa.—Buchadius. [64] Leogarius Lorcus.—Cobtachus Caolbreagh.—Lauradius Longhsecus.—Melgeus.—Modchorbus.—Ængusius Olamhus.—Jeredus.—Fercorbo.—Conlaus.—Olillus Casfhialach.—Adamarius.—Eochodius Altlaham.—Fergusius Fortamalius.—Ængusius Turmechus.—Conallus Columhrach. [65] Niesadamanius.—Endeus Aigneach.—Crinthanus Cosgrach.—Rodericus.—Innetmarus.—Bressalius Bodhiobhadh.—Bovum lues.—Lugadius Luagneus.—Congalius Clarinech.—Duachus Daltadegha.—Fachtnaus Fatach.—Eochodius Feidleach, i. e. longorum gemituum.—Pentarchiæ in Hiberniâ institutor.—Eochod Aremh.—Sepulchra primùm effossa. [66] Ederschelius.—Conarius.—Hibernia in omnibus felicissima.—Alienigenæ expulsæ.—Interregnum quinque annorum.—Lugadius Sriabhndearg.—Conchaurus Abrarudah.—Crimthanius Nianarius.—CHRISTUS NATUS.—Plebeiorum dominatio.—Athachtuachi Carbræum Kencheit regem salutant. [67] Annonæ penuria.—Morannus Judex.—Reges revocati Moranno suadente.—Feradachus Fionfachtuachus.—Annulus Moranni.—Fiathachus Finnius.—Fiachus Firfaladius, conjuratione Athachtuathorum oppressus.—Elimius Conrachi filius. [68] Tuathalius Techtmarius Athachtuathos, debellat.—Rex ab omnibus salutatus.—Mediæ fines producti.—Mulcta Borrumha imposita.—Malius.—Fedlimidius Rachtmhor.—Leges latæ.—Lex talionis.—Catherius Magnus.—Constantius Cedcahach.—Rerum abundantia.—Leath-cunnia et Leath-moa. [69] Conarius filius Mogholami.—Arturus filius Cedcathach.—Alienigenarum exercitus Hiberniam aggreditur.—Lugadius cognomento Maccon.—Fergusius Dubdedach. [70] CORMACUS ULFADHA, VIR TAM BELLO QUÀM ERUDITIONE CLARUS.—Census Boarius.—Eochod Gonnatus. [71] Carbræus Liffecharius.—Fothadius Argteach et Fothadius Cairbteach.—Fiachus Srabhtenus, Albania ab ipso possessa.—Collaus Uais in Albaniam cum fratribus abactus.—Muredachus Tirach.—Tres Collai in

CHAPTER VIII.

GIRALDUS, IN VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF HISTORY, SUPPRESSED THE TRUTH IN SEVERAL POINTS, AND ESPECIALLY IN OMITTING THE NAMES AND ACTIONS OF THE KINGS OF IRELAND. THE NAMES OF THE KINGS OF IRELAND GIVEN IN ORDER, AND A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE OF SOME OF THEIR ACTIONS.

[56] Suppression of truth a fault in history.—Instanced in Sallust.—In Thucydides.—How criminal such suppression is.—Giraldus guilty of it, even against his express promise.—He does not mention the Tuatha de Dananns. [57] He omits both the actions and names of the kings of Ireland.—He chronicles frivolous and suppresses important events.—His false assertion that Irish kings had performed no noble deeds.—Chronology of the reigns of Irish kings.—SLAINGE FIRST KING OF IRELAND.—Ireland divided into five parts.—Nine kings of the Firbolgian race reigned over Ireland. [58] IRISH KINGS OF THE TUATHA DE DANANN RACE.—Battle of Tailtion.—Tuatha de Dananns deprived of the crown of Ireland.—THE SONS OF MILIDH KINGS OF IRELAND.—Heber.—Heremon. [59] Mumne, Lugne, and Lagne, kings.—Irial the prophet.—Sixteen forests cleared.—Towns enclosed by walls.—Ethrial.—Tigernmas.—Gold mines first discovered.—Worship of idols introduced, golden cups, &c. &c.—Eochoidh Edghadhach.—Different colors of dress ordained by law.—Kearnnas and Sobairce kings.—Eochaidh Faebherglas.—Seven forests cleared.—Fiach Labhrainne.—Eochaidh Mumho, from whom the name Munster.—Ængus Ollmucaidh.—Ten forests cleared.—Enda Airgtheach.—Silver shields first made in Ireland. [60] Rotheacht.—Sedna.—Fiach Finscothach.—Abundance of herds and fruits.—Munemone.—Chains of gold.—Aldergdode.—Rings of gold.—OLLAMH FODHLA.—Feis of Tara established, and laws enacted.—Finnachta.—Wine falls from the sky.—Slanoll.—Ireland free from all sickness.—Geide Ollgothach.—The voice of the Irish melodious.—Fiach Fionnolceas.—Berngail.—Olild.—Sirna Saoghlach. [61] Rothechtach.—Elimid Ollfinacha.—Gillchadh.—Art Imleach.—Seven towns fortified.—Nuad Fionfail.—Breas.—Fomorians defeated.—Eochoidh Opthach.—Great pestilence.—Fion.—Sedne.—Wages first paid for labor.—Simon Breac.—Error of Boetius regarding Simon.—Duach the Fair. [62] Muredhach Bolgrach.—Enda the Red.—Silver coin first used.—Lughaidh Iardhon.—Siorlamh.—Eochoidh Uaircheas.—Wicker boats.—Eochaidh Iadmund and Conang Begeaglach.—Lughaidh Lamhdhearg.—Conang Begeaglach.—Art, son of Lamdhearg.—Fiach Tolgrach.—Olild Finn.—Eochodih Argetmor. [63] Duach Ladghrach, Lughaidh Laighde.—Aedh, the Red.—Dithorba.—KIMBAOTH.—QUEEN MACHA.—EMANIA BUILT.—Rectach Ridhdhearg, King of Ireland and Alba.—Hugony the Great.—Ireland divided into twenty-five parts.—Buchad. [64] Loegaire Lorc.—Cobhthach Caolbreagh.—Laurad Longhseach—Melge.—Modhcorb.—Ængus Ollamh.—Iereo.—Fercorb.—Conla.—Olild Casfhialach.—Adamar.—Eocholdh Altlahan.—Fergus Fortamhail.—Ængus Turmech.—Conall Columhrach. [65] Niesadamain.—Enda Aighneach.—Crimhthan Cosgrach.—Rudhraighe—Innetmar.—Bressal Bodhiobhadh.—Murrain among the cattle.—Lughaidh Luaigne.—Congal Clarinech.—Duach Daltadegha.—Fachtna Fathach.—Eocholdh Feidhleach: that is, the "deep sighing."—Pentarchy established in Ireland.—Eochoidh Aremh.—Graves first used. [66] Ederscel.—Conaire.—Great happiness of Ireland.—Foreigners all expelled.—Interregnum of five years.—Lughaidh Sriabhndearg.—Conchobhar Abraruadh.—Crimthan Nianair.—BIRTH OF CHRIST.—Domination of the plebeians.—Athachtnatha elect Carbry Kenchait king. [67] Great famine.—Judge Moran.—Old line of kings restored by his advice.—Feradhach Finnfechtnach.—Moran's collar.—Fiatach Finn.—Fiach Finoladh cut off by a conspiracy of the Athachtuatha.—Elim, son of Conrach. [68] Tuathal Techtmar conquers the Athachtuatha.—Is unanimously proclaimed king.—Meath enlarged.—The Borumha tribute enforced.—Mal.—Fedhlimidh Rechtmor.—Laws enacted.—The *lex talionis.*—Cathoir the Great.—Conn of the Hundred Battles.—Great plenty.—Leath-Cuinn and Leath-Mogha. [69] Conaire, son of Moghlamha.—Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles.—An army of foreigners invades Ireland.—Lughaidh, surnamed Maccon.—Fergus Dubdedach. [70] CORMAC ULFADA, EMINENT BOTH IN WAR AND SCIENCE.—The Borumean tribute.—Eochoidh Gonnad. [71] Carbre Liffeachair.—Fothadh Argtheach, and Fothadh Cairbtheach.—Fiacha Sraibhteine takes possession of Alba.—Colla Uais and his brothers exiled to Alba.—Muredhach Tireach.—The three Collas return from Alba.—DESTROY THE PALACE OF EAMANIA.—Coelbhadh

Hiberniam reversi Eamaniam Regiam funditus evertunt.—Coelbadius, Cronbadrii filius.—Eochodius Moghmedonius. [72] Ex quo plerique reges Hiberniæ Christiani ortum ducunt.—Crimthonus prædas a Galliâ, Saxoniâ, et Albaniâ retulit.—Nellus Neogiallach pluribus Europæ provinciis prædas abducit.—Hiberniæ et Albaniæ rex.—DATHIAS, PAGANORUM HIBERNIÆ REGUM ULTIMUS.—Hiberni Galliam infestant.—Hiberni dicuntur Scoti.

TAM ab officio historici abest qui vera prætermittit, quàm qui falsa narrat. Nam ut ait S. August: "Qui veritatem occultat, et qui prodit mendacium, uterque reus est, ille quia prodesse non vult, iste quia nocere desiderat[1]." Boetii etiam verba sunt: "Non mihi Socratico decreto fas esse arbitror, vel occuluisse veritatem, vel concessisse mendacium[2]." Hinc in historico vitii genus est reticentia, cui, teste Cicerone, pœna est a jurisconsultis constituta. Hoc vitio laboravit Salustius in conjuratione Catilinæ describendâ[3]; etenim quòd Ciceroni actæ a Senatu fuerint gratiæ, quòd pater patriæ dictus, quòd ejus nomine supplicatio decreta, quòd illi Capuæ a decurionibus statua inaurata fuerit erecta; verissima quidem illa omnia, et multùm ad Ciceronis laudem spectantia, Salustius odio adductus reticuit. Thucydides etiam in eandem reticentiæ reprehensionem incidit, quòd libro octavo narrans Antiphontem Rhetorem, virum disertum, solvendæ Atheniensium Democratiæ authorem extitisse, subticuerit ultimo supplicio affectum, ejusque cadaver, ut a feris discerperetur, projectum fuisse. Voluit scilicet hoc condonare suæ erga præceptorem pietati, a quo fuerat in arte benè dicendi institutus. Itaque reticere ea quæ ad augendam viri alicujus, aut gentis gloriam spectant, in re aliqua benè, fortiterque gestâ, hoc prorsus improbi, ac flagitiosi est hominis.

Plura quidem Giraldus silentio præteriit, quæ instituta scribendi ab ipsa ratio, aut sponsio præstita exegit, ut scriptis insereret. David Povellus ait: "Giraldum ubique Guillelmi Brusii Brechiniæ domini scelera ita litteris mandare ut quædam minuat aut excuset, alia, de industriâ prætermittat. Nam debitæ obedientiæ suo Regi denegatæ crimen extenuat et quodammodo diluit. Et postea integra ab eodem Brusio perpetrati sceleris historia prætermittitur[4]," commemoratis tantùm quibusbam circumstantiis, quibus illius proditionis et cædis culpam in alios transferre molitur. Aggressus variarum gentium in Hiberniam migrationes et eorum in illâ res gestas commemorare, imò et pollicitus[5], "de primis terræ istius, incolis, singulisque seriatim diver-

[1] Epis. ad S. Hieronymum. [2] Lib. i. pros. 4. [3] Robertellus. [4] Annot. in cap. iv. lib. i. Itinerarii Cambriæ. [5] Præfat. Topogra.

son of Cronbadhraidhe.—Eocholdh Mulghmheadhoin. [72] From whom most of the Christian kings of Ireland are descended.—Crimthhann carries off plunder from Gaul, Saxony, and Alba.—Predatory incursions into several European countries by Niall of the Nine Hostages.—King of Ireland and Alba.—DATHI LAST PAGAN KING OF IRELAND—The Irish invade Gaul.—The Irish called Scots.

THE suppression of truth is as grievous a fault in a historian, as the statement of falsehood. For, as St. Augustine says, " They who conceal the truth, or utter a lie, are both guilty: the former, because he wishes not to do good; the latter, because he desires to do evil." Boetius also writes: " I do not think myself at liberty to violate the maxim of Socrates, either to conceal the truth, or sanction a falsehood." Suppression of truth is, therefore, a crime in a historian: it was punished by legal penalties, as Cicero assures us. Sallust was guilty of this offence in his history of the conspiracy of Cataline. He hated Cicero, and therefore suppressed many undoubted facts, because they reflected great honor on Cicero. Thus, he takes no notice of the vote of thanks passed by the Senate to Cicero, nor of the title " Father of his Country," nor of the supplication decreed in his name, nor of the gilt statue erected to him by the Decurions in Capua. Thucydides also offended in this way; for, in his eighth book, where he relates the attempt made by Antiphon, the rhetorician, an eloquent man, to subvert the democracy of Athens, he passes over in silence the conspirator's fate, and does not tell us that he was executed, and his body exposed to be devoured by wild beasts. This was an act of filial gratitude to Antiphon, who had been his master in the principles of eloquence. Therefore none but the wicked and unprincipled would suppress whatever reflects glory on a nation or an individual in the execution of virtuous and noble deeds.

Giraldus has omitted many things, which the nature of his subject and his own express words should have obliged him to notice. David Powel remarks, " that Giraldus, when speaking of William de Braos, Lord of Brecon, either excuses or extenuates his crimes, and deliberately suppresses some of them altogether. Thus he speaks in such a way of his disloyalty to the King as to excuse or justify it; and afterwards a history of some crime committed by the same De Braos is totally omitted," with the exception of some circumstances introduced with the design of throwing the blame of the treason and murder on another person. He undertook to describe the immigrations of various tribes to Ireland, and the principal facts of their history; nay, he even promised to treat of the primitive inhabitants of this land, and of

sarum nationum tam adventibus quàm defectibus," se acturum, Tua-de-Danannorum in Hiberniam expeditionem ne verbo quidem innuit, cùm illi diuturnam in eâ dominationem obierint, ut in Regum Hiberniæ illis in eâ commorantibus, enumeratione infra patebit. Nec ei culpæ nunc dabo quòd bonas Hibernorum dotes litteris non mandaverit, quem
[57] probè scio eò maximè collimâsse ut eorum vitia ad | posteritatem transmitteret. Quo modo autem Giraldum fidi historici titulo insigniemus qui fidem datam minimè præstat et quæ se fusiùs narraturum promittit, taciturnitate prosequitur? "Tertia pars," inquit, "Topographiæ totam gentis Hibernicæ, a primis terræ istius usque ad nostra jam tempora memoratu dignam perducit historiam[6]."

"Quid feret hic tanto dignum promissor hiatu?"

Vix quippiam certè memoratu dignum. Ut qui artis alicujus præcepta tradere pollicitus, ejusdem artis rudimenta ne quidem attingit, ab omnibus exploditur, sic Giraldus non solùm, "historiam Hiberniæ," sed etiam "totam historiam Hiberniæ" oratione se prosecuturum spondens, ne nomina quidem Hiberniæ regum edicit. Ac proinde sibilis omnium excipiendus est, qui molem historiæ positurus, nec fundamenta jecit; cùm narrationis initium a regum non modò nominibus, sed etiam rebus gestis ducere debuerit, qui in gentis alicujus historiâ scribendâ progredi statuit. Ab eorum scilicet nominibus suæ historiæ ascribendis prohibitus erat, "ne compendium ipsius inutilis prolixitas impediret[7]." Nimirum homo, qui rerum ab instituto suo alienissimarum cumulo (ut alibi uberiùs inculco) sarcivit, rem operi suo accommodatissimam de industriâ prætermisit, ut ostendat aliena se suo scopo quàm apta consectari malentem, tam a rectâ ratione quàm ab Hiberniæ illustrandæ studio maximè alienum esse.

Sed regum nomina reticeri moderatè ferremus si Giraldus ab iis opprobrii aculeo figendis sibi temperaret, nec diceret, "pauca in iis insignia et memoratu digna se reperire." Infra Reges Hiberniæ ab ejus calumniis vindico: ubi alios ex regibus recta Reipublicæ administratio, plures rei militaris scientia, nonnullos eruditio, plurimos vita sanctè acta,

[6] Ubi supra. [7] Top. dist. iii. c. 45.

[a] Though the Tuatha de Danann are said to have governed Ireland during 197 years, their subsequent fate is a mystery not explained even by tradition.

the arrival and extinction of all the other colonies in succession; yet he has not one word on the expedition of the Tuatha de Dananns[a], though they maintained for many years an ascendancy in Ireland, as will appear from a list of the kings of Ireland during their occupation. I am not charging him now with having omitted all mention of the good qualities of the Irish, his object having been evidently to transmit their vices to posterity; but what opinion, I ask, are we to have of a man who violates his express promise, and does not say one word on subjects which he had promised to relate in detail? "The third part of my Topography," he says, "contains a record of all the remarkable events of Irish history, from the earliest origin of the Irish people to the present day."

"So grand a promise how does he redeem?"

By nothing, in truth, worth notice. If a man promises to expound the principles of any art, and omits touching even lightly on its simplest rudiments, his work is exploded; and yet Giraldus, after promising to give not only a history of Ireland, but the whole history of Ireland, does not tell so much as the names of the Irish kings. Is universal ridicule too severe a punishment for the man who, after promising to erect the edifice, does not lay even the foundation? Not the names only, but the acts of its kings, should be the principal objects in the narrative of a writer who undertakes to compile the history of a country. Giraldus was prevented from inserting their names, forsooth, "lest useless prolixity might encumber his compendium." He could not find space for matters intimately connected with his subject, though he sedulously scraped together heaps of extraneous trash. That he did so, I prove clearly in another place. His predilection for matters foreign to his design, and omission of those connected with it, are a glaring evidence of the little influence which common sense, or a desire of throwing light on the affairs of Ireland, ever had on the mind of Giraldus.

We might bear patiently his omission of the names of the Irish kings, if he had refrained from stigmatizing their reigns; but no,—"he found," he says, "very little that was remarkable or worthy of notice." In another place I shall vindicate the character of the Irish kings, some of whom were eminent for their wise administration, many for their fame and power in war, some for learning, and a very great number for

mendacii Giraldum convincet. Nunc ad Regum Hiberniæ seriem texendam me accingo: ut eorum saltem nomina oblivioni, quâ Giraldus illa opprimere nitebatur, subducam. Tempus, quo singuli regnabant etiam indicabo. Facta quoque illorum aliqua, quæ insolentiâ admirationem, vel raritate voluptatem, vel fatuitate risum, vel præstantiâ imitandi studium, vel turpitudine vitii fugam, lectori movere possint, paucis commemorabo, ut regum albi a Giraldo prætermissi damnum resarciam, et calumniantis illos "nihil memoratu dignum," egisse impudentiam comprimam; persuasum habens, si eorum vita improbitate aliquâ inusitatâ et inauditâ contamineretur, Giraldum non dubitaturum fuisse, dedecoris genti comparandi causâ, eam in medium proferre, qui post gentem universam maledictis laceratam, tantâ humanitate non fuit præditus, ut eam vel minimâ delectatione indicis regum edendæ delinire aggrederetur.

Cæterum gentes aliquot Hiberniæ possessionem initio capessiverunt, quibus qui præficiebantur non antè titulo Regis insigniti sunt quàm Hiberniam Firbolgi, anno post Cataclismum, 1056, adierint[8]. A quibus Slanius, sive Slangeus primus Hiberniæ Rex renuntiatus est. Nam, ut inquit Cambrensis, "Slanius solus totius Hiberniæ monarchiam obtinuit, unde et primus Hiberniæ Rex nominatur[9]." Is autem uno post inaugurationem suam anno, regnandi vivendique finem fecit, Inbherslanio fluvio Slanagam montem, prope Lecaliam in Comitatu Dunensi, alluente nomen ejus referente. Illo Rege, Hiberniæ illa divisio, quæ in usu etiamnum est, initium habuit, a Cambrensi commemorata his verbis: "In quinque portiones ferè æquales antiquitus Hibernia divisa fuit, scilicet Momoniam duplicem, borealem et australem, Lageniam, Ultoniam, et Conaciam[10]."

[8] Gillimodudus. [9] Top. dist. iii. c. 5; Colgan Trias. p. 19, num. 46. [10] Top. dist. i. c. 6.

[b] According to the bardic accounts, Ireland was peopled 300 years after the deluge by a colony from Greece under Partholan.—*Haliday's Keating*, p. 165; *Ogygia*, p. 163. This colony being cut off by a plague, the island was waste until the arrival of the Nemethians from Scythia, through the Euxine sea. From the arrival of the Nemethians to the invasion of the Firbolgs, the bards allowed 216 years.

[c] The Firbolgs came to Ireland from Britain. There were three tribes, but all were called Firbolgs.—*Ogygia*, p. 171. The Firbolg, or Belgæ, was the name of a confederation of Celtic tribes, which conquered the north-western and western parts of France between the years 299, 349, before Christ. —*Thierry*, *Histoire des Gaulois*, pp. lviii. cxxxvi. and 116, vol. i. third edition. The name Bolg, or its cognates,

their piety. At present I proceed to give the succession of the kings of Ireland, that their names, at least, may be rescued from that oblivion to which Giraldus sought to consign them. I shall also give the dates and duration of their reigns, together with a brief sketch of some of the most striking events, which either excite admiration by their singularity, or pleasure by their novelty, or laughter by their absurdity, or a noble emulation by their grandeur, or a hatred of vice by their heinousness. This plan will supply the loss of that catalogue which Giraldus suppressed; it shall also serve as a crushing rebuke of his impudent calumny, "that the Irish kings did nothing worth notice." Of this I am thoroughly convinced, that, had their lives been stained by any strange or unheard-of crime, Giraldus would not have failed to produce it; his resolve to defame the nation being so inveterate that he had not the kindness to give her even the poor pleasure of finding a catalogue of her kings in a work which teems with odious calumnies against all her sons.

The leaders of the primitive settlers[b] in Ireland did not take the title of king before the descent of the Firbolgs[c] in the year 1056[d] after the Deluge. Slane, or Slainge, was the first Firbolg king. For, as Giraldus writes, "Slane alone obtained the monarchy of all Ireland, whence he is styled the first king. One year after his succession he lost his kingdom and his life, and his name is still given to the river Inverslane[e], which washes the base of Slieve Slange, near Lecale, in the county Down. It was during his reign that Ireland was divided into those provinces which are yet preserved. The fact is commemorated by Giraldus: "Ireland was anciently divided into five nearly equal parts, namely, the two Munsters, North and South, Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught[f]."

Volg, Volk, Volcæ, does not appear in history before that date (*ibid.* p. lii.), though a kindred tribe had advanced to the west, and conquered a large portion of Gaul, 300 years before. The Firbolgs, according to Keating, came from Greece; a vague tradition, perhaps, of the Gaulish invasions of that country.

[d] 1024, according to *Ogygia*, p. 3, even on the authority followed by Dr. Lynch; probably it is an error of the press, because our author allows 234 years for the reigns of the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns, which ended, he says, 1258 years after the deluge.

[e] This is the River Slaney, according to *Ogygia*, p. 171. Slieve Slange is now Slieve Donard.—See *Proleg.* pars. ii. p. lxii.

[f] The five provinces met at Usneach,

Rodericus post alterum regni annum et vitâ dicessit.

Gannius et Genannius unà quatuor annis regnârunt.

Sengannius quinto regni anno a Fiaco capitis candidi occisus est.

Fiacus capitis candidi superioris Roderici filius post quinquennium regnando actum, cæsus est a Rinalo. Capitis candidi agnomen ideo illi adhæsit, quòd incolarum Hiberniæ crines, eo rege albi fuerint.

[58] | Rinalus ei sexennium in regno successit; tum demum in prælio Eabhchorbrensi a Fobgenio interemptus est.

Fobgenius regnum quadriennio tenuit, cùm eum Eochodius apud Munnartammam trucidaret.

Eochodius regno decennio potiebatur. Nec toto illo tempore tellus alio imbre quàm rore humectabatur, fruges tamen abundè fudit. Illo rege injuriæ sublatæ, et leges primum latæ sunt. Tua-de-Dananni vitam illi, regnumque in prælio Moighturensi eripuerunt.

Hiberniæ administratio a novem Firbolgæ gentis Regibus triginta septem annos obita, Firbolgis partim deletis, partim in varias plagas fugâ elapsis erepta tandem ad Tua-de-Danannos transiit, qui Bressio sui Regis nomen, et honorem ideo potissimùm contulerunt, quòd genus illi maternum a præstantissimâ stirpe fuerit; qui post eam dignitatem septennio gestam successori Nuado cedere coactus est.

now Usny Hill, parish of Killare, barony of Rathconrath, Westmeath. It was supposed to be the centre, and was called the navel of Ireland.—*Top. Hib.* p. 736. There, according to tradition, the first Pagan fire was lighted. There is a very large stone on the hill where the provinces met. It was visited and cursed by St. Patrick, because it was a place of pagan worship: "Cujus lapides S. Patricius maledixit."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 131; *Jocelyn*, c. 100.

[g] This is intended for Eabha-Choirbre, a level district lying between the mountain of Binbulbin and the sea, in the barony of Carbury, and county of Sligo; but, in other accounts, Rinnal is said to have fallen in the battle of Craobh.—*J. O'D.*

[h] A plain in the county of Louth, in which Dundalk, Drumiskin, Faughard, and Monasterboice, are situated.—See *Leabhar-na-g-Ceart*, pp. 21, 22, note [*]; *J. O'D.*

[i] This colony came from the north of Britain, and landed in the north of Ireland. —*Ogygia*, p. 81. The origin of the name is uncertain; some maintaining that it means "Plebes Deorum de Danann," i. e. tribes of the gods of Danann, a daughter of Dealbaoit, descendant of Nemed, who held Ireland before the Firbolgs; others, that there were three tribes, the "Tuatha," i. e. nobles; the "de," or Druids; and the "Danann," or men of the arts.—*Haliday's Keating*, p. 208. Both derivations confirm the traditionary belief that the Tuatha de Dananns were superior in civilization to the other invading tribes.—See Petrie's Essay on the *Military Architecture of the Ancient Irish.*

Roderic succeeded, and died after a reign of one year.

Gand and Genann reigned jointly four years.

Sengann was slain in the fifth year of his reign, by Fiachach, the "Cenfionnan."

Fiachach, the "Cenfionnan," son of the above-named Roderic, was slain after a reign of five years, by Rionnal. Fiachach derived his surname of "Cenfionnain" from the fact that, when he was king, the inhabitants of Ireland were white-haired.

Rionnal succeeded and reigned six years; he was slain in the battle of Eabhchorbre[g], by Foidhbgen.

Foidhbgen, after a reign of four years, was slain by Eochaid, in the battle of Muirtheinhne[h].

Eochaid reigned ten years. During that period there fell no rain on the land of Ireland, no moisture but dew; yet the land yielded its fruits. Then also were injuries repressed, and laws first established. He lost his kingdom and his life in a battle against the Tuatha de Dananns[i] at Moyture[j].

Nine kings of the Firbolg race sat on the Irish throne during a space of thirty-seven years[k]. The sceptre then passed[l] to the Tuatha de Danaans, who, after partly extirpating or banishing to various quarters the rival Firbolgs, gave the title and style of king to their leader Bress[m], principally because, by the maternal line, he was descended from a most renowned ancestry.

[j] South Moytura, situated in Partraighe, near Cong, county Mayo. *Infrà*, p 418, n. [n].

[k] The number of years allowed to the Firbolgs is the same as in Keating and the Four Masters; but O'Flaherty extends their reign to eighty years.—*Ogyg.* p. 173. That such a tribe preceded the Scots is proved from passages in our ancient laws, which regulate the tribute to be paid by the "daer clann," or enslaved tribes.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 174, also *Ogygia*, p. 175, for the districts where the Firbolgs were settled long after the Milesian invasion; also *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, Index.

[l] Though Irish authorities do not agree on the number of years during which the successive colonies governed Ireland, they are unanimous on the order in which they arrived: Firbolgs; then Tuatha de Dananns; next, the Milesians or Scots. "Omnes nostri annales, omnia fragmenta metrica, etsi in annorum supputatione dissentiant, in re tamen ipsâ, in numero, ordine, et nominibus coloniarum conveniunt, nec ulla vetus auctoritas adversatur."—*O'Conor, Prolegom.* pars ii. p. xlii.

[m] This is probably the Breas (son of Eladon), who is said to have invented a kind of Ogham alphabet, which was found on his person, after he had fallen in the battle

Nuadus cognomento Arget-Lamh, id est manûs argenteæ quòd manum ejus in prælio amputatam manus ex argento affabrè factâ supplevit. Post viginti annos in regnando positos, in pugnâ Muighturensi, à Balaro Balcmeimnech peremptus est.

Lugius seu Lugadius cognomento Lamfhada seu Longimanus quadragesimo regni anno a Macueillo cæsus est, qui apud Taltinam Hispaniæ Regis filiam, post viri prioris Forbolgorum ultimi Regis obitum, secundis nuptiis cuidam nobili Tua-de-Danaano junctam educatus, tanto altricis amore tenebatur, ut perenne quoddam ejus benevolentiæ monumentum extare decreverit. Quare nundinas, sive ludos Taltinos ab ejus nomine dictos ad Olympicorum ludorum similitudinem, instituit maximâ hominum frequentiâ plurimis post sæculis quindecim diebus ante, ac totidem post calendas Augusti quotannis celebrari consuetos. Tunc Calendæ Augusti, nunc D. Petri vinculis sacræ ab Hibernis etiamnum Lughnasa nominantur ab hujus Lugadii memoriâ: vox enim Hibernica "nasa" memoriam significat.

Hunc deinde secutus Eochodius Ellater, dictus etiam Dagdæus annos octoginta regno fruitus, e vulnere, quod in pugnâ Muighturensi retulit mortem obiit.

Dealbotho regni gubernacula decem annos moderato manus attulit filius ejus Fiachus.

Fiachus autem anno regni decimo, parricidii pœnas morte ab Eogano de Ardinbhir illatâ dedit.

of Moytura.—*Prolegom.* pars i. p. xxxi. According to Ogygia, p. 176, Breas was a Fomorian, the only Irish king of that race.

[n] Generally called Magh-tuireadh-Conga, from its contiguity to Cong. The site of this battle is still pointed out in the parish of Cong, barony of Kilmaine, and county of Mayo, where there are still extant most ancient carns, stone circles, and other monuments of the battle, and others were removed some twenty years since. For the traditions still preserved of Balor-Bemenn on Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal, and at Cong and the Neal, in the county of Mayo, see *Annals of the Four Masters, edited by J. O'Donovan*, A. M. 3330, pp. 18–21; *J. O'D.*

[o] Tailte, or Teltoun, on the Sele or Blackwater, midway between Kells and Navan. The institution of games in this place was connected with the pagan worship, Tailte being one of the four repositories of the sacred fire. It was lighted here in the commencement of *Foghmhar*, or harvest; and on Usny in the beginning of summer.—*Book of Rights*, Introduction, p. 111. These games were revived by Turlough and Roderic O'Connor in the twelfth century.—See *O'Conor, Prolegomena*, pars ii. p. xcv.

[p] This was one of the most celebrated of

After a reign of seven years he was compelled to resign to Nuadath, surnamed Nuadath-Airget-Laim, or Silver-Hand, from a hand of silver manufactured for him to supply the want of his hand, which he had lost in battle. He was slain by Balor mBailc-bemnioch, in the battle of Moyture[n], after a reign of twenty years.

Lugaid, surnamed Lamh-fhada or Longimanus, "the long-handed," after a long reign of forty years, fell in a battle against Mac-cuille. Lamhfhada had been educated by Taltina, daughter to the King of Spain, who had given her in marriage to the last king of the Fir-bolgs, on whose death she married one of the nobles of the Tuatha de Danaans. Lugaid Lamhfhada, who was most fondly attached to his nurse, decreed to found an enduring monument of his affectionate gratitude, and accordingly instituted the fair or games of Tailten[o] (so called from Taltina), on the plan of the Olympic games of Greece. During several centuries these games were attended every year by an immense concourse of spectators, during fifteen days before and fifteen days after the Calends of August. The Calends of August, now "the Chains of St. Peter," are to this day called by the Irish "Lughnasa," in commemoration of Lugad, the Irish word "nasa" signifying "a commemoration."

Lugaid was succeeded by Eochaid Ollatair, also called Dagda[p], who, after a reign of eighty years, died of a wound received in the battle of Moyture[q].

Dealbaoit, after holding the reins of government during ten years, died by the hand of his own son, Fiacha.

Fiacha, who, after a reign of ten years, also suffered the penalty due to his parricide, being slain by Eogan of Ard-mBric[r].

the Tuatha de Dananns. According to an ancient manuscript published in Petrie's Round Towers, p. 100, the sepulchral monument of Dagda, and of his wives and brehon, &c., and of all the chiefs of the Tuatha de Dananns (except seven buried at Tailtin), was at Brugh on the banks of the Boyne.—See an interesting account of these and other cemeteries, *ibid.*

[q] This is usually called the North Moyture, or Magh Tuireadh-na-bhFomorach, now Moturra, a townland in the parish of Kilmactranny, barony of Tirerrill, and county of Sligo. In this townland are still to be seen several "giants' graves" and monumental carns, of which a minute description has been given by Dr. Petrie in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1836. — See *Four Masters, ed. J. O'D.* A. M. 3330, 3370; *J. O'D.*

[r] Height, or hill of the confluence. Situation unknown.—*J. O'D.*

Post Fiachum e medio sublatum, tres filii Karmodi Fearbheoil, Maccuil, Macceaght, et Magreone regnum annos triginta tenuerunt non omnibus unà regnantibus, sed singulis alternatim quotannis regiâ dignitate fulgentibus. Eator proprium prioris nomen erat, Maccuil ideo dictus quòd Coll, id est, fraxinum pro Deo coluerit. Alter proprio nomine Tethor, agnomine Macceacht, inde dictus quòd Ceacht, id est, aratrum pro Deo habuerit. Postremi proprium nomen Cæthor, et Sol Deus, propterea Macgrenius appellatus est, nam "grian" Hibernicè solem denotat. Qui omnes in pugnâ Taltinensi ceciderunt, priorem Hæberus, alterum Erimon, postremum Amerginus enecuit.

His peremptis et potestate omni Tua-de-Danaanis ademptâ, regnum filii Mylesii, anno post orbem conditum 3500, et post eluvionem 1258, EIB. sibi vendicârunt; Hæbero majore cæteris natu rege instituto, et Erimone fratre in collegam ei tradito, sed post unum annum regnando emensum obortâ discordiâ, ambo signa contulerunt apud Gesillam in

[e] There is no clue known to the Editor on the meaning of these surnames. The last probably refers to sun-worship; but that was part of the national creed. The plough may represent the god of agricultural industry; and Coll, the worship of the hazle or nut-tree. For the worship of trees, see *Miscell. of Irish Arch. Soc.* vol. i. p. 12; also, note, *infrà*, on Cormac Mac Art.

[f] However uncertain may be the history of this colony of the Tuatha de Dananns, there can be no doubt of the high place they held in the national traditions as a race of superior civilization. Thus the Irish version of Nennius, *Irish Arch. Soc.* p. 47: "It was of them were the chief men of science, as Luchtenus, artifex; Credenus, figulus; Dianus, medicus; also Eadon, the nurse of the poets; Goibnen, Faber; Lug, son of Eithne, with whom were all the arts; Ogma, the brother of the king. It was from him came the letters of the Scots." The similarity of the last name to the Ogmius of the Gauls is striking. According to Amedèe Thierry, *Historie des Gaulois*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 70, vol. i. p. 33, third edition, the religious system, of which Ogmius was one of the gods, was introduced into Gaul between the years 638 and 587 before Christ. Its power was broken in the same country about 200 years before Christ (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 100), and the Druids, its great priests, were then driven to the British Isles. Where there is no decisive historical evidence to the contrary, we should incline to believe that the Tuatha de Dananns were an offshoot of this second Celtic race in Gaul. But while so many of the old Irish records on the primitive colonists of Ireland remain unpublished, it would be premature to venture any opinion, especially when those who have given "dissertations" have hitherto been so unsuccessful. The best step yet taken towards the elucidation of the history of Pagan Ireland was the publication of the original pieces in the *Irish Nennius*, with the explanatory notes, and collation of other Irish documents.

After the death of Fiacha, Mac Cuill, Mac Ceacht, and Mac Greine, A. C. the three sons of Kearmod Melbheoil [melleo ore], held the sceptre during thirty years, not associated in the throne, but each governing in turn as sole monarch during one year. The proper name of the first was Eathor, his surname Mac Cuill being derived from an idol, "Coll" (or, son of the hazle), which he worshipped. The proper name of the second was Teathor; he was called Mac Ceacht, from "ceacht" (the plough), which he worshipped as his idol. The third worshipped the sun, and hence the name Mac Greine[s] ("grian" signifying the sun in Irish), substituted for his original name, Ceathor. The three fell in the battle of Tailtin; the first was slain by Eiber, the second by Eireamon, the third by Amergin[t].

In the year of the world 3500, and 1258[u] years after the deluge, the sons of Mileadh obtained possession of the kingdom of Ireland, after the 1015
destruction of the power of the Tuatha de Dananns. Eiber, as being the eldest son, was appointed king, with his brother Eireamon as colleague in the throne. But after a joint reign of one year, dissension arose, and 1014

[u] Dr. Lynch, on the authority of the Four Masters, and a few other writers, adopts the chronology of the Septuagint, allowing 5199 years from the creation to the birth of Christ. But, not satisfied with that computation, he wrote several letters to O'Flaherty, urging him to collate the ancient Irish authorities, and clear up, if possible, the obscurities that had often perplexed them in Irish chronology. O'Flaherty applied himself to the task, and, in 1665, wrote a letter to Dr. Lynch (prefixed to the *Ogygia*), in which he states that those who adopted the period of 5199 years were influenced more by extravagant national vanity than by respect for the best Irish writers. He proves that Irish chronologists did not differ much from Scaliger.—*Ogygia*, p. [8]. See also O'Conor's *Prolegom.* pars ii. p. xxxviii. The reader must bear in mind that, according to O'Flaherty, Colgan, and Ware, the use of the Christian era was unknown in Ireland before the year 1020, though Dr. O'Conor, *Proleg.* pars ii. p. cxxxiii., maintains that it must have been known long before that time. The Editor does not intend to discuss the intricacies of Irish chronology. Tighernach, one of the most respectable of our annalists, pronounced 800 years ago, with all the materials of Irish history before him, "that all the monuments of the Scots before the reign of Cimboath," A. C. 305, "were uncertain;" and that they are far from certain after that epoch appears from the different computations of our best historians, on the space that elapsed between Cimboath and the birth of Christ: *Four Masters, Dr. Lynch*, &c. &c., 688 years; *Keating*, 496; *O'Flaherty*, 353; *Dr. O'Conor*, 305, or perhaps only 200 years —*Prolegom.* ii. p. xcviii. O'Flaherty's chronology is given in the margin of our English page; the ancestor of the kings on the Latin.

EIR. Ibhfalgiâ, in quâ, Hæbero desiderato, Erymon victoriam et regnum retulit. Quod ubi quindecim annos administravit, vitâ excessit apud Raithbeothogiam. Anno mundi 3516.

Tres Erimonis filii, Munneus, Lugneus, et Lagneus, ad regni cla-
[59] vum triennio sedent. | Priore mortem apud Cruachanam obeunte, alios
EIR. duos in Arladrensi pugnâ, Eberi Candidi filii occiderunt anno mundi 3519. Filii verò illi Erius, Orbaus, Feronus et Fergnaus non ultra
EIB. tres menses regnandi tempus protraxerant, cùm Irialus vates Erymonis filius, fratrum cedem ulturus pugnâ eos, apud Cuilemertham, aggressus, vitâ regnoque spoliaret.

Irialus vates regnum adeptus in quatuor præliis victoriam reporta-
EIR. vit, sexdecim planities nemoribus expedivit, et septem oppida fossis ambivit, tandem decimo anni regno apud Mughmaighe diem suum obivit. Anno mundi 3529.

Filius ejus Ethrialus ei successit, cui vigesimum regni annum at-
EIR. tingenti, Conmalius Heberi filius ut de patris interitu vindictam sumeret, bellum et in prælio Raorensi necem intulit. Anno Mundi 3549.

Conmalius Heberi filius necem quam intulit decessori trigesimo
EIB. quàm regnare cæpit anno, a successore Tigernmasio cædis a Cumalio patri Ollaigno [*sic*], avoque Ethrialo illatæ ulciscendæ avido, in pugná Oenachmachensi, retulit, et sepultus est in australi Oenachmachæ plagâ, quæ etiamnum hodie Feartconmaoil dicitur. Anno Mundi 3579.

[w] Rath-Beothaigh, a townland on the banks of the Nore, in the parish of the same name, barony of Galway, and county of Kilkenny.—See *Four Masters, ed. J. O'D.* A. M. 3501, 3516; *J. O'D.*

[x] O'Flaherty allows only thirteen years' reign to Eiremon; and from the invasion of the Milesians to the arrival of St. Patrick, 1447 years. Dr. Lynch was more liberal, 2131 years having, according to his computation, intervened. The difference arises principally from the different number of years assigned by each to the reigns of the kings, and from a few other causes specified by O'Flaherty in his letter to Dr. Lynch. —*Ogygia*, p. [9].

[y] Now Rathcroghan, near Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon.—*J. O'D.*

[z] This is probably the place now called Ardamine, in the barony of Ballaghkeen, and county of Wexford. — See *Four Masters, ed. J. O'D.* A. M. 2242, and *Leabhar-na-gCeart*, p. 202, note [a]; *J. O'D.*

[a] Called Cuile-martra, i. e. Corner or Angle of the Slaughter, by O'Flaherty. Situation unknown.—*J. O'D.*

[b] It is said, *Irish Nennius*, p. 251, that those Milesian patriarchs intermarried both with the Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danans. All those colonies are said to have been of the same race, and to have spoken the same language.—See *Keating*,

the brothers decided their quarrel in a battle near Geashill, in Offaly, in A. C.
which Eiber was slain. Eireamon, after this victory, reigned sole King of Ireland during fifteen years, and died at Rathbeagh[w], A. M. 3516[x].

The three sons of Eireamon,—Muimne, Luigne, and Laigne,—reigned three years. The first died at Cruachan[y]; the other two were slain in 1001
the battle of Ardladron[z] by the sons of Eiber the Fair, A. M. 3519. But those four sons of Eiber,—Er, Orba, Farran, and Fargna,—did not long enjoy their victory. After a short reign of three months, they were slain by Irial the prophet, the son of Eireamon, who thus revenged the death of his brothers in the battle of Cuilmartha[a].

Irial[b], the prophet, was victorious in four pitched battles, cleared off the wood of sixteen plains, and fortified seven towns with fosses. He 998
died in the tenth year of his reign, at Muigmuide[c], A. M. 3529.

He was succeeded by his son, Eithrial, who, after a reign of twenty years, was slain by Conmael, son of Eiber, who rose to avenge his 988
father's death, and gained a decisive victory in the battle of Raoireann[d], A. M. 3549.

Conmael, son of Eiber, thirty years after his accession, met the fate which he had himself inflicted on his predecessor, from the hands 968
of his successor, Tigernmas, who avenged, in the battle of Aonach-Macha, the death of his father, Follamhan, and his grandfather, Ethrial. Conmael was buried in the southern side of Aonach-Macha[e], which to this day is called Feart-Conmaoil, A. M. 3579.

Haliday, p. 263. This proves that tradition gives no countenance to the colonization of Ireland by Phœnicians, who did not speak the language of the Indo-European family to which the Celts belong. O'Flaherty asserts that the Tuatha de Dananns spoke Germanicè; but that was probably Celtic of a different dialect, as the Irish language does not exhibit any remarkable infusion of the Teutonic element.

[c] This was the name of a place at the foot of Knockmoy, about six miles south-east of Tuam, in the county of Galway. The name was also applied to the plain through which the River Moy flows.—*Annals of the Four Masters, ed J. O'D.* A. M. 3529, p. 34, note [1]; *J. O'D.*

[d] The true nominative form is Raoire; genitive, Raoireann; dative, Raoirinn. O'Flaherty says that this is the name of a hill in Hyfalgia. It is the place now called Rearymore, situated in the territory of Iregan, or barony of Tinnahinch, Queen's County, which was a part of the ancient Hyfalgia, or Offaly.—*J. O'D.*

[e] This was another name for Eamhain, Emania, or the Navan Fort, near Armagh. This grave of Feart-Chonmhaoil has not been yet identified. It has been probably removed by the progress of cultivation, as

EIR. Tigernmasius vitam ad plurimos, regnum ad septuaginta septem annos prorogavit. Quo temporis decursu victoriam in viginti et septem pugnis retulit, et aurifodinis, eo rege in Hiberniâ repertis, cyphos et crateres ex auro et argento fieri primus curavit. Ac denique idolorum in Hiberniâ colendorum author, quorum præcipuo dum ingenti multitudine stipatus cultum in Brefniâ impenderet, ipsi ac comites eâdem morte sublati sunt. Anno Mundi 3650.

ITH. Eochodius cognomento Edghadhach, in regno deinde post septenne interregnum subiit. Cognomento Edghadach id est "indumentum varii coloris" ideo affectus quòd statuit ut singuli ordines vestium coloribus discriminarentur, et plebeiorum vestes uno colore; mercatorum, duobus; pugilum et nobilium epheborum, tribus; virorum advenis hospitio excipiendis designatorum (quos Hibernicè *bruigh* appellamus), quatuor; toparcharum, quinque; literatorum, sex; regum et Reginarum, septem coloribus distinguerentur. Illi quadriennio jam regnanti, vitam et regnum Kearmnaus, in prælio Teamorensi, ademit. Anno Mundi 3667.

IR. Kearmnaus Sobarchiusque fratres, Hiberniæ annos quadraginta dominati sunt. Tum demum hunc Eochodius Meaun, regis Fomoriorum filius, illum Eochodius Fibherglas, in pugnâ Drumcarmnensi, trucidavit. Anno Mundi 3707.

have other curious monuments at this remarkable place, which, from its present remains, appears to have been the most extensive royal residence of the Pagan kings.

[f] Ucadan of Cualan, in the county of Wicklow, is said to have been the artist that manufactured the gold and silver.—*Ogygia*, p. 195; *Four Masters*, A. M. 3656. The Gauls and Iberians had attained great eminence in working mines and manufacturing metals long before their subjugation by the Romans.— *Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 27, *et seq.* pp. 43, 60.

[g] This statement cannot be reconciled with ancient authorities.—See *infrà*, note [i], p. 424. Perhaps there is question only of a peculiar form of idolatry introduced by Tigernmas.

[h] This was the idol called Crom Cruach, i. e. a "stone, the top of which was covered with gold, with twelve other stones standing around it. '*It was the God of all the nations that ever possessed Ireland, down to the arrival of St. Patrick.*' To it they sacrificed the first-born of every animal, and [?] their first-born children. Tigernmas, with the men and women of Ireland, adored it by wounding their bodies and faces, and hence the place was called 'Magh Sleacht,' i. e. the field of slaughter."—*Dinnseanchus, apud O'Conor, Proleg.* pars i. p. xxii. Another favorite idol of the northern Irish was a stone called "clochoir," or the golden stone (whence the name "Clogher"), which was kept even in Christian times inside the porch of the church of Clogher. Its pagan name was Kearmand Kelstach. *Ogyg.* p. 197.

[i] The idol Crom Cruach stood near the river

Tigernmas lived to a very advanced age, and held the sceptre during A. C.
seventy-seven years. He was victorious in twenty-seven battles. Gold 938
mines[f] were first discovered in Ireland in his reign, and then gold and silver bowls and cups were, for the first time, manufactured. By him the worship of idols was first introduced into Ireland[g]. He was killed, with an immense number of his subjects, while they were engaged worshipping their chief idol[h] in Breffny[i], A. M. 3650.

Eochaidh, surnamed "Edghadhach," succeeded to the throne after an interregnum of seven years. His surname, "Edghadhach," was derived
from his having instituted dresses of different colors, to distinguish the 908
different orders of the state[k]. Plebeians used one color; merchants, two; soldiers and nobles, three; officers, called in Irish "bruigh[l]," who were appointed to discharge the duties of hospitality to strangers, four; chieftains, five; learned orders, six; kings and queens, seven. After a reign of four years, he was slain by Cearmna in the battle of Tara, A. M. 3667.

Cearmna, and his brother, Sobairche, enjoyed the supreme power in
Ireland during forty years. Both were slain in the battle of Dun- 904
Chearmna[m]; the former by Eochaidh Meann, son of the king of the Fomorians[n]; the latter by Eochaidh Faobhharglas; A. M. 3707.

Gath-ard, not far from the church of Domhnach-mor, in the plain of Magh-Sleacht, in the barony of Tullyhaw, and county of Cavan, which is a part of the ancient principality of Breifne. The village of Ballymagauran and the island of Port, whereon St. Mogue or Maidoc was born (in the parish of Templeport), are mentioned in ancient Irish documents as in the plain of Magh-Sleacht.—See *Vita Tripartita*, lib. ii. c. 31; *J. O'D.*

[k] For a reference to the law regulating those colors, or ılḃreaċtraḋ, see *O'Conor, Prolegom.* pars ii. p. 96. Both the "sagum" and inner vest of the Gauls were generally striped, "*virgatæ*," of different colors.—*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 39. If this law really ever existed in Ireland, it must have fallen into desuetude in Christian times, as the specified number of colors does not appear in the Irish costume exhibited in Wood's *Paleographia Sacra*.

[l] In the authority cited by O'Conor, n. [k], *suprà*, these officers are called simply "burgorum prepositi," but hospitality is not specified as one of their duties. "Bruighaidh" is a farmer; but how he differed from "Biatach" is not fully ascertained. The latter was the name of the superintendent of hospitality in historic times.—*Annals of the Four Masters, ed. J. O'D.*, vol. i. p. 219.

[m] That is, Cearmna's Dun or Fort. This fort was situated on the Old Head of Kinsale, in Courcy's country, in the county of Cork.—See Keating's *History of Ireland, Haliday's Edition*, p. 125; *J. O'D.*

[n] Those Fomorians figure in the legendary history of all the primitive Irish colonies, and are often represented as of the

EIB. Eochodius Fibherglas regnum consecutus viginti annos tenuit; interim eo curante, septem latè silvescentia nemora succisa, et campi ab iis antea operti hominum commorationi accommodati sunt. Ipse postea a Fiacho Labhrannio vitâ, regnoque spoliatus est. Anno Mundi 3727.

EIR. Ademptam Eochodio dignitatem Regiam Fiachus Labhrannius arripuit. Sed vigesimo quarto regni anno imperium, quod cæde decessoris comparavit, nece ipsi a successore, in pugnâ Belgaduensi illatâ amisit. Anno Mundi 3751.

EIB. Eochodium Mumho (a quo Momoniæ nomen defluxit) decessoris interfectorem regia potestas unius anni supra viginti spatio mansit; cùm mortem oppetiisset ab Ængusio Olmucadio, in Cliahicensi prælio illatam. Anno Mundi 3772.

EIR. Regni deinde sceptra devenerunt ad Ængusium Olmucadium et octodecem annos ab illo gestata sunt. Illo regnante, decem campi, silvarum demolitione, hominum habitaculis excipiendis dispatuerunt. Ipso tandem ab Endæo Argteach, in Carmannensi pugnâ prostratus interiit. Anno Mundi 3790.

EIB. Endæus cognomento Argteach id est argenteus a scutis argenteis
[60] ejus jussu primùm in Hiberniâ fabricatis, | et mox in varios cum equis et carpentis, dono distractis, septem annos supra viginti, regno potitus in pugnâ Roighniensi á Rotheachto peremptus est. Anno Mundi 3817.

EIR. Rotheachtus regnum post annos viginti quinque finiit, a Sednæo Arturi filio apud Cruacham trucidatus. Anno Mundi 3842.

IR. Sednæus imperium sibi vindicavit; sed quintum jam regni annum agenti manus intulit ejus filius Anno Mundi 3847.

IR. Fiachus Finscothach in patris se solium ingessit, illudque annos viginti occupavit: quibus decurrentibus magnam fœtuum abundantiam Hibernia effudit, e quibus vinum, seu potius liquor aliquis vini similitudinem referens, in vasa exprimebatur: quæ res cognomen ei Finscothach fecit, coalescentibus duobus dictionibus "Fion," quæ vinum, et "Scothach" quæ fœtum seu florem significatione refert. Morte a Munemonio tandem affectus imperandi vivendique finem fecit, Anno Mundi 3867.

EIB. Munemonius regnum quinquennio administravit. Ac interim primus

race of Cham, Africa their native home, but roaming over the seas, or merely settling on the sea shores.—*Ogygia*, p. 5; *O'Conor*, *Prolegom.* pars ii. p. 60. Some say they were the Phœnicians; but see note, *infrà*, on Feidlimidh Reachtmor, A. M. 5309.

Eochaidh Faobherglas reigned twenty years. In his time, seven large A. C.
tracts of forest were cleared, and the plains formerly covered by them 864
were reclaimed and tenanted by man. He was slain by Fiacha Labhruinne, A. M. 3727.

Fiacha Labhruinne succeeded to the throne. But, after a reign of
twenty-four years, he fell, like his own predecessor, by the hand of his 844
successor, in the battle of Bealgadan[o], A. M. 3751.

Eochaidh Mumho, from whom Munster takes its name, enjoyed the
supreme power eighteen years. He was slain in the battle of Cliach[p], 820
by Ængus Ollmuchadh, A. M. 3772.

The sceptre then passed to Ængus Ollmuchaidh, who held it eighteen
years. During his reign ten forests were felled, and the plains cleared 799
for the dwellings and industry of man. He was slain in the battle of Carmann[q] by Enda Argtheach, A. M. 3790.

Enda, surnamed Arghteach, that is, "the silvery," from the shields
of silver[r], which were, for the first time, manufactured by his orders in 781
Ireland, and then distributed as presents, with horses and caparisons, reigned twenty-seven years, and was slain in the battle of Raighne[s] by Rotheachtach, A. M. 3842.

Rotheachtach, after a reign of twenty-five years, was also slain by 757
Sedna, son of Art, near Cruachan, A. M. 3842.

Sedna succeeded to the throne, and, having reigned five years, was 746
slain by his son, A. M. 3847.

Fiacha Fionscothach, having mounted his father's throne, governed
the country during twenty years. In his reign Ireland gave an extra- 741
ordinary quantity of agricultural produce, especially a wine, or some liquor resembling wine, which was pressed into vessels. It was called Fionscotach, from the two words "Fion," which means wine, and "scothach," a flower or produce. Fiacha lost his kingdom and life in a contest with Muinemon, A. M. 3867.

Muinemon reigned five years, and ordered that the nobles should 727

[o] There is a place of this name in the parish of Kilbreedy-Major, near Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick.—*J. O'D.*

[p] Knockany, county of Limerick.

[q] Wexford.

[r] This precious armour is not found among the remains of Irish antiquities. Strabo says the Gauls wore breastplates of gold.—*Prolegom.* pars i. p. 36.

[s] This was the name of a plain in the ancient Ossory, containing the church of Cill-Finche, and the hill of Dornbhuidhe.

instituit ut nobiles collum aureâ catenâ cingerent. Deinde in Muighaigne peste sublatus est. Anno Mundi 3872.

EIR. Aldergodius patri Munemonio successit, cujus decenne regnum aureorum annullorum usu memorabile habetur. Illum Ollamus Fodlaus in pugnâ Teamorensi peremit. Anno Mundi 3882.

IR. Ipse tum Ollamus Fodlaus ad regni administrationem admotus est, vir accuratâ rerum peritiâ instructus, Hibernicam rempublicam institutis optimis, et legibus stabilivit, ac Temoriæ Comitia primus indixit, et singulis agrorum centuriis (dictis Hibernicè Truichechead) dynastam, singulis oppidis hospitatorem præfecit, et annos quadraginta regno potitus, Teamoriæ tandem extinctus est. Anno Mundi 3922.

IR. Finnachtus, patriæ dignitatis hæres evasit, eo notatus nomine, quòd magna vini copia nivei velleris instar in terram, eo rege, de cœlo fluxerit. "Fion" enim vinum, et "sneachta" nivem Hibernicè dicimus. Vigesimo post initam Regni administrationem, anno, apud Muighinis peste interiit. Anno Mundi 3942.

IR. Ad Slannollum Finnachti fratrem, regni dignitas postea devenit. Nominis ejus hoc est etymon: "Slan" nempe "sanum," et "Oll" "magnum" significat, ut nimirum indicaretur tam firmâ valetudine, dum Hiberniæ regnum ille moderaretur mortales usos fuisse, ut nullum omnino morbum senserint. Ipse fatis, nec scitur quo morbo correptus, concessit in ædibus Teamorensibus dictis Michuarta, post Rempublicam septemdecem annos administratam. Cadaver ejus annos octoginta in sepulchro reconditum ab Olillo filio ejus humo erutum

[t] The golden torques, some of which, exquisitely worked, were found under Tara, and are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

[u] A plain in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, in the south-west of the county of Galway.

[w] Nothing improbable in the use of gold rings by the Irish in the earliest ages. Dr. O'Conor cites testimony of the eighth century for the antiquity of the custom.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. 97. See note [c], p. 437, *infrà*, for other authorities.

[x] For remarks on the famous Ollamh see Petrie's *Tara*, p. 5. That a person of the name existed is probable, but to what race he belonged cannot be decided. Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, though not disposed to discredit Irish antiquities, pronounced, after comparing four principal catalogues of kings, that all differed materially, and that the whole bardic history before Cimbaoth was only "darkness visible."—*Ogygia Vindicated*, p. xxx. It is probable, from the fate of Ollamh, that one of the means by which the catalogue of Irish kings is extended was by making contemporaneous dynasties succeed each other. Thus Ollamh, and five of the following kings,

wear a gold chain around their necks[t]. He died of the plague in Magh-Aidhne[u], A. M. 3872. A. C.

Aldeargdoid succeeded his father, Muinemon. The most remarkable 722
event in his ten-years' reign was the introduction of the use of gold rings[w]. He was slain by Ollamh Fodhla in the battle of Tara, A. M. 3882.

Ollamh Fodhla, having succeeded to the throne, distinguished himself by an exquisite talent for government; he infused health into the 713
Irish commonwealth by excellent laws and customs[x]. The Royal Feis of Tara[y] was established by him, and a dynast appointed in every district of land, called in Irish a "Triuchachead," to discharge the duty of hospitality in the towns[z]. After a reign of forty years he died at Tara, A. M. 3922.

Fionachta succeeded his father in the throne. During his reign an enormous quantity of wine fell like fleeces of snow from the sky, 673
whence his surname was derived: "Fion" signifying in Irish wine, and "sneachta," snow. In the twentieth year of his reign he was carried off by the plague at Muighinis[a], A. M. 3942.

Slanoll succeeded his brother. His name is derived from the words "Slan," "healthful," and "Oll," "great," because, while Ireland was 653
subject to his sway, her inhabitants enjoyed such health, that there was among them hardly any disease. After a reign of seventeen years, he died in the Hall of Tara called Midchuarta[b], but of what disease is unknown. His body, after lying in the grave more than eighty years,

figure in the lists of Cruithnian kings reigning over Ireland at Tara.—*Irish Nennius*, pp. li. lxxii. See also an ancient authority cited *O'Conor, Proleg.* pars ii. p. 97, which states that it is uncertain whether the predecessor of Ollamh was killed by Ollamh or by Sirna, the seventh in our list after Ollamh, i. e. in other words, that the bards themselves could not agree on the place that Ollamh and his seven successors were to hold in Irish history. For a modern conjecture on this subject, see note [c], p. 430, *infrà*.

[y] A triennial assembly held three days before and three days after the feast of Samfhuin.—See Petrie's *Tara*, p. 7.

[z] Triuchached, a barony, of which the thirtieth-part was the ballybiatach, or public property, containing four quarters or "seisreaghs," of 124 acres each.—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 219.

[a] *Rectè* Magh-inis, i. e. the insular plain. This was the ancient name of the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down.—See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 185; *J. O'D.*

[b] See two ground plans of this famous hall in Petrie's *Tara*, pp. 128, 181, 183, and a copious description, from manuscripts of the twelfth century, of all the monuments of that royal residence.

integrum et corruptionis omnis immune reperitur; quæ res stuporem omnibus movit. Mors ejus refertur in Ann. Mundi 3959.

IR. Fratri Gædius cognomento Ollgothach sufficitur, agnomine illo propterea vocitatus, quòd eo regnante, voces hominum maximè canoræ fuerunt, ac lyræ suavitatem sono retulerint, quæ res prodigio habita fuit. Ipsi demum duodecimo regni anno vitam et imperium Fiachus Fionnolceas eripuit. Anno Domini 3971.

IR. Fiachus Fionnolceas regiam potestatem sibi vindicavit, postquam viginti annos usurpatum, illum e medio sustulit in prælio Breaghensi Berngalius. Anno Mundi 3921.

IR. Berngalium duodecem annos solium regium insidentem Ollildus occidit. Anno Mundi 4003.

IR. Olildus Slanolli filius regnum sexdecem annos adeptus, a Sirnao vivace vitâ regnoque privatus est Anno Mundi 4019.

EIR. Sirnaus, cognomento Saolach, id est vivax, quòd vitam ultra communem hominum ætatem tum viventium, et regni tempus ad annos centum et quinquaginta protraxerit. Tum denique, postquam in pluribus præliis victor evasit, in Aillin, a Rothechtachto interemptus est. Anno Mundi 4169.

[61] | Postea Rothechtachtus regni sceptra capessivit, et post septenne
EIB. imperium, de cœlo tactus, Dunsobark periit. Anno Mundi 4176.

EIB. Patris hæreditatem et imperium adivit Elimius Ollfinnacha, quod ubi uno tantùm anno gessit, a Gillchadio peremptus est. Anno Mundi 4177. Inde agnomen illud ei adhæsit, quòd eo rege nix e cœlo demissa vini gustum referebat.

EIR. Gillchadius regnum deinde novem annos attinuit, cùm ab Airturo Imleach apud Maighmuigh, cæsus esset Anno Mundi 4186.

[c] This Geide Ollgothach is the second (or eighth) on the catalogue of Pictish kings. —*Irish Nennius*, p. 155. Eiremon is the second on the Irish Milesian line. The wife of both, and three of their children, are of the same name; whence some infer that Eiremon, the Milesian, and Geide Ollgothach, the Pict, are the same man. Cruithne, father of Geide (according to Pictish accounts), would, in this hypothesis, be no other than Milesius, and the Milesian colony a colony of Picts, who established themselves in Meath and the north, and by degrees extended their power to Scotland. —*Irish Nennius*, p. 41; Petrie's *Tara*, p. 130. Dissertations on these matters can be of little use until the numerous poems cited by O'Conor in his catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts on legendary dynasties have been published.

[d] That is, Brugh-na-Boinne, an ancient Pagan cemetery, near Stackallan Bridge,

was raised by his son Olioll, and, to the amazement of all, was found A. C.
perfectly sound and entire. His death is referred to the year A. M. 3952.

Geide, surnamed Ollgothach[c], succeeded his brother. He got his surname from the fact, that, in his time, the men of Ireland had voices 636
combining the greatest compass and power, with all the sweetness of the lyre, which was regarded as a prodigy. In the twelfth year of his reign he was slain by Fiacha Fionnolceas, A. M. 3971.

Fiacha Fionnolceas having ascended the throne, was slain after a reign of twenty years by Bearngal, in the battle of Brugh[d], A. M. 3991. 624

Having reigned twelve years, Bearngall was slain by Olioll, A. M. 616
4003.

Olioll, son of Slanoll, having enjoyed the supreme power during six- 604
teen years, was slain by Siorna, the "long-lived," A. M. 4019.

Siorna, surnamed "Saoghalach," or the "long-lived," because his life was protracted beyond the ordinary span of human existence, wore the 589
crown during one hundred and fifty years[e]. Though victorious in many battles, he was slain at last by Rotheachtoch, in Aillinn[f], A. M. 4169.

Rotheachtoch then seized the sceptre, and, after a reign of seven years, was killed by lightning from heaven at Dunsobhairce[g], A. M. 568
4176.

Elim Ollfinachta, his son, succeeded him in the royal dignity. He 561
was slain by Gillchad after a reign of one year, A. M. 4177. He was called Ollfinacha, because snow, which fell during his reign, tasted like wine.

Gillchadh, after enjoying the supreme power nine years, was slain 560
by Art Imleach at Maghmuaidhe[h], A. M. 4186.

in the county of Meath. For a list of the monuments which anciently existed at this place, see Petrie's *Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 100, 101.

[e] This extravagant age is reduced by O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, p. 247) to twenty-one years. It shows the confusion that perplexed the bards in this part of the royal succession. Siorna was of the race of Eiremon; Ollamh Fodhla of the race of Ir, to whom, it was said, Eiremon gave Ulster.

[f] This was the ancient name of a large fort on Cnoc-Aillinne, near Old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare. It is to be distinguished from Cnoc-Almhaine.—*J. O'D.*

[g] That is, Sobhairce's *dun* or fort, now Dunseverick, an isolated rock, on which are some fragments of the ruins of a castle, near the centre of a small bay, three miles east of the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim.—See *Dublin P. Journal*, vol. i. p. 361; *J. O'D.*

[h] A plain at the foot of Cnoc Muaidhe, or Knockmoy, in the county of Galway.

Airturus Imleach regnum iniit, et post septem munimenta fossis
EIB. cincta, duodecimumque regni annum, occubuit apud Raithinbhir a
Nuadio Fionfail trucidatus. Anno Mundi 4198.

Nuadium Fionfail annorum quadraginta spatio Hiberniæ regem
EIR. Breasrius imperii vitæque terminis exturbavit. Anno Mundi 4238.

Breasrius regni possessionem novem annos assecutus est, quo tem-
EIB. poris intervallo, Fomorios multis præliis fudit, ipse demum victus et
occisus est, in Cairncoluain ab Eochodio Optach. Anno Mundi 4247.

Regni deinde administratio ad Eochodium "Optach" devoluta est, qui
ITH. cognomentum istud, quod mortiferum significat, ideo nactus est, quia
singulis unius anni, quo regnavit, mensibus, maxima hominum multi-
tudo peste corrupta interiit. Ipse tamen haud morbo, sed nece a Finnio
illatâ sublatas est. Anno Mundi 4248.

Finnius regni habenas mox arripuit, et non nisi post viginti duos
IR. annos a Sednæo cæsus, amisit. Anno Mundi 4270.

Sednæus cognomento Innarraidh ad regiam dignitatem evectus in
EIB. eâ viginti annos perstitit; cognomentum "Innarraidh" quod mercedem
significat, idcirco adeptus, quoniam illo regnante, operæ mercede locari
cæptæ sunt. Eum denique Symon Brecus in crucem sustulit. Anno
Mundi 4290.

Symon Brecus ab Erimone originem ducens regios postea fasces
EIR. assecutus, post sexenne regnum, illatæ Sednæo necis pœnas Duacho Sed-
næi filio in patibulum actus dedit. Anno Mundi 4296.

Hunc Hector Boethius in Hispaniâ natum, inde in Hiberniam ab Hibernis accitum, et anno 4504, in Regem Hiberniæ ascitum fingit, et plures ei successores affingit dicens: "Quadraginta annos imperium Simonis stetit incolume. Faudutus deinde regnat. Is Æthionem creat, Æthion Glacum, Glachus Noitafilum, Noitafilus, Rothesaum. Deduxit is colonias aliquot in Hebrides, quam insulam primùm incoluit, Rothosiam a suo nomine appellavit: extincto haud multò post patre, in Hiberniam reversus, Rex omnium suffragiis creatus est[11]." Sed scriptor corruptissimus quem Humfredus Llhuyd "hominum impurissimum

[11] Lib. i. fol. 3, num. 70, fol. 4, num. 10.

[i] For an account of the ancient military monuments of the Irish, see Petrie's *Essay on Irish Military Architecture*. The greatest of them are attributed not to the Scots, but to the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns. A detailed description of the royal seat of

Art Imleach ascended the throne, and, after a reign of twelve years, A. C.
during which he fortified four strongholds with fosses[i], was slain by 551
Nuad Fionfail at Raithinbir[k], A. M. 4198.

Nuad Fionfail, having governed the kingdom during forty years, 539
was deprived of his kingdom and life by Breisrig, A. M. 4238.

Breisrig reigned nine years, during which he gained many victories 526
over the Fomorians, but was at length defeated and slain at Cairncoluain[l] by Eochaidh Opthach, A. M. 4247.

The government of the kingdom then fell into the hands of Eochaidh 517
Opthach, who got that surname, which signifies "baneful," from the immense number of men carried off by the plague during each month of his one year's reign. However, it was not by the plague, but by the hand of Fionn, that he fell, A. M. 4248.

Fionn succeeded to the throne, and, after a reign of twenty-two 516
years, was slain by Sedna, A. M. 4270.

Sedna, surnamed "Inarraidh," reigned twenty years. "Inarraidh" 496
means wages, because it was during his reign that work first began to let for wages[m]. He was crucified by Symon Breac, A. M. 4290.

Symon Breac, after a reign of six years, fell beneath the hand of 482
Duach, son of Sedna, who thus avenged his father's fate, A. M. 4296.

According to Hector Boethius, Symon Brec was born in Spain, and, being invited to Ireland, A. M. 4504, seized the crown of the kingdom, which he transmitted to a long line of successors; thus: "Symon's reign lasted forty years; he was succeeded by Fandut, who raised Æthion to the throne; then succeeded Glachus, Noitafilus, and Rothesay. The latter planted colonies in the Hebrides, and called the first island which he occupied, from his own name, Rothsay. On the death of his father, a short time after, he returned to Ireland, and was unanimously elected king." But this most faithless historian, who had justly been stigmatized by Humphrey Llhuyd, as "a most corrupt scoundrel,"

the Ulster kings at Aileach is given in the Ordnance Memoir.

[k] That is, the rath or fort of the inbher, or mouth of the river. This was the name of a fort near Bray, in the county of Wicklow. This was an Irish chieftain in the year 953.—See *Annals of the Four Masters* at that year, p. 671, note [b]; *J. O'D.* See Ussher's *De Primordiis*, p. 846; Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 31, n. [29].

[l] Not identified.

[m] According to *Ogygia*, page 248, the "wages" mean military pay only: "Primus mercedem militarem irrogavit."

appellat" sicut in longè maximâ historiæ suæ parte vix unquam veritati litavit, sic in omnibus hujus narrationis articulis, a veritate quàm longissimè abiit. Nam nec in Hispaniâ natus est Symon Brecus, et non quadraginta, sed sex tantùm annos, nec eo mundi anno regnum tenuit; nec regni, aut generis successores ullos ejusmodi nominibus affectos unquam habuit. Nec saxum fatale in Hiberniam primus invexit, ut vult Hector[12], quod longè ante illum natum a Tua-de-Danannis eò importatum fuisse scriptores patrii testantur: qui cùm alium nativitatis locum quàm Hispaniam, aliud regni tempus, alios regni successores, et generis propagines quàm inania hominum nomina ab Hectore memorata Simoni assignent, major est domesticis testibus adhibenda fides quàm alieno, in rebus quoque suæ patriæ a vero maximè aberranti, qui vera quandoque narrans, vix certitudinem parit. Nam dum Hibernos originem ex Hispaniâ traxisse verè scribit, falsò tamen ait "Cornelium Tacitum in vitâ

[12] Lib. i. fol. 3, num. 70.

[n] Keating gives the Irish legend of a Simon Breac, grandson of Nemed. He fled to Greece from the oppressive taxes of the Fomorians, and there became the progenitor of the Firbolgs, who afterwards came to Ireland.—p. 183. The remnant of the Firbolgs, after the battle of Moytura, took refuge, it is said, in the islands, where they dwelt until the establishment of the Irish Pentarchy, *infrà*, A. M. 5057, 5069, when, being driven out by the Cruithne or Picts, they returned and obtained grants of land in Leinster and Connaught. —*Ibid.* p. 193. This was a story invented to reconcile the supposed extirpation of the Irish Firbolgs with an undoubted fact, their existence in Ireland in historic times. A more consistent account says that Milesius allowed the Domnonian Firbolgs to reign over Leinster, i. e., in other words, that the race was able to hold its ground there against the rival race typified in Milesius' *Irish Nennius*, p. lxv. But how the establishment of the Irish Pentarchy could drive the Cruithne to seek refuge in the islands is not explained, unless note [p], p. 461, *infrà*, throws some light on it.

[o] The Irish writers unanimously attribute the introduction of the Lia-fail to the Tuatha de Dananns. It was generally asserted that this Lia was transferred to Scone, and thence, by Edward I., to Westminster, but Mr. Petrie produces good arguments to prove that it still remains on Tara Hill.—*Tara*, p. 136. If the Tuatha de Dananns were Teutons, why do they bring with them this famous, and to them fatal stone, since Gaels or Scots were to reign wherever it stood? In this, as in other points, the fate of those Danann is mysterious. They almost disappear after the Milesian invasion, or, at least, do not act in a body, though the Fomorians and Firbolgs held their ground for centuries, resisting the invaders. This is more singular, as the Firbolgs were comparatively an uncivilized people; they cleared no plains (*Keating*, p. 195), and they reigned, according to some accounts, only twenty-seven, at most eighty years, while, on the other hand, the Danann were a

because far the greater part of his history is a tissue of lies, has been too true to his general character in almost all the particulars he relates of Symon Breac[n]. Symon was not born in Spain; he reigned six, not forty years, and at a different date; nor had he any successors such as those whom Boetius assigns to him. Neither was he the person who brought the stone of destiny to Ireland, as Boetius says; it was brought here by the Tuatha de Dananns[o], as our native historians assert, who are better authorities on such subjects than a man who has fallen into gross errors even in the history of his own country. They deny that Spain was the birth-place of Symon, and mark a different date for his reign, and successors and genealogies different from those shadowy names mentioned by Boetius. He is right when he maintains that the Irish are of Spanish origin[p]; but errs egregiously when he says that, "Cor- A. C.

superior race, and reigned in Ireland, according to all accounts, 197 years. From this it appears that, if the Dananns ever existed, they were only a small body of invaders, or, what is more probable, that they figure under a different name in the subsequent traditions of the nation. In some points they are like the Cruithne; both land in the North; both had "bright poems," "necromancy," and "well-walled houses." *Keating*, p.197, note [k], p. 420, *suprà*; *Irish Nennius*, p. 145. A few of the names also (*Keating*, p. 209) are like those in Irish Nennius, pp. 131, 263.

[p] This is the constant tradition of the Irish, and there was nothing in the relations between Spain and Ireland, before the sixteenth century, which might induce the latter to claim the relationship. Spain was the only country in Western Europe which was not visited by Irish ecclesiastics from the fifth to the twelfth century. I know not one instance of an Irishman acquiring a name there. It is certain, on the other hand, that, some 1200 or 1600 years before Christ, Spain was invaded by the Gauls, who gradually extended their sway to the Pillars of Hercules along the western shore, and bequeathed their name to the northwestern peninsula, Gallik or Galicia. — *Thierry*, *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. 6. Some say the notion of a Spanish colony originated in a confusion of the words *Hibernia* and *Iberia*. But was it by a similar blunder that Ptolemy places the Concani, Luceni, and other Spanish tribes, on the south of Ireland. — *O'Conor*, *Prolegom.* pars i. p. 41, *et seq.* If we admit Irish tradition as conclusive evidence that the Firbolgs and Dananns came from Britain, why not admit the same tradition for the Spanish colony, especially when that tradition existed centuries before national hatred would prompt the Irish to disown a British origin. If Tacitus speak truth, that Irish ports were better known in ancient times than the British, or, at least, well known, it is easy to explain how a colony could pass over from Spain. The number and civilization of those colonists are another question; our own belief is, that whether they were superior or inferior to their British neighbours, they appear not to have been so civilized as their brother Celts of

Agricolæ Scotos Hispanicæ originis appellare[13]." Sed ut eò unde deflexi redeam.

EIR. Post Symonem Breacum, imperium Duacho Candido cessit, quem [62] decennio imperantem Muredachus Bolgrach Symonis Breachi filius, | in prælio Maighensi, vitâ spoliavit. Anno Mundi 4306.

EIR. Muredachum Bolgrach Symonis Bræci filium Duacho succedentem unius mensis et anni regem, Endeus ruber, collatis signis, e medio sustulit. Anno Mundi 4307.

EIB. Endeus Ruber (nomen a vultûs rubedine sortitus) Muredachum excepit. Eo rege argentum in Hiberniâ Argitrossæ signari cæptum est. Ille duodecem annis in regnando positis, peste, unà cum magnâ mortalium multitudine, captus in monte—"Mis"—ultimum emisit spiritum. Anno Mundi 4319.

EIB. Illius imperium non secus ac paternam hæreditatem adivit Lugadius Iordhon a ferrugine capillorum colore sic dictus. Iordhon enim ferrugineum colorem significat. Huic novem annos regnanti Siorlamius, in Baithlocher manus attulit. Anno Mundi 4328.

IR. Siorlamius postea regio diademate insignitus est, nomine parto a longis manibus, quæ terram, eo rectè stante, pertingebant; "Sior" enim perinde est ac "longa," et "lamh" ac "manus." Hic ab Eochodio Uaircheas, decimo sexto regni anno enectus est. Anno Mundi 4344.

EIB. Eochodius Uaircheas imperium deinde assumpsit, agnomine tracto a scaphis rudi viminum contextione compactis, et corio pecorum obduc-

[13] Lib. i. fol. 4. num. 60.

Gaul, before the Roman conquest of that country.

[q] That is, the plain, but its situation is not pointed out by any of our accessible authorities.

[r] These surnames of the Irish kings,—"breac," speckled; "dearg," red; "iardhon," iron-colored, &c. &c.,—prove, according to some writers, that the Irish were generally Picts, or painted men. Colonies of Cruithne certainly existed in several parts of Ireland; but the exclusive application of the epithet to them, who were apparently only a minority of the inhabitants, proves that the custom was not universal. But, it is urged, the Cruithne were so called because they alone retained what was once a general custom. This is begging the question, because the Cruithne are coeval with the race represented by Milesius, and were also always distinguished by the same name, Cruithne, or "painted." As to the epithets applied to the kings, they prove nothing, or they prove that the Irish always were and are Picts; because, to this day, the custom of giving surnames from some feature or defect in personal appearance is retained. There are as many "red," and

nelius Tacitus declares, in his Life of Agricola, that the Scots are of Spanish origin." But to return from this digression. A. C.

On the death of Symon Breac, the crown devolved on Duach Fionn, who was slain after a reign of ten years by Muiredach Bolgrach, son of Symon Breac, in the battle of Maigh[q], A. M. 4306. 476

Muireadach Bolgrach, son of Symon Breac, was slain in a battle against Enda Ruadh, A. M. 4307. 468

Enda Ruadh, so called from his florid complexion[r], succeeded Muireadhach. It was during his reign that silver was first stamped at Airgetross[s] in Ireland[t]. After a reign of twelve years, he, with an immense multitude of his subjects, was carried off by the plague at Slieve Mish[u], A. M. 4319. 467

He was suceeded in the royal dignity by his son, Lugaidh "Jardhonn," so called from the color of his hair: "Iardhonn," that is, rusty. After a reign of nine years he was slain by Siorlamh, at Baithlocher, A. M. 4328. 462

Siorlamh ascended the vacant throne. He was so called from his long hands, which reached to the ground when he stood erect. "Sior" is long, and "lamh" a hand. He was slain in the sixteenth year of his reign by Eochaidh Uairchas, A. M. 4344. 457

Eochaidh Uairchas succeeded to the throne. He took his surname from boats rudely constructed of osiers[x], covered over with the hides of 441

"white," and "yellow," and "black" men in Irish history, from the twelfth century down to *Red-shank* Scots, *Red* Hugh O'Donnell, *Black* Murrough O'Brien, and *Red-spotted* O'Donnell [Baldearg], as there are colored men in the legendary history of Pagan Ireland. The Celts were fond of gaudy colors, and had banners "yellow and green," "blue and white," "black and red," &c. &c., which would explain, perhaps, some odd surnames of their kings.—*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 229; *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[s] A district on the Nore, Kilkenny.

[t] There is no evidence that the Pagan Irish coined money. No coins have been discovered, nor medals, of so early a date. Rings of gold, silver, bronze, or iron, regularly graduated according to Troy weight, were the circulating medium.—*Ordnance Memoir*, p. 19. See *ibid.* p. 228, for finger rings; also, Petrie's *Round Towers*, pp. 210, 211, where the Brehon laws are produced to prove the use of those gold rings in the first century: "Les Gaulois—etal assent sur leur corps une grande profusion d'or, en bracelets, in anneaux pour les bras, anneaux pour les doigts."—*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 40; *Strabo, apud Prolegom.* pars i. p. xxxvi.

[u] A mountain near Tralee, Kerry—*J. O'D.*

[x] Dr. Lynch gives a description of the

tis, Fuarchis enim est corbis seu crates minus arctè contextus. Nam Eochodius, biennio, Hiberniæ accessu prohibitus piratum regit, quo tempore, lentribus eâ quâ dixi ratione confectis, æpibatas suos in littore expositos jussit prædas a littorum accolis abductas in pharaonem importari: hic duodecimum regni annum agens ad vitæ ac imperii exitum pervenit, ab Eochodio Fiadmunio, et Conango Begaglach occisus. Anno Mundi 4356.

EIR. Eochodius Fiadhmunius et Conangus Begaglach fratres pari potestate quinquennio regnârunt; hoc septentrionales, illo australes Hiberniæ regiones moderante. Eochodius assuevit in silvis cervorum venationi multùm indulgere, quæ res illi cognomentum peperit. "Fiadh" nimirum "cervum," et "muinn" "silvam," interpretamur. Lugadius Lamhdhearg illum interemit. Conango ea vis illata est, ut abdicare se regno coactus fuerit. Anno Mundi 4361.

EIR. Lugadius Lamhdhearg, id est manum rubram habens, quòd rubrâ maculâ manus ejus tincta fuit. Eum septennem jam regem Conangus Begaglach vitâ, regnoque orbavit fratris cædem, et ereptum sibi regnum cumulatè ultus. Anno Mundi 4368.

EIR. Conangus Begaglach, id est imperterritus, sic dictus, quòd ne minimo unquam pavore, in quamvis atroci pugnâ affectus fuerit, postliminio regnum iniit, et annos in eo viginti transegit, cùm illud et vitam ei Airturus eriperet. Anno Mundi 4388.

EIR. Airturus Lugadii Lamhdheargi filius, regnum capessivit, quod illi sex annos incolume perstitit, post quos elapsos, illum e viventium numero Fiachus Tolgrach, et Fiachi filius Duachus Ladghair exturbavit Anno Mundi 4394.

EIR. Fiachum Tolgrach regiâ dignitate decem annos insignitum Olillus Fin, id est Candidus, morte multavit. Anno Mundi 4404.

different sorts of boats and ships used by the ancient Irish, *infrà*, p. 114, to which we refer the reader. Giraldus says the boats of the Welsh in his day were so frail, that a salmon could upset them with a blow of its tail.—*Descripto Walliæ*, c. 17.

y This man is deposed by O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. [9], because, if acknowledged, there would be 137 Pagan kings. A few persons, he says, "Fiacho Tolgrach decennium regnanti concedere non dubitant; quem ex regum albo status jam numerus," [i. e. 136] "juxta veteris ac recentis memoriæ scriptores omnino excludit." Here we may notice a strange mistake of Dr. O'Conor, into which he was betrayed by his very reasonable desire to reduce Irish chronology to moderate dimensions. All

cattle. "Fuaircheas" is a basket or hurdle (woven loosely of osiers). A. C.
During two years, in which he was kept an exile from Ireland, he lived as a pirate, and, having constructed his vessels in the manner described, descended with his mariners on the shore, and carried off the property of the maritime districts to his watch-towers. In the twelfth year of his reign he was slain by Eochaidh Fiadhmuine and Conaing Begeaglach, A. M. 4356.

Eochaidh Fiadhmuine and Conaing Begeaglach reigned five years with 429
equal authority over the island,—the former in the north, the latter in the south. Eochaidh was passionately addicted to hunting in the forests, whence he got his surname, "Fiadh" meaning a stag, and "muine" a wood. He was slain by Lughaidh Lamdhearg; and his colleague, Conaing, was compelled to abdicate, A. M. 4361.

Lughaidh Lamdhearg, or the red-handed, from a red spot on one of his 424
hands, was slain, after a reign of seven years, by Conaing Begeaglach, who thus avenged his brother's death and the violence offered to himself, A. M. 4368.

Conaing Begeaglach, or "the undaunted,"—so called because, even 420
in the most terrible battles, he never felt the slightest motion of fear,—having recovered his throne, reigned twenty years, after which he was slain by Art, A. M. 4388.

Art, son of Lughaidh Lamdhearg, held peaceable possession of the 413
kingdom during six years. He was slain by Fiach Tolgrach and Duach Ladrach, son of Fiach, A. M. 4394.

After a reign of ten years, Fiach Tolgrach[y] was slain by Olill Fionn, or "the fair," A. M. 4404.

the ancient authorities, Gilla Coeman, Gilla Modud, Flan of the Monastery, in the tenth, and King Donald O'Neil, in the fourteenth century, agree that 136 Pagan kings reigned over Ireland from Slainghe to Leogaire. Dr. O'Conor admits this consent, and had the manuscript authorities in the Library at Stowe; yet he cites a passage from Ware, as if it contradicted the general opinion, and allowed only fifty-eight Pagan kings before St. Patrick. — *Prolegom.* pars ii. p. xlv. The passage to which he appeals merely says that there were fifty-eight pagan kings of the race of Eiremon, but does not exclude the other kings who were descended from the brothers and uncle of Eiremon. O'Flaherty cites the same passage, p. 185, but saw in it no contradiction of the bardic catalogue of 136 Pagan kings. How the bards, though agreeing on the number of kings, made a difference of about 1000 years in the total of their reigns!—See p. 422, note [x], *supra*, and the letter of O'Flaherty to Dr. Lynch, prefixed to the *Ogygia*.

EIB. Olillus Finnius in Fiachi dignitatem involavit, quam cùm undecem annos occuparet, in Odbarensi prælio, ab Argetmaro, et Duacho Ladgracho extinctus est. Anno Mundi 4415.

EIB. Tum ad Eochodium Olilli Finnii filium Momonienses confluxerunt, et Argetmarum Hiberniæ finibus abactum, peregrè septennio exulare coegerunt. Eochodium autem ad septimum regni annum jam progressum Argetmarus ab exilio reversus, fædere cum Duacho Ladghracho junctus, adoritur et apud Ainan morte plectit. Anno Mundi 4422.

IR. Argetmarus regiæ dignitatis apicem, ad quam diu aspiravit, tandem
[63] consecutus, | protracto ad annos triginta imperio, eo ac vitâ dejectus est a Duacho Ladgrach, et Lugadio Laighde. Anno Mundi 4452.

EIR. Duachus Ladgrach regis titulum, quem ambivit, tandem captavit, verùm eo post decem annos excidit, quippe cui Lugadius Laighde vitam ademerat. Anno Mundi 4462. Ejus agnominis Ladghrach, hæc ratio est quasi, Luathagra, id est celeris vindictæ sive præpropera pœnæ repetitio. Quia nimirum quem in flagranti delicto deprehendebat, eum loco excedere, ante datas admissi sceleris pœnas, minimè passus est.

EIB. Lugadium Laighde, post regnum septennio gestum Aidus Rufus interemit. Anno Mundi 4469.

IR. Aidum Rufum uno deinde anno supra viginti regnum mansit. Ita tamen ut non eo continenter annorum numero Regem egerit. Nimirum cum duobus patruelibus Dithorbo et Kimbaitho pactum icit, ut

[z] Odhbha is the name of a mound near Navan, in the county Meath.—*J. O'D.*

[a] Now Cnoc Aine, or Knockany, near Bruff, in the county of Limerick.—*J. O'D.*

[b] When the reader remembers that Tigernach pronounced, 800 years ago, that all the monuments of the Scots, down to this Lughaidh Laighde and his two successors inclusive, were uncertain, he may smile at the care we have taken to mark, in our margin, the chronological differences between Dr. Lynch and O'Flaherty. But slight though they appear, they may help to fix the true place of the kings in mythic or authentic story, when all the MSS. authorities have been published, especially as they give the opinions of a man who had most of those manuscripts in his possession, and who spent his life in endeavouring to arrange them. So firmly was O'Flaherty convinced of the truth of his chronology, that he asserts, "there is a more exact account of the chiefe governours of Ireland for above 2000 years [before] than that of the authors of this last 500 years."—*Iar Connaught*, p. 432. But O'Flaherty was not the only person who, in those days, believed venerable fables. The Cromwellians appealed confidently to documents as frail as Ogygian chronology. His Majesty's right, they declared in Parliament assembled A. D. 1660, is so ancient, "as it is deduced not

Olill Fionn, ascending the throne, reigned eleven years, after which A. C.
he was slain in the battle of Odba[z], by Argetmar and Duach Ladhghrach, 407
A. M. 4415.

The men of Munster, rallying around the standard of Eochaidh, son 398
of Olill Fionn, expelled Argetmar from the island. But after an exile of seven years, Argetmar returned, and, entering into alliance with Duach Ladhghrach, attacked and slew Eochaidh at Aina[a], A. M. 4422.

Argetmar, having at length gained the object of his long-cherished 391
aspirings, governed the kingdom peaceably during thirty years. He was slain by Duach Ladhghrach and Lughaidh Laighde, A. M. 4452.

Duach Ladhghrach at length attained the royal object of his ambi- 381
tion; but, after a reign of ten years, he was slain by Lughaidh Laighdhe, A. M. 4462. The surname Ladhghrach was derived from the words "luath agra," meaning swift vengeance, or the very prompt infliction of punishment, because every person detected by him in the commission of crime was not allowed to move from the spot, but at once suffered the penalty of the law.

Lughaidh Laighde[b] was slain after a reign of eight years by Aedh 371
Ruadh, A. M. 4469.

Aedh Ruadh reigned twenty-one years, but not without interruption. 367
For, having entered into a compact with his two uncles, Dithorb and Cimbaoth[c], by which they were each to enjoy the crown in succession

only from the days of King Henry II., but also *from times far more ancient*, as by sundry old and authentic evidences, mentioned in the said acts and records of this your Majesty's kingdom," doth appear.— 13 *Charles II.* chap. i.; *Act of joyful Recognition of His Majesty*, &c. &c.; *Irish Statutes*. See *infrà*, p. [238], where Dr. Lynch discusses these old claims.

[c] A very old authority cited by O'Conor (*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. lxvi.), namely, a poem attributed to Fortchern, "omnium hactenus memoratorum antiquissimum," tracing the genealogy of Cimbaoth the Irian, makes him *eighth* in descent from Ollamh Fodhla, and includes among the eight, Argetmar, Siorlam, and Finn, the only Irian kings who reigned between Sirna Saolach and Aed, colleague of Cimbaoth. If Fortchern be right, Ollamh may have lived some 240 years before Cimbaoth, and not about 589, as Dr. Lynch will have it, or about 320 according to O'Flaherty. It is to be remarked that, with very few exceptions, there is less discrepancy in the periods assigned to those Irian than to the other reigns; and that, of the three, the Eiremonian are hitherto the most uncertain. The Irian line was continued in the kings of Eamania, who claimed all the glory of Ollamh Fodhla as their own. From him the Ultonians were called Ulltu.—*Proleg.*

singuli septennio regnandi vices alternatim obeant. Quare ipse septenni regno perfunctus. Dithorbo, et Dithorbus septennium regnando permensus, Regnum Kimbaitho administrandum ultro per septennium concessit. Denique regnum per singulos ter in orbem init, ut ad unum supra vigesimum annum regnandi tempus singuli produxerint, Aidus Rufus undis in Tirconnaliâ absorptus nomen Easroæ torrenti fecit. "Eas" enim perinde est ac "torrens" vel "cataracta." Submersus is est. Anno Mundi 4490.

IR. Dithorbus etiam imperium in Hibernos unum annum et viginti ordine proximè memorato exercuit, vitâ orbatus, apud Corann Cuanmaro, Cuanmoigho, et Cuanslevio suis e fratre nepotibus. Anno Mundi 4511.

IR. Kimbaothus, regnandi necessitudine ter illi septies obveniente unum annum et viginti regnando explevit. Uxor ejus Meacha Aidi Rufi filia, extincti jam patris regnandi vices a competitoribus ei denegatas armis vindicat, et mariti regnum ad septem alios annos prorogat, quibus ille decursis, Eamaniæ morbo correptus regnare et vivere desiit. Anno Mundi 4539.

IR. Kimbaotho fatis functo, Dithorbi filiis, ut septennalis imperii vices communium majorum decreto constitutæ sibi tandem obtingant poscentibus, Meacha respondit, potestatem regiam bello comparâsse, nec nisi bello amissuram. Illi post acie cum eâ decertantes funduntur, et ad ejus aulam in vincula trahuntur. Illa post maritum e vivis ablatum, regnum septem adhuc annos retinet, Dithorbi filis ad Emanmacham, regum Ultoniæ postea domicilium condendam interim coactis. Nam ut ait Colganus: "Regia sedes Ultoniorum erat Emania seu Emhonmacha prope Ardmacham, nunc fossis latis vestigiis murorum eminentibus et ruderibus pristinum redolens splendorem[14]." Denique nex illi a Rectacho illata ejus vitæ regnoque finem imposuit. Anno Mundi 4546.

[14] In Triade, p. 6, n. 5.

pars ii. p. lxvi. In the *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 171, the Druid implores Congal Claen, the Irian, to guard the Ultonians, the race of Ollamh; and in no part of that romance are the Eiremonians, who settled in Ulster in the fourth and fifth centuries, called Ulloa: that name appears opposed even to ᵹaeðil, the name of all the Irish. I give, *infrà*, p. 461, note [v], my reasons for conjecturing that those Irians preceded the Eiremonians in Tara, and were driven thence by the descendants of Ugaine.

[d] Easruaidh is still the name of the great cataract at Ballyshannon, in Tirconnell, or county Donegal.—*J. O'D.*

[e] A barony in the county Sligo.—*Ib.*

[f] Now the Navan fort, near Armagh. *Ib.*

[g] There are no remains of stone walls

for seven years, he reigned during the first seven, and resigned it then A. C.
to Dithorb, from whom, after the lapse of the same space, it came to Cimbaoth. The crown, by this revolving succession, was enjoyed by each three times, thus completing twenty-one years. Aedh Ruadh was drowned in the waterfall in Tirconnel, which has thence been called Easroe[d]; "eas" being the Irish word for torrent or cataract. He was drowned A. M. 4490.

Dithorb also reigned twenty-one years in the manner which has just 360
been described. He was slain in Corann[e] by Cuanmar, Cuanmoighe, and Cuansleive, his brother's sons, A. M. 4511.

Ciombaoth, by the same revolving succession, reigned twenty-one 353
years. His wife, Macha, the daughter of Aedh Ruadh, having, on the death of the latter, taken the field in defence of her right to reign, defeated her competitors, and thus added seven other years to her husband's reign. At the close of that period he was seized with a mortal illness, and died at Eamania[f], A. M. 4539.

After the death of Cimbaoth, the sons of Dithorb demanded that, in 346
virtue of the law of septennial succession, established by the consent of their fathers, they should enjoy the throne; but Macha replied that she had won the kingdom by the sword, and that the sword alone could wrest it from her. They flew to arms in defence of their right, but were routed and taken prisoners, and conducted in chains to her palace. Macha reigned seven years after the death of her husband, and compelled the sons of Dithorb to work in the erection of the Palace of Emania, which afterwards became the chief seat of the Ulster kings. Thus Colgan writes: "The royal residence of the Ulster kings was Emania, or Emhonmacha, near Ardmach. The deep fosses, the piles of crumbling walls[g] and ramparts, still attest the ancient grandeur of the palace[h]." Macha was killed by Reachtach, A. M. 4546.

there at present.—See *Annals of the Four Masters, ed. J. O'D.*, note [l], under A. D. 1387.

[h] The foundation of this palace is a remarkable epoch in the history of Ireland. —See p. 421, note [u], *suprà*. Tighernach, an annalist who has given very correct records of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman history, from A. C. 305 to the birth of Christ, assigns its date to that year. But Dr. O'Conor states that he found in his grandfather's copy of the *Ogygia* the following note: "Juxta generationes genealogicas Hibernicas non puto Eamaniam conditam ante annum 220 vel 230 ante Christum, id est annis 123 post epocham assignatam in

EIB. Ad ipsum Rectachum Ridghdearg, regnum deinde transiit, et penes illum annis viginti mansit, qui Ridghdearg a rubro metucarpio dictus est; "Righ" enim "Carpum," et "Dearg" "rubrum," significat. Fercus et Ibothus, Irialii Glunmarii filii, multis præliis in Albaniâ commissis, eam, sub Rectachi potestatem adduxerunt, ita ut Rectachus Hiberniæ et Albaniæ rex dictus fuerit, ut e psalterio Casseliæ liquet[15]. Rectacho tandem Hugonius magnus, in pœnam altricis suæ Meachæ interemptæ, vitam et regnum ademit. Anno Mundi 4566.

EIR. Hugonius magnus regni diadema sibi deinde induit, magnus inde dictus, quòd magnam in occidentalibus Europæ insulis potentiam assecutus esse perhibeatur. Ad maximam sanè potestatem in Hiberniâ evasit, utpote quam in viginti quinque partes distributam, viginti duobus filiis, et tribus filiabus ex uxore Cæsareâ Crutach, sive formosâ, Regis Galliæ filiâ susceptis elargitus est. Illum post initum regnum quadragesimo Buchadius vitâ regnoque spoliavit. Anno Mundi 4606.

Apud Buchadium dominationem Hugonis cæde partam non nisi
[64] diem | et medium residere passus est Leogarius Lorcus illius interitu patris mortem ultus. Ut in illum opposità dictum poetæ quadret; unusque Titan vidit atque unus dies stantem et cadentem.

15 O'Duveganus, fol. 89.

hoc opere Flahertii."—*Rerum. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 67. See another passage from Charles O'Conor on the same subject.—*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. c. It is useless to attempt reconciling dates; but the important fact is, that during several centuries Eamania was the stronghold of Ulster kings, of the family of Cimbaoth, that is Irians (*Ogygia*, p. 258); and that, according to O'Flaherty himself, the Eiremonians did not obtain any footing in Ulster before the first century of the Christian era. "Ultoniæ ad Eamaniæ excidium et ultra Iriadæ admissis subinde post sæculum primum Christianum, Ernais Heremoniis, longissimâ serie dominati sunt." —*Ibid.* pp. 266, 268.

[i] The passage cited here from O'Dugan regards Irial Glumar, King of Ulster, who reigned forty years in Eamania, in the first century.—*Ogygia*, p. 259.

[j] Ancient and modern writers appear to agree that such a division was made by Ugaine-mor, that it lasted about 300 years, and that during that long period the royal tributes were paid according to said division.—*Ogyg.* pp. 106, 261. But how this can be reconciled with the exclusive possession of Ulster by the Irians, down to the first century at least (p. 443, note [h], *suprà*), and of Connaught and Leinster by the Firbolgs, down to the Christian era at least, let others decide. The truth is, Ugaine's division is confined to parts of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, Limerick, Roscommon, Sligo, Down, and Antrim, the fat of the land, and the most accessible to invaders. If this Ugaine had been able to

The crown next fell to Reachtach Ridghdearg, and was enjoyed by A. C.
him during twenty years. He was surnamed Righdearg from his red 339
wrist. "Righ" meaning in Irish, wrist, and "dearg" red. Ferc and Iboth, the sons of Irial Glunmar[i], after a series of successful battles in Alba, reduced it under the sceptre of Reactach, who was thence styled King of Ireland and Alba, as appears from the calendar of Cashel. Hugo the Great at length slew Reactach, in revenge for the death of his nurse, Macha, A. M. 4566.

Hugaine, surnamed the Great, from the great power which he is 330
said to have possessed in the Western Isles of Europe, next assumed the royal diadem. In Ireland he certainly had great authority, for he divided the whole country into twenty-five districts[j], which he distributed among his twenty-two sons and three daughters, who were born to him of Cæsarea Cruthaich, or the beautiful, daughter to the King of Gaul. After a reign of forty-years, Hugaine was slain by Badhbhachadh, A. M. 4606.

Badhbhchadh did not enjoy his power long. He was slain the day after his succession by Loegaire Lorc, who thus avenged his father's death. Of Badhbhchadh we may say with the poet, "one Titan and one day saw him standing and falling."

found a political system which could weather out 300 years in the stormy times of Pagan Ireland, Tighernach would very probably allow him some space in his Annals. Yet that annalist despatches him in a few words: "While Cimbaoth was King of Eamania" [Ulster], "tunc in Temoriâ, regnabat Eochodius victor, pater Uganii. Regnâsse ab aliis fertur Liccus. Præscripsimus Ollam ab Ugaine regnâsse." This is all Tighernach tells us. The last sentence is unintelligible to me. But the preceding notices, especially the doubt about who was King of Tara at the time, prove that, beyond the existence of such a man as Ugaine, Tighernach did not believe there was any certainty. It is said that Tighernach's sole object was to chronicle the kings of Eamania or Ulster. Very probably, if Tighernach had been a bard of the Ultonian kings, and not Abbot of Clonmacnoise,—a provincial chronicler, and not a general historian. If the line of kings of Tara were certain after the accession of Cimbaoth, he would obviously blend it with his learned synchronisms on the history of other kingdoms. Yet, in the succession of more than twelve of the first Eamanian kings, he alludes only five times to the kings of Tara or Ireland. See how our historians disagree when Tighernach is silent.—p. 447, note [n], *infrà*. As to Ugaine's marriage with a French princess, and the probable origin of his great fame, see p. 446, note [i], *infrà*. He appears to have first given the Eiremonians a local habitation, if not a name. In the *Battle of Magh Rath*, Congal Claen invokes Ir; his antagonists, Ugaine.

EIR. Leogarius Lorcus solium deinde regium duos annos insedit, cùm a majore natu fratre, Cobtacho Caillo seu Caolbreagh, cui præripuit imperium, apud Kearman, vitæ statione, solioque regio dejectus esset. Anno Mundi 4608.

EIR. Cobtachus Caolbreagh, regni clavum arripit, cui cognomentum istud additum est, ut ea vox exprimat illum ex regnandi desiderio quo Leogario fratre vivo, tenebatur exsanguem, exsuccum, et penitus aridum evasisse, ac omnino emarcuisse: "Caol" enim perinde est ac "tenuis," et "Bregh" loci nomen est, ubi lecto perpetim affixus fuit. Illum, postquam annis quinquaginta Hiberniæ præfuisset, in eodem ipso loco, quem fraterno, nepotatoque sanguine aspersit, vitâ et regno Lauradius Longhsecus Olilli Aini filius, Leogarii Lorci nepos exuit. Pœnâ sic egregiè de patris, et avi nece sumptâ Anno Mundi 4658.

EIR. Lauradius Longhsecus, avito imperio recuperato, et novemdecem annos administrato, Cobtachi liberis multas ei molestias interim facessentibus, a Melgeo Cobtachi filio morte multatus est. Anno Mundi 4677.

[k] Now Wexford.

[l] Labhraidh is the second King of Tara mentioned by Tighernach, A. C. 89, 63.—*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 6. "Τρıca Rıᵹh ρo baı ꝺo Laıᵹhean ꝼoρ Eρınn o ꞇa Labρaıꝺ Loınᵹρeach co Caꞇhaoıρ moρ." — "There were thirty Lagenian kings over Ireland, from Labraidh Loingseach to Cathaoir mor." That is, there were thirty Lagenian monarchs of Ireland. But Dr. O'Conor (*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 6, note) understands the passage as recording that they were only petty kings of part of Leinster. The former is the literal meaning. Yet our author allows thirty-eight kings of Ireland, from Labhraidh to Cathaoir Mor, both included, of whom twenty-five were Eiremonians, and only eight Lagenians.—*Ogyg.* p. 420. However this may be, all the succeeding Eiremonians were descended from Hugony, and hence the importance given to him by the bards, who, probably, attributed to him the partition of all the territories subsequently acquired by his descendants. After the reign of Hugaine, the monarchy is gradually becoming the exclusive property of the Eiremonians. Thus, of thirty-nine kings who preceded him, fourteen were Irians, and fifteen Eiberians; but, of his thirty-eight immediate successors, more than two-thirds were of his family. The fact involved in these myths appears to be the growing ascendency of that race (whatever it was) which the bards have personified in Eiremon and Ugaine.

[m] Labhraidh acquired his surname, "Loingseach," i. e. "navalis," from the fleet of foreigners which he led from France to recover his throne. He landed at Wexford, and destroyed Cobhthach, and thirty of his princes in Dinrigh, the ancient palace of the Leinster kings, situated on the west bank of the Barrow, about a quarter of a mile below Leighlin Bridge. — *Book of Rights*, p. 14, note [o]. See Haliday's *Keat-*

Loegaire Lorc, after a reign of two years, was deposed and slain at A. C.
Karman[k] by his elder brother, Cobhthach Cael, or Caolmbreagh, whom 300
he had excluded from the throne, A. M. 4608.

Cobhthach Caolmbreagh next seized the helm of state. He was surnamed Caolmbreagh to signify the ambition that devoured him during the life of his brother, Loegaire, so that he became pale, shrivelled, withered, and almost fleshless. "Caol," in the Irish, is emaciated, and "Breagh" the name of the place where he lay confined constantly to his bed. After a reign of fifty years he was slain on the very spot where himself had shed his brother's blood, by Labhraidh Loingseach, son of Olill Aine, and grandson of Loegaire Lorc, who thus, by one blow, avenged his father's and grandfather's death, A. M. 4658. 284

Labhraidh Loingseach[l], recovering[m] his grandfather's throne, reigned 267
nineteen years, during which he was exposed to constant perils from the sons of Cobhthach, and was at length slain by Meilge, one of these sons, A. M. 4677[n].

ing, p. 353, for Labhraidh's flight to France, and Ugaine's marriage with Cesarea, the French lady, &c. &c.

[n] Tighernach notices no king of Tara from Ugaine (A. C. 305, *cir.*) to Labhraidh Loingseach (*suprà*, p. 446, note [e]), and none from the latter to Duach Daltadegha (A. C. 48, *infrà*, A. M. 5031). Our author and O'Flaherty make Ugaine great-grandfather to Labhraidh, which clearly cannot be reconciled with Tighernach, if his dates A. C. 89, 63, mark the reign of Labhraidh, and I see no reason why they do not. They would make, it is true, two terrible gaps in the regal line from Ugaine to Daltadegha; but that line appears to be the most fragile in the whole bardic chronology, as there is a difference of not less than 195 years (475–280) between Dr. Lynch and O'Flaherty on the total of the reigns from Hugony to Daltadegha, both included. The difference would be considerably increased if we compared the two lists from the accession of Cimbaoth. In such uncertainty it is safer to conclude that Tighernach intended A. C. 89, 63, as the true date of Labhraidh; and we know that about that period the south of Britain was invaded and subdued by Gauls: "Apud eos (Suessiones) fuisse regem *nostrâ etiam memoriâ*, Divitiacum totius Galliæ potentissimum qui cùm magnæ partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniæ regnum obtinuerit." — *Cæsar. Bell. Gall.* lib. ii. c. 4. As Tighernach refers the death of Cathaoir Mor to A. D. 165. There would be only 254 years for the total of the thirty kings between Cathaoir and Labhraidh (p. 446, note [c], *suprà*), that is, about eight years and a half each, a low average certainly as compared with Eamanian kings, but only three years and a half less than the average reigns of the Christian kings of Ireland. Slanghe's general was a Labhraidh Loingseach also, a rather suspicious coincidence with the story of the first Firbolg invasion.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. 58.

EIR. Melgeus occisi Lauradii præmium Hibernici regni diadema, quod ambivit, retulit: quo septemdecem annos gestato in prælio Clarensi a Modchorbo vitâ spoliatus est. Anno Mundi 4694.

EIR. Modchorbus coronam, quam decessoris capiti detraxit, suo induit, nec nisi post septennium dimisit: tum demum interfectorem nactus Ængusium Olamhum, animam exhalavit. Anno Mundi 4701.

EIR. Ængusius Olamhus Modchorbo succedit, cujus octodecem annorum regno nex illi per Jerugleum illata finem imposuit. Anno Mundi 4719.

EIR. Jeredus, qui et Jerugleus vocabatur, post decessorem, regni administrationem assumpsit. Regnum ejus septenne, mors terminavit illata per successorem. Anno Mundi 4726.

EIR. Fercorbo, post undecem annos in imperio exactos, animam hausit Conlaus Ieruglei filius. Anno Mundi 4737.

EIR. Conlao regnandi deinde potestas cessit, quæ penes eum annos viginti perstitit, post quos elapsos, morbo confectus Temoriæ animam efflavit. Anno Mundi 4757.

EIR. Filius Olillus cognomento Casfhiaclach illius dignitatem inivit, quâ viginti quinque annos retentâ, ab Adamario Faltchine interemptus est. Anno Mundi 4782.

EIR. Adamarius regnum adeptus quinquennio administravit, cùm illo et vitâ per Eochodium Foltlaham privatus est. Anno Mundi 4787.

EIR. Eochodius cognomento Foltlaham ad regiam majestatem evectus, eo fastigio, post decimum septimum ab inito regno annum, excidit, a successore occisus. Anno Mundi 4804.

EIR. Fergusius Fortamalius, id est strenuus, cognominatus, quòd eximiâ fortitudine pro illis temporibus præcelleret, regno undecem annis administrato, vivere desiit ab Ængusio Turmecho cæsus. Anno Mundi 4815.

EIR. Ængusius Turmechus ad regni gubernaculum annos sexaginta sedit, qui pudore perfusus est quòd æbrius illato filiæ suæ stupro, filium ex eâ Fiachum nomine suscepit, cui postea cognomentum "Fearmara," id est "marinus" hæsit, quòd, ubi natus est, ut partus celaretur, cistulæ inclusus, prætiosis fasciis, purpuræo nimirum tegmine aureâ pinnâ connexo involutus, in profluentem apud Dunagneach projectus, in pisca-

[o] A hill near Duntryleague, in the county of Limerick.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, note [l], under A. M. 4169.

[p] According to some, this surname means "shame," from the circumstances told in the text. But O'Flaherty and others derive

Meilge having secured, by the death of Labhraidh, the Irish crown, A. C.
the object of his ambition, reigned seventeen years, and was slain in the 253
battle of Claire[o] by Modhcorb, A. M. 4696.

Modhcorb succeeding to the crown which he had snatched from the 241
brow of his predecessor, reigned seven years, after which he fell by the hand of Ængus Ollamh, A. M. 4701.

Ængus Ollamh succeeded Modhcorb, and was also slain after a reign 235
of eighteen years by Ierreo, A. M. 4719.

Ierreo, or, as he is otherwise called, Jerngle, assumed the reins of 228
government on the fall of his predecessor. After a reign of seven years he was slain by his successor, A. M. 4726.

Fercorb, after eleven years' reign, was slain by Conla, son of Ierreo, 222
A. M. 4737.

Conla, succeeding to the throne, reigned twenty years, and died at 215
Tara, A. M. 4757.

Oilioll, surnamed Casfhiaclach, son of Conla, succeeding to the royal 211
dignity, was slain, after a reign of twenty-five years, by Adamair Foltchaoin, A. M. 4782.

Adamair ascended the throne, but after a reign of five years was 186
deposed, and slain by Eochaidh Foltleathan, A. M. 4787.

Eochaidh, surnamed Foltleathan, assuming the royal dignity, was 181
deposed and slain in the seventeenth year of his reign by his successor, A. M. 4804.

Feargus, surnamed Fortamhuil or the Strong, from his great forti- 174
tude, which was superior to that of all his contemporaries, was slain after a reign of eleven years by Ængus Tuirmeach, A. M. 4815.

Ængus Tuirmeach[p] reigned sixty years. Overwhelmed with shame, 162
for having, while in a state of intoxication, violated his own daughter, who bore him a son, Fiacha, he endeavoured to conceal the birth. As soon as the child was born, it was wrapped in purple clothes, bound with a golden pin, and was inclosed in a small boat, which was thrown into the waves near Dunaighneach[q]; but, being observed by some fisher-

it from tormach, i. e. "incrementum," "fecundity," because Ængus was progenitor of all succeeding Eiremonians, except the Lagenian line, descended from Laogaire Lorc.—*Ogygia*, p. 264; *Rer. Hib.* vol. iii. p. 57, note [2]. The whole line of Eireamon, save these two, extinct, though the family had been branching in Erin during 800 years, or more!

[q] On the coast of Tirconnell. He was

tores incurrit, qui ereptum e vitæ discrimine nutricibus alendum tradiderunt. Ængusius tandem Teamoriæ ultimum emisit spiritum. Anno Mundi 4875.

EIR. Post Ængusium, Conallus cognomento Columhrach regni habenas quinquennio moderatus est: ipsi denique vitam, et imperium ademit qui successit. Anno Mundi 4880.

[65] | Niesedemanius vir in largiendo profusus, regni clavo deinde admotus est. Eo rege, damæ non secus ac vaccæ mulgendas ultro se lactariis præbuerunt. Illi septimo regni anno Endeus Aigneach animam expulit. Anno Mundi 4887.

EIR. Endeus Aigneach, dictus "Aigneach," id est "liberalis," quia quicquid præsto erat, cùm ad eum quispiam postulans accederet, id in postulantem illico conferebat. Eum tandem Crimthanus Coscrach in prælio Ardcharemthanensi occidit. Anno Mundi 4911.

EIR. Crinthanus Cosgrach, id est, "Victor" quòd in quàm plurimis præliis victoriam reportavit, throno se regio ingessit; unde, post quadrienne imperium a successore dejectus et vitâ orbatus est. Anno Mundi 4967.

IR. Rodericus regnum sibi annos septuaginta vindicavit. Deinceps tam diuturnum regnandi tenorem mors ex morbo Temoriæ contracta excæpit. Anno Mundi 4981.

EIB. Innatmarus deinde, cùm regno novem annos præfuisset, oppressus a Bressalio, vitâ, et imperio excessit. Anno Mundi 4990.

IR. Bressalius Bodhiobhadh, id est, boum expers dictus, quòd eo rege lethali lue boves ferè omnes correptos mors sustulit: regno undecem annos potitus a Lugadio Luagneo jugulatus est. Anno Mundi 5001.

EIB. Lugadius Luagneus regis titulo quindecem annos gavisus, vitæ jacturam a Congalio passus est. Anno Mundi 5016.

IR. Congalio, cognomento Clarenech, dignitate regiâ quindecem annos inclarescenti, Duachus Daltadegha vivendi finem attulit. Anno Mundi 5031.

EIB. Duachus, cognomento "Daltadegha" Hibernis deinde decem annos imperavit, eo cognomine, hâc illi ratione addito. Carbrius Lusgius duos

found by fishermen at Torainn Brena, at Lough Swilly.—See *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 122.

[r] Roderic, Breasal, Congal Clarineach, p. 451, and Fachtna Fathach, p. 453, reigned 127 years in Eamania according to O'Flaherty; but Tighernach omits them. Hence Charles O'Conor, deducting 127 from A. C. 353 (O'Flaherty's date of Cimbaoth's accession), fixed the erection of Eamania about

men, it was picked up, and the child was intrusted to a nurse. From this circumstance he was called Fearmara, or "man of the sea." Ængus died at Tara, A. M. 4875. A. C.

On the death of Ængus, Conall, surnamed Collamhrach, held the reins of government during five years. He was deposed and slain by his successor, A. M. 4880. 130

Niad Seagamuin, a man renowned for his lavish generosity, succeeded to the throne. During his reign not only cows, but even deer, came of their own accord to the milk-maid. In the seventh year of his reign he was slain by Enna Aighneach, A. M. 4911. 125

Enna Aighneach, so called from his liberality, because it was his custom to grant on the spot every petition addressed to him, was slain after a reign of twenty years by Crimhthann Coscrach, in the battle of Ard-Creamhthainn, A. M. 4911. 118

Crimhthann Coscrach, or the "Victorious," so called from his success in many fields, mounted the throne, which he held during four years. He was deposed and slain by his successor, A. M. 4907. 108

Roderic[r], after a long reign of seventy years, fell sick and died at Tara, A. M. 4981. 104

Ionadmar succeeded, and, having reigned nine years, was attacked and slain by Breasal, A. M. 4990. 87

Breasal, surnamed Bodhiobhaidh or "Cattle-less," because, during his reign, a distemper swept off nearly all the cattle, reigned eleven years, after which he was slain by Lughaidh Luaighne, A. M. 5001. 84

Lughaidh Luaighne enjoyed the royal title fifteen years, and was slain by Congal, A. M. 5016. 75

Congal, surnamed Claringneach, after a prosperous reign of fifteen years, was slain by Duach Dalta-Deaghaid, A. M. 5031. 60

Duach reigned over the Irish twelve years. He was surnamed Dalta-Deaghaid[s] from the following circumstance. Cairbre Lusc had two 47

A. C. 226.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. c.

[s] This is the third notice of a monarch of Ireland by Tighernach: "Duach dalta degaidh ar Er and ren," A. C. 48, which O'Conor translates "Duachus alumnus Degadii regnavit in Hiberniâ."—*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 7. O'Flaherty also rejects the story in the text, and translates dalta "alumnus."—*Ogyg.* p. 266. Duach was an Eiberian, and through his means Deag, the Eiremonian, acquired, it is said, great power in Munster, the Deaghaidh reigning there alternately with the Eiberians, the former in south, the latter in north Munster.—*Ib.*

filios habuit, Duachum, et Dagadum, ambos eximiâ membrorum mole, virium præstantiâ, reliquisque corporis, et animi dotibus, quæ majestatem regiam decerent æquales. Degadi autem minoris natu, mentem molestia nescio quæ incessit, a fratre naturæ donis minimè superiore, vinci potestate. Hic animum induxit fratri bellum inferre, soliumque regium, amoto fratre, qui jam diademate regio fulserat occupare, verùm ejus clandestina consilia Duachum non latuerunt, qui, ne tumultus excitantur, Degadum ad se fictis causis accersit, et ex improviso comprehendum effossis oculis carceri mandat. Hoc facinus Dalta Deaghaidh, id est Dagadi obcæcatorem ei peperit. Animam Duacho successor extraxit. Anno Mundi 5041.

IR. Fachneus Fatach regnum iniit, et sexdecem annos in illâ hæsit dignitate, cùm Eochodius Feidhleach eam illi, et vitam eriperet. Anno Mundi 5057.

EIR. Eochodius Feidhleach regiam nactus potestatem, eam duodecem annos exercuit, parto inde cognomento, quòd, crebrò, imò continenter, longos gemitus ex imo pectore duxerit. "Feiadh" enim perinde est ac "longus," et "eoch" ac "gemitus." Utpote filiorum in prælio Druimchriedensi, cæsorum interitum assiduè memoriâ recolens, ita suspiriis habenas laxavit, ut iis vix puncto temporis, ad extremum usque spiritum temperaverit. Is pentarchiam in Hiberniâ primus instituit, utpote Hiberniam quinque partito divisam in totidem dispertitus est principatus. Ita ut ipso Hiberniæ universæ Monarcha, Ultoniæ Conchaurus Fachtnai filius: Lageniæ Carbrius Niafear, duabus Momoniis Curaius Dari filius, et Eochodius Luchtai filius: Conaciæ Olillus, et ejus uxor Meabha dominati fuerint. Eochodius duodecimo regni anno diem clausit extremum. Anno Mundi 5069.

[t] Now Drumcree, near Castlepollard, in the county of Westmeath.

[u] If we believe the learned compiler of the *Hibernia Dominica*, Eochoidh ought to have had other reasons to weep, namely, for the woes entailed on the land by its division into five provinces: "Diversitas quippe quatuor nationum prona fuit ab antiquo et etiamnum est factionum occasio, atque unica et pessima radix discordiarum, rixarum, et contentionum quotidianarum inter Hibernos tam sæculares, quàm regulares, quàm etiam laicos et militares: ac uno verbo malorum omnium in rebus nostris tam ecclesiasticis quàm civilibus ut lippis et tonsoribus notum est."—*Hib. Dom.* p. 119, n. [l]. And again: "Ipsemet vidi crebròque audivi a Reverendissimo Magistro Ordinis P. Thomâ Ripoll, ejusque sociis ——. Anglia sanè sua olim

sons, Duach and Deaghaidh, both equally distinguished for extraordinary stature, great strength, and all the qualities of mind and body that become a king. But Degaidh, the younger brother, under the influence of some unaccountable jealousy, that he, every way equal to his brother in the gifts of nature, should yet be excluded from the throne, resolved to levy war against him, and deprive him of the crown which had already been placed on his brows. But Duach having received intelligence of his clandestine machinations, resolved to quell the incipient storm before it burst, and having invited Degaidh to meet him on pretence of some business, seized him, plucked out his eyes, and had him cast into prison. From this treacherous crime Duach was surnamed Dalta Deaghaidh,—that is, the man who blinded Degaidh. Duach was slain by his successor, A. M. 5041. A. C.

Fachtna Fathach ascended the throne, and, after a reign of sixteen 40
years, was deposed and slain by Eochaidh Feidhleach, A. M. 5057.

Eochaidh Feidhleach occupied the vacant throne. He was surnamed 26
Feidhleach from the deep sighs which he constantly heaved from his heart. "Feidh" meaning in Irish long, and "leoch" sighs. The loss of his sons slain in the battle of Druimcriadh[t] had sunk so deeply into his memory, that, to his latest breath, he could never cease, even for a moment, to bewail them[u]. It was he that first divided Ireland into a pentarchy, because the five divisions of Ireland were by him erected into principalities[w]. Thus, while he was supreme King of Ireland, Conchobhar, son of Fachtna, was King of Ulster; Carbry Nifear, King of Leinster; Curai, son of Dare, and Eochaidh, son of Luchta, Kings of the two Munsters; and Olill, with his Queen Meave, King of Connaught. Eochaidh died in the twelfth year of his reign, A. M. 5069.

habebat regna distincta, et tamen in Anglorum, seu sæcularium seu regularium, collegiis nec palam nec privatim ulla habebatur ratio diversitatis illarum nationum." —*Ibid.* p. 135. As the dioceses alone retain, in some cases, the boundaries of ancient territories, so the Dominicans retained, in 1644, the old division into five provinces, namely, the two Munsters, and the other three.—*Ibid.* p. 115.

[w] Tighernach mentions Eochaidh Feidhleach after Eochaidh Arem, but does not attribute to him the division of Ireland into five parts; nor is there the slightest reason to believe that there was, at this period, any central power in Ireland sufficiently strong to effect such a division.—See p. 454, note [a], *infrà*; also *Proleg.* pars ii. p. xlvii. The names of the provincial kings under Eochaidh are nearly the same as in p. 454, n. [a].

EIR. Eochodius cognomento Aremh prioris Eochodii frater Hiberniæ Rex deinde salutatus est. "Aremh" ideo cognominatus quia tumulos in Hiberniæ primus effodi curavit; "Vamh" enim perinde est ac "tumu-[66] lus." Hic Hiberniâ | quindecem annis administratâ, a Singhmallo, in Fremointeabha, ex hominum numero ademptus est. Anno Mundi 5084.

EIR. Ederschelium Hiberniæ quinquennio imperantem Nuadus Neacht e vitæ finibus exterminavit Anno Mundi 5089. Nuadus agnomen "Neacht" indê sortititus quòd nivi quam vox "Neacht" significatione refert, cutis candore non cesserit. Hiberniæ gubernaculo admotus sex tantùm menses eâ dignitate potitus a Conario vitâ, et regno exutus est.

EIR. Conarius Ederscheli filius in regno collocatus annis septuaginta regnandi tempus æquavit. Quo temporis curriculo, mare Boini fluminis ostia, Inbhercolpta quondam dicta, uberrimo piscium ejectamento quotannis obtexit: tanta quoque fuit eâ tempestate pacis malacia, tanta regis sollicitudo in rebus omnibus præsidio muniendis, ut pecora securè per Hiberniam sine custode oberrarent. Nec a medio autumno ad veris medium asperiore ventorum aurâ greges, aut armenta afflabantur, aut ullo nocumento affligebantur. Arbores fructuum pondus ad terram impellebat, latrocinia etiam rex coercuit, vagis hominibus, et prædonibus regno abactis. Quorum unus Inkellus cæcus O'Conmaic, Brito, multa flagitiosorum, et alienigenarum turbâ sibi adscitâ, pluribus tumultibus Hiberniam infestavit, tandemque apud Bruigham Regi Conario manus attulit. Anno Mundi 5190.

[x] How can this be reconciled with the royal cemeteries of the Tuatha de Danann, Firbolgs, and others, at Cruachan, Tailten, and on the banks of the Boyne?

[y] Ten years.—*Ogygia.* The reader will observe here another instance of hesitation in Tighernach's few notices of the archkings. "Eochoidh Arem," he says, "was killed by Sigmal, the pacificator, '*vel, ut alii dicunt,*' by some other man."—*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 8. This "*ut alii dicunt*" occurring again, in the same writer, at the year A. D. 44, and A. D. 131, p. 29, in his notices of the archkings, and not occurring in his records of the Eamanian kings, is a strong proof that the history of the latter was the more certain.

[z] Now Frewin Hill, near Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath.

[a] Tighernach mentions Conary, and allows him a reign of eighty years. Also that, "after the first sack [ɑɲʒɑın] of Ƀɲuıʒen ɗɑ beɲʒɑ against Conary, Ireland was divided into five parts, Conchobhar Mac Nessa being the King of Ulster; Cairbre Niafear, of Leinster; Tighernach Teadbannach and Deagod, his son, of Munster; Alild, son of Magach, and Queen Meave, of Connaught."—*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 12. As the text runs, it insinuates that the partition was a con-

Eochaidh, surnamed Airiomh, brother of his predecessor, was then A. C.
proclaimed King of Ireland. He was surnamed Airiomh, from "airiomh," 15
a tumulus, because it was in his reign that tombs were first introduced into Ireland[x]. After a reign of fifteen years[y] he was sent from the land of the living by Siodhmall, at Fremoin[z] in Teffia, A. M. 5084.

Eiderscheal, after enjoying the sovereignty of Ireland five years, was 5
slain in the year 5089, by Nuad, surnamed Neacht, from the whiteness of his skin, because it might rival even the snow (in Irish, neacht). Neacht, after a brief reign of six months, was deposed and slain by Conaire.

Conaire, son of Eiderscheal, having ascended the throne, reigned A. D.
seventy years[a]. It was during his time that the sea poured into the 1
mouth of the Boyne (then called Invercolptha) enormous shoals of fish. So profound also was the peace Ireland enjoyed, so careful was the king in extending to all quarters the arm of his protection, that the cattle roamed freely through the land without any herd. From mid-autumn round to mid-spring, no tainted gale or noxious blast ever injured flock or herd. The trees were bent to the earth with the load of their fruit; robbery was suppressed by the king, and all vagabonds and thieves were expelled from the land. One of those robbers, by name Ainkel O'Conmaic, the blind, having mustered under his command a numerous gang of Britons[b] and profligate foreigners, troubled the peace of Ireland by many predatory incursions, and at last slew King Conaire himself, at Bruigh[c], A. M. 5160.

sequence of the sack of the royal fort, Bruigen da Berga, and not the voluntary act of the king. Moreover Ulster was, at this period, in the exclusive possession of the Irians (p. 444, note [b], *suprà*), and Connaught of the Firbolgs. — *Dinnseanchus*, *apud Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 11; see also *infrà*, in the reign of Fiacha Firfalada, that all the provincial kings, except the Ultonian, were of the Athachtuathi or ignoble race. Tighernach assigns the death of Conaire to the year 45 [44] of our era.—See *Prolegom.* pars ii. pp. l. lxv. O'Flaherty makes Conary's accession contemporary with the birth of Christ, A. M. 3949, according to his computation.

[b] This invasion of Britons gives credibility to the Irish story, as it is very probable that some of them would seek refuge in Ireland at this period from the Roman arms.

[c] Bruigh is an error of the press, probably, as Tighernach expressly records that Conaire was killed in the second burning of his palace, bruiᵹean da berᵹa. O'Conor states, on the authority of a marginal note in the Stowe copy of the Ogygia, that this palace was situated in the county Sligo, near Magh Tuiremh; but I find no

EIR. Post Conarium cæsum, Hiberniam quinquennio rege vacavit. In regno Lugadius Sriabhndearg, sex annos supra viginti Conario subiit, qui tribus Finnamoniis Eochodii Feidlechi filiis procreatus est. Illi namque crapulâ obruti, stuprum sorori Clothræ intulerunt, ex quo vitio illa gravida, exacto justi temporis ad pariendum intervallo, Lugadium hunc enixa est; cui cognomentum Sriabhndhearg ideo inditum est, quòd rubro circulo (ea vocis significatio est) circa collum et umbilicum notatus fuit. Lugadius etiam e Clothrâ matre filium execrando incestu Crinthanum nomine genuit; cujus flagitii tanto mærore captus est, ut ensi ultro incumbens, mortem sibi consciverit. Anno Mundi 5191.

EIR. Conchaurus Abrarudah Rex deinde salutatus est, cui anni tantùm unius Regi latus hausit Cremthanius Nianarius. Anno Mundi 5192.

ITH. Cremthanius Nianarius ad regni gubernacula admotus est tracto cognomine ab originis suæ pudore. Nam "Nia" perinde est ac pugil et "Nair" ac pudibundus. Pudebat enim illum quàm maximè, se de matris et filii coitu genitum esse. Is ad sexdecem annos imperium protraxit, cùm ex equo derepentè corruens, modico post temporis intervallo expiravit in Dunchrimthainn apud Binneder. Anno Mundi 5108.

Illo autem annum octavum, vel ut aliorum fert sententia, duodecimum, regni agente, humani generis in libertatem assertor Christus in lucem editus est. Anno Mundi 5199 post diluvium anno 2957.

Post Cremthanium vivis exemptum, Athachtuachi plebeiorum hominum genus, profligatissimâ seditione excitatâ, latè dominati sunt, Proceres enim splendidis epulis exceptos nefariâ cæde, per insidias,

such name in the Hy-Fiachrach, nor does the county Sligo appear a very probable site of a royal palace. Its true situation was on "the Dodder, near Dublin; and a part of the name is still preserved in that of 'Boher na breena,' a well known place on that river."—*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 354.

[d] Shriabhndearg is mentioned by Tighernach, as reigning from A. D. 52 to A. D. 79, and being slain by the Luighne, or, *ut alii dicunt*, by his own sword. For those Eiberian Luighne, see p. 471, note [k], *infrà*.

[e] Also mentioned by Tighernach, A. D. 79, 90. A fragment of the Four Masters, published by O'Conor, *Annal. Ult.* p. 151, describes the spoils carried off by Crimthann from the Romans of Britain, and, among others, a sword adorned with figures of serpents, and eagles of the purest gold. At this period, about the year 82, Agricola made his campaign in that part of Britain "which looks to Ireland," with the design, as O'Conor infers, of expelling the Irish invaders. Davies and some of our scholars maintain that Agricola miscalculated the power of Ireland, when he asserted that one legion, with a small body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to subdue it; but that force would

On the death of Conaire the Irish throne was vacant during five A. D.
years. It was then filled twenty-six years by Lughaidh Sriabhndearg[d], 60
who was the child of the three Finnamons, the sons of Eochoidh Feidhleach. While in a state of intoxication they violated their own sister, Clothra, who, becoming pregnant, was delivered in due time of this Lughaidh. He was surnamed Sriabhndearg (or red circle), from a red ring that was found around his neck and navel. Lughaidh also begot, by execrable incestuous intercourse with the same Clothra, his own mother, a son named Crimthann; but, smitten with horror at his hideous crime, he threw himself on his sword and expired, A. M. 5191.

Conchubhar Abhraruadh was then proclaimed king; but, after a 65
brief reign of one year, was slain by Crimthann Niadhnair, A. M. 5192.

Crimthann Niadhnair[e], who then seized the helm of State, derived his 73
surname from his bashful shame, "Niadh" meaning in Irish a champion, and "nair" shame-faced, because the shame of being the incestuous issue of a mother and son ever oppressed his heart. After a long reign of sixteen years, he suddenly fell from his horse, and expired in Dun-Crimhthainn[f], at Binneder, A. M. 5108.

It was in the eighth, or, as other authorities assert, in the twelfth year of his reign, that Christ, the Liberator and Redeemer of man was, born, A. M. 5199; after the Deluge, 2957.

After the death of Crimthann, the Athachtuatha, a tribe of plebeians, having concocted a nefarious conspiracy, rose tumultuously, and swept everything before them[g]. Having treacherously invited all the nobles to a splendid banquet, they rose up and massacred them at Maighcro[h],

amount to about 10,000 men, which, aided by the refugee Irish prince in the Roman camp, was a greater relative force than Strongbow, or Cromwell, or William, led to the Irish shores. Dr. Lynch, *infrà*, p. [171], regrets that the Romans did not conquer Ireland.

[f] The site of this fort is occupied by the Bailie's Light-house, on the Hill of Howth, near the city of Dublin.

[g] Tighernach takes no notice of those Athachtuatha, nor of their usurpation, but makes Feradhach Find succeed his father Crimthann, and reign twenty-three years. Dr. O'Conor supposes, I know not on what authority, except, perhaps, some similarity of name, that they are the Attacots.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. lxxvii. But if there be any truth in their history, they were the old or mere Irish of the day, Irians, and other aborigines, resisting the attempts of the King of Tara to establish *one* monarchy in Ireland.

[h] A very likely spot for a conspiracy

apud Maighcro in Conaciâ sustulerunt. Et omne genus regium penitus extinxissent, nisi tres Reginæ bonis avibus uterum tum gestantes fugæ præsidio in patriam quæque suam, cladi se subduxisset: ubi maturescente per temporis progressum partu, tres filios Feradachum Fachtnaium, Corbium Olvimium, et Tibradium Tirium enixæ sunt. Bainia Regis Albaniæ filia prioris, Cruifia filia Regis Britanniæ alterius, et Ainia Regis Saxoniæ filia postremi mater erat.

Athachtuachi nobilitate sublatâ, et stirpe regiâ gubernaculis amotâ, Carbræum cognomento Kencheit sui generis hominem regem Hiberniæ renuntiârunt: quem post quinquennium imperando exactum, mors sustulit. Anno Domini 14, Mundi 5213.

[67] Dum autem Carbræus este summæ rerum, | post nefandam illam nobilium Hiberniæ cladem editam præesset, mandata terræ semina ad fætûs maturitatem non pervenerunt, arboribus poma defecerunt; gramine arescente, pecora non mulgebantur, pisces e mari non percipiebantur. Hibernia denique ultimâ penè inediâ, et ærumnarum omnium cumulis obruebatur.

Postquam verò Carbræus fatis concessit, Athachtuachi Morannum Carbri filium patri substituere contenderunt. Sed Morannus vir prudentiâ et litteris excultus negavit se in dignitatem sibi non avitam ac proinde minimè debitam involaturum. Additque nisi ephebis regiis ab exilio revocatis, et avitâ dignitate donatis inediam quâ premebantur, nullo fine terminatam iri. Cujus consilio illi obtemperantes, ut mala ista a cervicibus averterent, regios adolescentes accersunt, et ad

against the kings of Tara, because Connaught, at this period, was occupied principally by the Firbolgs and Irians, who made common cause with the Firbolgs.—See p. 444, note [j], *suprà;* and *Ogygia*, pp. 276, 302; also, *Iar Connaught*, p. 105, note [l].

[i] Near the hill of Knockmaa, in the county of Galway.

[j] If this be a fact, what becomes of the great family of Hugony the Great. Keating saves some of the nobility, but disposes of all the Milesian plebeians, without exception (*Duffy's edit.* Dublin, p. 242): "The ancient records of the kingdom expressly record the extirpation of the posterity of the Milesian soldiery," and this by the noble Milesians themselves. Thus, Milesians of all orders are reduced to nothing after 1000 years' possession of Ireland!—for it is difficult to prove that the rebel Irians were Milesians.—See p. 461, note [p], *infrà*.

[k] O'Flaherty translates this word, "Feliceps," i. e. "Cat-head" (*Ogygia*, p. 300), but cannot say whether Cairbre was a Firbolg, a Domnonian, or Danaan, or Luaigncan of Tara. The name, or something very like it, is not unusual among the Picts, the

in Connaught[i]. The whole royal race would have been extirpated[j] were A. D.
it not, as good fortune would have it, that three queens, who succeeded in escaping from the awful catastrophe, were pregnant. In the due course of nature they were delivered of three sons, Feradhach Fachtnich, Corb Oluim, and Tibrad Tirach. Bainia, daughter to the King of Alba, was mother of the first; Cruifia, daughter of the King of Britain, of the second; and Ainia, daughter to the King of Saxony, of the last.

After the extirpation of the nobility, and the deposition and expulsion of the regal line, the Athachtuatha placed on the throne Cairbre, 74
surnamed Kenchait[k], a man of their own race, who, after a reign of five years, expired, A. D. 14, A. M. 5213.

It was during the reign of this Cairbre, and after the horrible massacre of the nobles of Ireland, that the seed, when committed to Irish ground, refused to come to maturity; no apples were seen on the trees, no grass on the fields; the cows yielded no milk, and the sea refused its fish. In a word, Ireland was plunged into an abyss of every affliction, and was reduced to the lowest degree of emaciated wretchedness[l].

When Cairbre had paid the debt of nature, the Athachtuatha endeavoured to place his son, Moran, on the throne. But Moran, who was eminent both for prudence and learning, sternly refused to accept a dignity to which he had no hereditary, and therefore no just claim. "There will be no end," said he, "to this famine that devours you, until you recall the royal youths from exile, and re-establish them in their hereditary rights." The good advice was obeyed, to avert the horrible evils under which they groaned. The people sent an embassy to the royal youths, and conjured them, in the most respectful and

Cruithne of the Irish.—See *Irish Nennius*, p. 148, note [f]. This Cairbre Cat-head had a namesake, a famous Tuatha de Danann (*Keating*, p. 209), and his rebel adherents were *Cathraige*.—*Ogygia*, p. 300. Thierry describes the helmets of the ancient Gauls, "Sur un casque en mètal plus on moins prècieux, suivant la fortune du guerrier on attachait des cornes d'èlan, de buffle ou de cerf, et pour les riches, un cimier representant en bosse quelque figure d'oiseau ou de bête farouche." — *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 41.

[l] Legitimists, of more civilized times, have attributed similar consequences to the change of hoary dynasties. Yet Cairbre died on his bed, a happiness enjoyed by very few of his legitimate royal brethren, "sceptrum integris membris ad mortem detinuit."—*Ogygia*, p. 300.

avitas hæreditates adeundas demissis hortationibus invitant, gentilitioque solis, et lunæ juramento se devinciunt debitum obsequium illis in perpetuum et fidem inviolatam a se præstitam iri. Illi hâc ultroneâ Athachtuathorum obsequii delatione allecti patriam et avita patrimonia lœtantes repetunt. Quæ res revocatam postliminio fæcunditatem terræ, et cæterarum calamitatum exterminium incolis peperit.

EIR. Regnum igitur Feradacho Fionfachtnacho delatum est, quo rege, fraudibus amotis, æquitas et justitia passim colebatur. Quæ res illi cognomentum peperit: "Fachtuach" enim veritatem et integritatem interpretamur. Morannus ille Carbrei filius judiciis ferendis a rege adhibitus observantissimus æquitatis cultor, annulum habuit eâ virtute præditum, ut cujusvis judicis sententiam pronuntiaturi vel testis prolaturi testimonium collo circumdatus, arctè fauces obstringeret si latum unguem ab æquo ille, aut hic a vero discederet. Unde vulgari proverbio testium colla Moranni annulo cingi exoptamus, quò veritas vel ab invitis extorqueatur. Feradachus vigesimo secundo regni anno Temoriæ diem clausit extremum. Anno Domini 36, Mundi 5235.

EIR. Fiathachus Finnius eum in regni administratione secutus est, quâ illum et vitâ Fiachus Finfoladius, post annum regni tertium, spoliavit. Anno Domini 39, Mundi 5238.

EIR. Fiachus Firfaladius cognominatus a candore, quo Hiberniæ boves eo regnante insigniebantur, "fin" enim "candidum" et "Olaidh" "bovem" significat, Fiatacho, surrogatus est. Cujus in animo cum inveteratum odium erga Athachtuachos ob nobilitatem malis supra memoratis oppressam resideret, gravissima iis tributa irrogavit, quæ cùm atrociùs etiam exigerentur, Regis invidiâ sic Athachthuaci exarserunt, ut clandestinis coitionibus perniciem ei struere decreverint et gnavi Reges provinciarum, scilicet Elimium Conrachi filium Ultoniæ, Sanbhum filium Kethi Connaciæ, Forbrium Fini filium Momoniæ, et Eochodium Anchean, Lageniæ Regem animos in Fiachum exulceratos gessisse, cùm omnes præter priorem ex ipsorum genere fuerint, quæ molieban-

[m] Mentioned by Tighernach as commencing his twenty-three years' reign A. D. 85.

[n] Tighernach mentions him in this reign. For his wonderful collar, called *Iodh Morain*, and other stories, see *Keating*.

[o] Not mentioned by Tighernach. O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, p. 301) makes him of the race of the Ernai, the first Eireamonians who acquired any possessions in Ulster. They were descended, he says, from Olild Aronn, grandson of Æneas Tuirmeach (*ibid.* p. 266); but, as there was a tribe of Fir-

imploring terms, to come home to the land and inheritance of their fathers; they swore by the sun and moon,—that great oath of the Pagan,—that devoted loyalty and inviolable fidelity should be their's for ever. The youths, yielding to this spontaneous offer of submission from the Athachtuatha, joyfully returned to the land and the hereditary rights of their fathers. Immediately an end was made to all the exterminating calamities of the land, and the earth recovered its pristine fertility. A. D

The kingdom was accordingly given to Feradhach Fiondfectnach[m], 90
during whose reign injustice of all kinds was checked, and justice and equity generally flourished. This was the origin of Feradach's surname, as "feachtnach" is the Irish word for truth and integrity. Moran[n], son of Cairbre, was appointed supreme judge by the king, and adhered inflexibly to the laws of equity. He had a collar endowed with so singular a virtue, that, when worn by any judge pronouncing judgment, or any witness giving evidence, it would tighten round the neck and strangle him, if he dared to depart one hair's breadth from justice or truth. Whence the origin of the common saying applied to the unwilling witness, it were well that Moran's collar was twined around his neck. Feradhach died at Tara in the twenty-second year of his reign, A. D. 36, A. M. 5235.

Fiatach Fionn[o], succeeding him in the throne, was deposed and slain 95
by Fiach Finfoladh, after a reign of three years, A. D. 39, A. M. 5238.

Fiach Finfolaidh, so called from "whiteness," the color for which 116
the oxen of Ireland were remarkable during his reign ("finn," white; "olaidh," oxen), succeeded Fiatach. Inflamed with inveterate hatred of the Athachtuatha, on account of their former cruelties to the nobility, he imposed many galling tributes, and exacted them with such severity that the Athachtuatha burned with indignation, and resolved to compass his ruin by secret machinations. Fully aware that the provincial kings,—namely, Elimius, son of Conrach, King of Ulster; Sanbh, son of Keath, King of Connaught; Forbri, son of Fin, of Munster; and Eochoidh Angchean, of Leinster; all of whom, except the first were of their own race[p],—were violently disaffected to the king, the

bolgs, called Ernai, there is, perhaps, reason to suspect that Tuirmeach himself was a Firbolg or Belgian.

[p] This king was a descendant of Ir, a

tur, iis aperuerunt. Qui suasionibus Athachtuathorum adducti monarcham apud Muighbolg vitâ exuerunt anno post regnum ingitum

brother of Eiremon and Eiber, according to bardic story, yet he conspires here with plebeians against the descendants of his royal brothers. Perhaps we have here a key to the history of the Milesian family, and that Eiremon, Eiber, and Ir, were brothers, in the same way as Britus, Albanus, Francus and Romanus were brothers, or Gotus, Burgundus, and Lombardus, or Vandalus and Saxo (*Irish Nennius*, p. 33); that is, that the Irians were a branch of the Celtic family, settled in Ireland before the branch represented by Eireamon. According to the common story, Ireland was divided into two parts; Eireamon took the north, but granted Ulster to his brother Ir.—*Irish Nennius*, p. lxv. Ulster, from the mouth of the Boyne to the Bay of Donegal, was, down to the second century, almost exclusively Irian. — p. 444, note [l], *suprà*; *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 221. The Irians possessed in Leinster, Longford, the Queen's County, and part of Westmeath, around Uisneach Hill. — *Irish Nennius*, pp. 263, *et seq.* In Munster, they held the greater part of Kerry, the west of Clare, and a tract around Fermoy. — *Book of Rights*, pp. 48, 65, 78, 100. In Connaught, Connemara, and scattered tracts in Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo.—*Ibid.* Hence Maelmura of Othain, from whom the preceding sketch is taken, might truly say, in the ninth century, Lan in hErin do chlainn Ir, "Erin is full of the race of Ir." The reader, by comparing the Irian territories with those of the native Irish in the fourteenth century (p. 201, note [e], *et seq. suprà*), will find that, with the exception of East Leinster, they are nearly identical; and thus the very position of the Irian territories is, of itself, a strong argument that the Irians preceded the Eireamonians, and were by them driven from the richer and more accessible parts of the island. The bards, it is true, endeavour to explain the diffusion of Irian tribes through Connaught and Munster, by telling us that they were all the descendants of illegitimate sons of a certain fugitive Ulster king, named Fergus (*Irish Nennius*, p. 263); but as this man is placed so far back as the first century, and as the story of his issue is intrinsically improbable, it is entitled to little or no credit. The conclusion to which Irian topography leads, is, that the race had possession of the greater part of the island, and that conclusion is confirmed by two significant traditions, namely, the great number of Irians who figure in the lists of archkings of Ireland, before Ugaine the Great, especially Ollamh Fodhla, with his seven Irian successors, the kings, if not the founders of Tara, and next the partition of Ireland between the two Irian brothers, Kearmna and Sobharche, a partition which is supported by traditionary monumental evidence, the palaces of both, in opposite ends of the island, being yet known by their names (*suprà*, p. 425, n. [n], p. 431, n. [m]), and called the most ancient buildings in Erin.—*Book of Ballymote*, f. 75. The Irian palace of Eamania was, "without a single exception, the most extensive of its kind in Ireland."—*Magh Rath*, p. 213, note [v]. Its foundation, A. C. 305, its destruction, A. D. 322, are epochs in the Irish annals. Tighernach chronicles the succession of its kings: to lay it in ruins was the great object of ambition for every fierce king of

Athachtuatha drew them into a conspiracy, and, combining their forces, slew the king at Maghbolg, in the seventeenth[x] year of his reign, A. D.

Ireland: "Destruere nobilem arcem Eamaniæ, votum erat quod faciebat omnis ferox rex."—*Gillemodud, apud O'Conor, Prolegom.* pars i. p. clxxx.; and, finally, its ancient glories were the theme by which, in after ages, the Irian king excited his followers to battle against the oppressing Eireamonians:

"The races of Conall and Eoghan, and the
Airghialla,
Have seized on our lands,
And against them we make this onset
To drive them from over us."
—*Battle of Magh Rath*. pp. 203, 219.

Why were all fierce kings so anxious to destroy Eamania? And now, in this real or traditional rebellion, why do the Athachtuatha spare the palace of Eamania?—why combine with the Irians, and make one of them their king? The answer is obvious, if you suppose that the Irians as well as themselves were combining against the encroachments of a comparatively modern colony in Ireland. But if the history of the Picts, *Irish Nennius*, p. lxxxii., can be relied on, then the Irians were not *brothers* of Eiremonians and Eiberians, but Cruithne or Picts. The Irian Ollamh Fodhla, and his six Irian successors, are there called the seven Cruithnian (i. e. Pictish) kings that ruled over Ireland. The Dal Araidhe of Down; the Laighsi, of Leix; the seven Soghans, of Roscommon; and the Conaille Murtheimne, of Louth, are also Cruithne. *Irish Nennius*, p. lxxxiii., and all were Irians, *ibid.* p. 265. Tighernach records, A. D. 666, the death of a king of the Cruithne of Meath; and we know that around the hill of Usneach, in that province, there was a branch of the Irians. Hence it would appear that Irian and Cruithnian are one and the same; that they reigned in Tara before the Eireamonians, but were driven thence and maintained themselves principally in Ulster, in the great palace of Eamania. Moreover, the existence of a great colony of Picts in Ireland is proved by *Irish Nennius*, pp. 53, 125, who asserts that the Picts were "for a long time in Eri," and "acquired great power there" until they were driven out by Heremon, except some tribes which remained in Magh Breagh. But if we admit this great Pictish family in Ireland, whence comes it that Bede and the metrical legend (*Irish Nennius*, p. 147) represent the Picts as paying merely a flying visit to Ireland, and why were not all the Ultonians known as Cruithne? I answer, by asking another question,—Why was all the learning of Ussher, and White, and Colgan, and Ward, required to prove that the Scotia of the ancients was Ireland? The old title, Scoti, became the exclusive property of the Scotch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the power of the true Scoti was on the wane in Ireland; so the power of the Picts having been broken in Ireland, by the invasion of the Eiremonian Ernai A. D. 161, by Cormac Ulfada A. D. 254, and by the destruction of Eamania, A.D. 332, the glories of Pictland passed away to Albany; and to Bede, writing in the eighth century, the ancient Irish Pictish kingdom would appear to be only a dream, a mere visit of the Picts to the country, and a matrimonial alliance with some of its inhabitants. The Cruithne, dispersed through

decimo septimo, post Christum natum 56, post Mundum Conditum 5255. Unus Fiacho filius matris utero tum inclusus, supererat quæ Ethnea Imghile dicta, regis Albaniæ filia prægnans in Albaniam concessit, ubi Tuathalium Techtmarium peperit, qui regiâ institutione ibi excultus, ubi adolevit, Hiberniæ regnum ubi posteâ vendicavit.

IR. Elimius Conrachi filius in Regio solio collocatus, illud viginti annos insedit, infausto interim regni tempore usus: quas enim Athachtuachis pœnas, ob extirpatam et exterminatam nobilitatem Deus inflixit, easdem de Elimio et Athachtuachis ob Fiachum nefarii confossum, sumpsit. Nam toto tempore quo Elimius imperavit nec terra fruges, nec arbores
[68] poma, nec fluvii pisces, nec pecudes solita emolumenta tulerunt. | Tandem Elimius vitam infelicem morte in prælio Athlensi prope Temoriam a Tuathalo Techtmario, illatâ terminavit. Anno Domini 76, Mundi 5275.

EIR. Tuathalius Techtmarius regni habenas exinde capessivit. Cui quia tellus Hibernica illo regnante, pristinæ restituta fæcunditati fœtus quosque abundè fuderat, agnomen "Techtmar," quod "fertile" significat, inditum est. Ille statim ac regnum iniit, ultioni de Athachtuachis sumendæ acriter incubuit. Noluit enim ut necem patris in clade Muighbolensi aut ingenuorum interitum et deletionem in clade Moighcroenni impunè ferrent. Quare signa cum illis creberrimè conferens

Ireland in small bodies, and, mingling with the other races, would naturally lose their distinctive name; but in Ulster, where they retained to a late period the large tract Dalaraidhe, in Down, and in Antrim, we find, so late as the days of Adamnan, that Dalaraidian and Cruithne were synonymous.—*Trias Thaum*, p. 380, note [100]. Tighernach also records the death of their Pictish king, Cuchuaran, A. D. 708. — *Ward, Vita S. Romualdi*, p. 342. And this is the last notice of the Cruithne by that name, though some of the race were afterwards kings of Ulidia. — *Ecclesiastical Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 353. Hypothesis, I know, has been the bane of Irish history; that which is here proposed is certainly open to strong objections, but not so strong as the difficulty which it is intended to solve, namely, the position of the Irian territories in the earliest ages, the positive assertion that many of the Irians were Picts, and that a colony of Picts "had preceded Eiremon in Ireland," and "gained great power there." Should it be objected that our hypothesis is opposed both to secular and hagiological genealogies, the reader must remember that Spenser claimed the O'Byrnes, the Mac Swineys, Mac Mahons, &c. &c., as English (*Ogygia*, p. 367), and many of the Anglo-Irish, in the same century, denied that they were of English origin —p. 232, note [p], *suprà*; p. [274], *infrà*. May we not add, in confirmation of our

56, A. M. 5255. At the time of Fiach's death[q], his wife, Ethnea Imgile, A. D.
daughter to the King of Alba[r], was pregnant. Contriving to escape, she fled to her father's court, and brought forth a son, the sole surviving issue of Fiach, who was called Tuathal Techtmhar. He was educated in Alba as became an heir to a kingdom, and eventually recovered the crown of his fathers.

Elim, son of Conra, being raised to the vacant throne, reigned 126
twenty years, a most calamitous period for the country, as all the woes inflicted by heaven on the Athachtuatha, for their extermination of the nobility, were now poured out again on Elim and his guilty associates, for the wicked murder of Fiach. During the long period of this reign the earth refused its fruits, the orchards their apples, the rivers their fish, and the flocks and herds their usual tributes[s]. At length, Tuathal Techtmhar closed the fatal reign and life of Elim, in the battle of Athb, near Tara, A. D. 76, A. M. 5275.

Tuathal Techtmar now seized the helm of state. "Techtmhar[t]" means 130
fertile, and became a surname of Tuathal, because during his reign the land of Ireland recovered its ancient fertility, and yielded lavish returns of all its fruits. As soon as he was firmly seated on the throne, he resolved to execute summary vengeance on the Athachtuatha. The death of his father in the battle of Maghbolg, and the extirpation of the nobles in the massacre of Maghcro, rankled in his heart, and whetted his vengeance. Taking the field, he fought many battles, de-

opinion, the character given of the Picts (*Irish Nennius*, page 145), their "bright poems" and "druidism," their "agricultural industry" and "fair and well-walled houses," all which agree so well with the traditionary fame of Ollamh Fodhla, the undoubted glory of Eamania, the certainty of its history and line of kings, to which nothing in Ireland was equal (*Ogygia*, p. 149), and, finally, the literary name of the seven Cruithnian Soghans of Hy-Many, who, though without a pedigree themselves, were the bards and historians of their masters.—*Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, pp. 72, 159. I should have cited the life of St. Cadroe (Colgan, *Acta Sanct.* p. 494), according to which the Milesians found the Picts—"gentem Pictaneorum"—in possession of Ireland. Colgan (*ibid.* n. 25) says that he would, in another place, endeavour to explain how the Tuatha de Danann could be called Picts, but I know not whether he redeemed his promise.

[q] Tighernach, with the usual doubt, says: "Killed in Tara, *vel*, *ut alii dicunt*, in Muighbolg."—*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 28.

[r] Picts of Alba.—*Ogygia*, p. 303.

[s] Strange! the same gloomy picture of this Irian's reign as of Athachtuatha anarchy.

[t] "Bonaventura" (*Ogyg.* p. 303), equi-

Ultonienses quinquies et vigesius, toties etiam Lagenienses, totiesque Connacienses et triginta quinque vicibus Momonienses fudit et profligavit; ita ut penè omnes Hiberniæ Athachtuachos internicione deleverit; ac tandem quinque provinciis ad obsides ipsi tradendos adactis singulos reges singulis præfuerit: nimirum in Ultoniâ Fergusium, in septemtrionali, occidentalique Momoniâ Eoganum filium Olilli, in Australi, orientalique Momoniâ Eochodium Darii filium; in Lageniâ Eochodium filium Eochodii Dombleni: et in Connaciâ Condrachum filium Dergi reges instituit. Tum comitia Temoriæ indixit ad quæ provinciarum reges, et reliqui Hiberniæ proceres, magno numero confluxerunt. Ibi regum eum universi agnoscunt, gentilitio solis, lunæ, siderum elementorumque cæterorum jurejurando adjecto, se nunquam ab ipsius obsequio recessuros, idemque officium ipsius nepotibus in omne tempus exhibituros, majores suos Hugonio Magno simili se sacramento adstringentes imitati. Præterea polliciti sunt se opem ipsi ac posteris laturos contra quoscumque vim ingerentes. Tuathalius ille, ademptâ quinque provinciarum singulis benè magnâ portione, ad Mediam quæ antea exiguis Usnachæ limitibus circumscripta fuit, adjectæ, Mediæ no-

valent to the title *le Desirè*, given to Louis XVIII. of France after the Restoration.

[v] Tighernach does not record those battles against the provincials; but there are poems of the ninth century on the subject. O'Conor gives a sketch of one composed by Maelmura, abbot of Fahan, A. D. 884, from which Dr. Lynch's account of the reign of Tuathal appears to be taken.—*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. 78. When those poems are published with explanatory notes, there will be little trouble in sifting the history of Ireland.

[w] The construction of this sentence makes Lagenians, Momonians, Ultonians, and Conacians, synonymous with Athachtuatha. The Lagenians and Conacians were Firbolgs, Damnonians, and Gaileans; the Ultonians, Irians; but who the Momonian Athachtuatha were, I know not, unless they were the Irian descendants of Fergus Mac Roigh (*Ogyg.* p. 275) and the Ithians. Munster, it is said, was governed alternately by Ithians and Eiberians (*ibid.* p. 149) before the Deagaidhe or Ernai settled there, and obtained the province of Desmond, with a right of alternate succession to the whole province.—*Ibid.* pp. 266, 268. O'Flaherty dates this Ernaan invasion of Munster about half a century before the Christian era.

[x] O'Flaherty could find none of these kings in the provincial catalogues, except the last, who was a Firbolg, as was also his contemporary, the king of Connaught, Ængus Fionn.—*Ogygia*, p. 305. The extirpation of the Athachtuatha by Tuathal is therefore a fable; but the story of his provincial nominees is very ancient.—*Petrie's Tara*, p. 9.

[y] See the original form of this oath, with translation, *Petrie's Tara*, p. 10.

[z] O'Flaherty thus gives his notion of the ancient form of the Irish monarchy: "Eo-

feating the Ultonians on twenty-five fields, the Lagenians as often, the Conacians as often, and the men of Munster not less than thirty-five times[u]; so that he almost extirpated the race of the Athachtuatha in all parts of Ireland[w]. Having received hostages for the fidelity of those whom the sword had spared, he appointed kings for the four provinces: Fergus, in Ulster; Eogan, son of Olill, in North and West Munster; Eochoidh, son of Daire, in South and East Munster; Eochoidh, son of Eochoidh Dumplene, in Leinster; and Condrach, son of Derg, in Connaught[x]. He also established the Convention of Tara, which was attended by all the provincial kings, and other great Irish nobles, who swore by the great pagan oath[y],—the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the elements,—that they never would revolt from his sceptre, but would bear true homage to him and his descendants for ever. This oath was like that which their ancestors pledged to Hugaine the Great. Moreover, they promised that they would assist him and his, against all enemies for ever[z]. Tuathal took from each of the five provinces of Ireland a considerable territory, which he added to Meath, thus extending its name and limits[a] far beyond the original small district of Usneach[b]. The new province was decreed to be for ever the appen-

A. D.

chaidh Feidhleach instituted, or rather revived the Pentarchy; but we are not to suppose that each pentarch had the supreme dominion of his province by a tenure which made his government independent of a superior. That would be repugnant to the monarchy which has always existed in this island; it would make the title of King of Ireland, an empty, unsubstantial shadow."—*Ogyg.* p. 268. Empty and unsubstantial, nevertheless, that title appears down to the reign of Tuathal. The formation of Meath appears to be the first step towards the establishment of a central power. Then, for the first time, we find the King of Ireland coming into collision with the five provinces, and gradually establishing that frail species of supremacy subsequently enjoyed by the Irish Ardrigh or Monarch.

[a] The boundaries of ancient Meath are still nearly preserved in those of the diocese. Tuathal, it is said, established solemn assemblies, to be held annually on the last day of October, at Tlachtga, the Momonian portion of Meath; on the first of May, at Uisneach, in the Connaught portion; and at Tailtin, in the Ulster portion, about the first of August. At Tara, in the Leinster portion, the Feis was assembled triennially. Each of the provincial kings had a right to some tribute on occasion of the assembly held in what was once part of his province. —*Petrie's Tara*, p. 9; *Ogygia*, p. 304.

[b] It is singular that the Irians were located around this sacred hill. —p. 415, note [f], *suprà*; *Irish Nennius*, p. 266. It was the Druidic "Carnutum" or Chartres of the Irish Celts (*Proleg.* pars ii. p. ccvii.), and it so happens that some of the most famous Druids were of the Irian tribe.—

men et fines in latiora spatia protraxat eamque Monarchæ Hibernici mensæ instruendæ perpetuò addixit. Idem etiam Tuathalius decantatam illam mulctam (quam Barromham dicimus) ob filias Daringam et Fithiram interemptas, Lageniæ primus irrogavit. Illum denique trigesimum regni annum percurrentem Malius Ultoniæ rex per insidias interemit. Anno Domini 106, Mundi 5305.

IR. Malius Rochrodi filius ad Hibernici regni gubernaculum quadriennio sedit, cùm eum inde et e vitæ statione Fedlemidius Reachtmhor amovit. Anno Domini 110, Mundi 5309.

Fedlemidius Rachtmhor postea regimen Hiberniæ novennio penes se
EIR. habuit, a Republicâ idoneis legibus constitutâ Rachtmhor cognominatus, "Racht" enim legem significat. Et inter leges ab illo sancitas lex talionis primas ferebat, quâ damnum illatum pari damno plectitur, pes scilicet amputatus, aut præcisa manus simili authoris mutilatione sarcitur: et quævis alia damna in patrantis reincidunt caput. His legibus Hiberni sic intra recti limites, Fedlimio Rege constringebantur, ut sæculum aureum tum viguisse diceres, ubi homines ab alieno, manus, oculos, et animum ubique abstinebant. Sed vir præclarus tandem fatis concessit. Anno Domini 119, Mundi 5318.

Irish Nennius, p. 265; *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 209. The Cruithne were also famous for "demon-like druids," "necromancy," "honoring of *shreds* and omens," &c. &c.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 145. Huasem, the name of the chief poet of the Cruithne (*ibid.* p. 143), is not unlike the Esus or Hesus of the Gaulish Druids. At least, the resemblance is as great as between Esus and the Welch hero Hu, who are generally regarded as identical. — *Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. pp. 66, 69. Esus was the founder of the Druidic system in Gaul, whence *Irish Nennius* brings the Cruithne. But the Irish Huasem is only a *poet*, whereas the Gallic was a leader.— See a curious note on Druids and Poets, *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 46.

[c] A tribute levied every second year, paid to the monarch, and thus distributed: one-third to the King of Ulster, another to the King of Connaught, a third, divided between the Queen of Tara and King of Munster. It was the cause of endless wars until it was remitted, at the request of St. Moling, A. D. 693. — *Ogygia*, p. 305. The history of this tribute, promised by the Archæological Society, may throw some light on the origin of the Irish monarchy. This first king on whom it was imposed, was a Firbolg; but, if we believe the account of Hugony's partition of Ireland, the richest part of Leinster was at this period held by Eiremonians.

[d] At "the hill of grief," near the source of the river Larne, four miles south-west of Larne. The event is recorded by Tighernach, A. D. 160. A poet cited by the Four Masters gives Tuathal his true place in history: "Chief of fair Frewain" (near

dage of the monarch of Ireland, and the support of his table and palace A. D.
at Tara. He was also the first that imposed that famous tribute (called the Borumean) on Leinster[c], as a penalty for the murder of his daughters, Daringha and Fethara. Tuathal was cut off in the thirtieth year of his reign by the treachery of Mal, King of Ulster[d], A. D. 106, A. M. 5305.

Mal, son of Rochraidhe, having governed Ireland during four years, 160
was deposed and slain by Fedhlimidh Reachtmor, A. D. 110, A. M. 5309.

Fedhlimidh[e], surnamed Reachtmor, from "reacht," law, because he 164
established many wise laws in Ireland, sat on the Irish throne nine years. Among the laws sanctioned by him, the principal was the "lex talionis," by which all injuries were punished by a similar infliction; thus, the malefactor who had cut off a foot or hand, was condemned to lose his own foot or hand, and all other injuries were visited in similar proportion on the head of the offender[f]. So efficacious were those laws in restraining the Irish within the bounds of duty, that the reign of Fedhlimidh looks like a golden age, when no man, in act, look, or thought, injured his neighbour. But this great king paid the great debt, A. D. 119, A. M. 5318[g].

Mullingar), "from whom the tribes of our lands, the chiefs of Meath."—*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 266.

[e] Fedhlimidh was son of Tuathal and Bania, daughter of Scalius Balbus, King of Fomoire or Finland.—*Ogygia*, p. 303. The Fomorians of Irish legends, according to this account, are not Phœnicians or Carthaginians, but Finns, the ancient inhabitants of North Europe.—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 70, Bohn. Ed. The Finns, it is believed, are not of the Japhetian race; and so far they agree with the Irish tradition regarding the Fomorians. As to the other people, Feine, or Tuatha Feine, of Irish legends, who are supposed by many to have been Phœnicians, it is the Editor's opinion, after an attentive perusal of all the passages referred to (*Prolegom*. pars ii. p. xciv.), that the Feine were nothing more than the famous militia of Fingal (Finn Mac Cumhal) of the third century; that the Irish were poetically called Tuatha Feine from them, and that the Fenius Farsaoidh of the East was a legend erected on the historical fact, i. e. the Feine of Fingal. There appears to me not to exist any tradition that Phœnicians or Carthaginians ever visited Ireland (though the fact can probably be proved by foreign authority), nor do our Pagan remains imply a degree of civilization equal to that of the Celts of Gaul before the Roman invasion.

[f] O'Flaherty considers the *eric* of Irish law to be a modification of this *lex talionis*; i. e. the latter was commuted into a fine, as in the Saxon laws.—*Ogyg*. p. 307.

[g] Fiacha Suighde, son of this Feidlimidh Reachtmor, was ancestor of the Deisi of Meath and Waterford (*Irish Nen*. p. 254),

Catherio magno, triennio postea imperanti, et triginta filios habenti,
EIR. vitam et imperium in prælio Muighagensi, Constantius Centimachus et Liugnenses de Temoria eripuerunt. Anno Domini 122, Mundi 5324.

Constantius, Hibernice Con Cedcahach, id est a centum præliis, in quibus victoriam retulit, vel uno verbo Centimachus: aliis (inquit
EIR. Colganus) Constans, Constantinus, et Conon vocatur[16]. Post triginta quinque annos in regnando positos, dum in Tuaihamrois remotis arbitris ageret, a Tibradio Tirio Ultoniæ rege, quinquaginta strenuis juvenibus puellari habitu clanculum submissis, per dolum e medio sublatus
[69] est. Anno Domini 157, Mundi 5356. | Illo Rege Hibernia rerum copiâ sic abundabat, ut scriptores nostri tempus aliquod prosperitate florescens expressuri, Constantii, aut Conarii magni temporibus simile fuisse

[16] Trias Thaum. p. 563.

which confirms the doubt (p. 444, note [h], *suprà*) on the partition of Ireland by Ugaine Mor. Fergus Cnai and Sanbhe, two sons of Ugaine, figure in that partition as ancestors of the two tribes of the Deisi.—*Ogygia*, p. 260. On the other hand, it might be urged in favor of the antiquity and general accuracy of that partition, that it includes no part of Wexford, though the Eiremonian Fotharts acquired possessions there in the third century.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 254. The southern part of that county appears in the earliest legends to have been held by the Tuatha Fibdgha, of British origin, and different from the Firbolg subjects of Crimthain Sciathbel, King of Leinster.—*Ibid.* pp. 123, 254; but see *Keating*, p. 307.

[h] Cathaoir was the last king of Ireland of the Lagenian line (*Ogygia*, p. 310), and reputed ancestor of most of the great families of Leinster.—See his will, and the following poem, *Book of Rights*, p. 193, *et seq.* The chief families in ancient Leinster not descended from Ugaine Mor, ancestor of Cathair, appear to have been the Laighse of Leix, the Forthuatha, or stranger tribes, of Hy-Mail in Wicklow.—*Book of Rights*, p. 207, and those mentioned in pages 471, 478, notes [k], [h]. Laighean, the Irish name of the province, is derived from Gailean, one of the Firbolg or Belgic tribes, by a transposition not unusual in the Irish language, and which probably explains how the γαλαται of the Greeks, and the Celtæ of the Latins, became ᵹaeᴅıl, the Irish name of the Irish Celts. But of the origin of that name at another time. Keating cites an ancient poem on the alliance which existed between France and the province of Leinster, p. 355. Bran, the name of a Leinster king in the first century (*Book of Rights*, p. 36), is not unlike the Brennus of the Latins and Greeks, that well-known and dreaded title of the Gaulish chiefs. In the list of Leinster kings published by Colgan (*Trias Thaum.*, index), Bran occurs so frequently that it appears to have been, like the Bruide of the Picts or the Brenn of the Gauls and Britons, a common name of all the kings.

[i] A plain at Tailtin, midway between Navan and Kells, in the county of Meath. —See *Annals of the Four Masters*, *ed.*

Cathaoir the Great[h], his successor, reigned three years, and had thirty A. D.
sons. He was deposed and slain in the battle of Magh-Agha[i] by Con of 174
the Hundred Battles, and the Luignens[k] of Tara, A. D. 122, A. M. 5324.

Constantius, or, as others will have it (says Colgan), Constans, Constantinus, or Conn, styled in Irish "Conn Redcahach," that is, "of the 177
Hundred Battles," in which he was victorious[l], succeeded to the throne. The surname may be Latinized "Centimachus." After a reign of thirty years, he was treacherously slain by Tibraide Tireach, King of Ulster, who dressed fifty stout youths in female attire, and had them conducted secretly to the palace at Tuathamrois[m], where the king was living without his retinue, A. D. 157, A. M. 5356[n]. Under his sway there reigned such liberty in Ireland, that whenever our historians are at a loss for terms to describe a prosperous period, the usual panegyric is, that it

J. O'D. A. D. 122, p. 103.

[k] The Luighne of Tara must have been a formidable tribe. They killed Lughaidh Sriabhenderg, King of Ireland, A. D. 79 (*Tighernach Annal.* p. 23), now Cathaoir Mor, and about 100 years later, Finn Mac Cumhal [Fingal] himself.—*Ibid.* p. 49. The name of their territory is still preserved in the two baronies, Lune and Morgallian, in East Meath, for Luighne and Gaileang were synonymous. — *Book of Rights*, pp. 186, 188. It must have extended from Glasnevin, near Dublin, along the northern portion of the county Meath, and into the county Cavan.—*Ibid.* p. 188. The genealogists derive those Gaileang or Luighne from Olill Olum (*Ogygia*, p. 328); but if Tighernach be right, they held the plains of Meath a century before Olill was born. Gailean was also the name of a Firbolg tribe, coincidences which, notwithstanding the final *g* (Gaileang), and genealogical tables, make one suspect that those Luighne of Tara were really Firbolgs, though subsequently engrafted on the genealogical stem of the Milesian Eiber. The Luighne also held the barony of Leyney in Sligo, and of Gallen in Mayo, and a part of Sliabh Lugha.—*Book of Rights*, p. 103; *Map of Hy-Fiachrach.* Those territories, which it is admitted were held previously by Firbolgs, named Gailian (*ibid.* p. 104), were, it is said, granted to the Milesian Gaileange by Cormac Mac Art, Monarch of Ireland, A. D. 254, but subject to Firbolg or Athachtuatha tribute.—*Ibid.* They are the same family as the Meath Luighne. Olill Olum, the great patriarch of all the Eiberians, is said to have been son of a Spanish lady, named Bera.—*Ogygia*, p. 326.

[l] For Con's battles, which were all fought in Ireland, see *Ogygia*, p. 315; *Keating*, p. 255, Dublin, 1841. He levied the Borumha tribute on the Leinster Belgæ.

[m] A district near the Hill of Tara, in Meath.—See *Annals of the Four Masters*, *ed. J. O'D.*, A. D. 157, p. 105.

[n] Tighernach records Con's death, A. D. 185, after a reign of twenty years, but says he was slain "in-opup Conn, i. e. in Irrus Domnain, *ut alii dicunt*," the usual conjectural phrase.—p. 35.

dicant. Ab hoc Hiberniæ bifariam partitæ septentrionalis regio Leathcuinnia, sive medietas Constantii dicta est: Australi regione Leathmoæ nomen sortita, a Mogho Nuado Momoniæ rege.

Post Constantium occisum, Conarius filius Mogholami, regiam dig-
EIR. nitatem iniit, cui octennio postquàm regnare cæperat, Nemedius Sriabhghini filius, manus intulit. Anno Domini 165, Mundi 5364. Conarius ille Saroidæ Constantii Centimachi filiæ matrimonio junctus, ex eâ tres filios suscepit, Carbreum Muisc, a quo Muscria; Carbreum Baskin, a quo Corcabhaskin; Carbreum Riada, a quo Dalriadii, et reges Albaniæ seu hodiernæ Scotiæ oriundi sunt.

EIR. Airtus sive Arturus Constantini Centimachi filius, imperium annorum triginta spatio gessit. Is patruos Eochodium Fionfuahum, et

[o] See a glowing description of what was considered a happy Irish reign, *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 101.

[p] This partition is recorded by Tighernach three years after Conn's accession to the throne of Tara.—p. 33. The territorial term, Leath Cuinn, occurs in the same annalist, A. D. 79: Tpica Righ do Leith Cuinn o ta Lugaigh Reondearg co Diarmit Mac Caruill; "There were thirty Kings of Leath Conn, from Lugaid Reonderg to Dermod Mac Carroll,"—p. 21; which appears to imply that the partition did not commence in Conn's days, though it then obtained a new name, which it retained ever after. It appears to me that there is not the slightest probability in the story of the partition of Ireland between Eiber and Eireamon, since it is evident that the principal branches of Eireamon's race were located in Leath Mogha (p. 444, n. [h], *suprà*). But, as a great critic has proved that events which occurred in historic times are often transposed to the mythic or fabulous preceding period (thus, Romulus conquered Fidenæ exactly as that city was conquered in the year of Rome 328), *Niebuhr, History of Rome*, vol. i. chap. 16; so the partition of Ireland by Eireamon is nothing more than the well-known division, Leath Conn and Leath Mogha, referred back and adapted to the story of the Milesian brothers. Until a late period they had hardly any possessions in Ulster or Connaught; and a large portion of Leinster was under the Firbolgs. The bipartite partition between Cearmna and Sobarche, the Irian brothers (p. 462, *suprà*), is much more probable, that race being found both in the north and south. As to the thirty kings of Leath Cuinn, from Lugaid to Diarmod Mac Caruill, O'Flaherty gives thirty-four, both included; our author thirty-five, for he admits the two Fothads, *infrà*, A. D. 332. Tighernach excludes, moreover, Carbre Kencheit [Cat-head, not Cunning-head, as O'Conor makes him], Conchobar Abraradah, and Fiatach Fionn.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. cii. Take away these four, and perhaps we have Tighernach's thirty kings. For the line called Eiscar Riada, from Dublin to Galway, separating the north and south, see Mr. O'Donovan's note, p. 128; *Tracts Relating to Ireland, Irish Arch. Soc.* The partition of Leath Mogha and Leath Conn was fundamental, being nearly equivalent

brought back the days of Constantine, or Conary the Great[o]. From him A. D. the northern division[p] of Ireland was called Leath Cuin, or Con's half; the southern half having derived its name Leath Moga, from Mogh Nuad[q], King of Munster[r].

After the assassination of Constantine, Conaire[s], son of Modhalamha, 212 was raised to the royal dignity. He was slain in the eighth year of his reign by Nemedh, son of Sraibhghim, A. D. 165, A. M. 5364. Conaire had issue by Saraida, daughter to Con Cedcahach, three sons, Carbre Musc, whence Muscria[t]; Carbry Baskin, from whom Corcobaskind[u]; and Carbry Riada, from whom the Dalriadians and the Kings of Alba, or modern Scotland, are descended[w].

Art, or Arthur, son of Con Cedcahach, held the sceptre during thirty years. He banished his uncles, Eochoidh Fionnfuath[x] and Fiacha 220

to two independent kingdoms. — *Book of Rights*, Introduction, p. xiii. *et seq.* p. 58. I think the term Leath Cuinn means in Tighernach, before the reign of Con, the province of Meath simply.

[q] His real name was Eoghan Taidhleach. He received his cognomen of Mogh Nuadhat (Nuadat's slave) from his foster-father, Nuadhat, King of Leinster, from whom Magh Nuadhat, i. e. *plain*, now Maynooth, received its name. It is Latinized by Lynch "Moynota" (*Supplem. Alithonologiæ*, p. 185), and by O'Sullivan "Muinoda" in his *Historiæ Catholicæ*.

[r] Tighernach, p. 33, records an historic period ending at Conn's accession, and including the reign of some seven Pictish kings in Ireland; but, unfortunately, the first term of the period cannot be ascertained, as the record is mutilated. It is thus translated by O'Conor (*ibid.*): "Anno 75 . . . . . . a Momoniensibus Regum regnis simul collatis donec ad regnum pervenisset Connus centum præliorum, quo spatio septem reges Pictorum regnaverunt in Hiberniâ."

[s] Called Conary II. by O'Flaherty.— *Ogygia*, p. 321. He was of the tribe of the Ernai, or Deagadhs, of Munster (p. 451, note [a], *suprà*), son-in-law of Con Cedcathach, and son of the wife of Mogh Nuadhat. —*Ogygia*, p. 321.

[t] For those Muskerrys, of which there were six territories in Munster, including part of Tipperary, Limerick, Cork, Kerry, see Mr. O'Donovan's note, *Book of Rights*, p. 42.

[u] A territory including the baronies of Clonderlaw, Moyarta, and Ibrickan, in the county of Clare.—*Book of Rights*, p. 48.

[w] For the Irish colonies in Scotland, the reader is referred to Chapters XVII. XVIII., *infrà*, in which their history is given in detail.

[x] In the preceding reign, O'Flaherty assigns to the year A. D. 213 the accession of Ogaman the first Eiremonian King of Ulster.—p. 324. Until now, the race of Ir had reigned there supreme. In this reign, also, the race called Eiremonian acquires additional territories in Leinster, Eochaidh Finn Fothart having settled in the counties of Carlow and Wexford. — *Ibid*, and *Book of Rights*, index, *in voce*. Fotharta-Fea, afterwards Fotharta O'Nolan, was the tribe-name of the principal family.

Fiachum Suidhum in exilium ejecit, quòd non solùm Constantium patrem Ultoniensibus prodiderunt, sed etiam Arturi fratres Conlaum, et Criomnum interemerunt.[y] Soror Arturi Saba Magnedio Lugadii filio nupsit, eique filium Lugadium agnomine Macconum peperit; priore marito vivis exempto, secundas illa nuptias cum Olillo Olumo Momoniæ rege inivit, quem novem filiorum patrem fecit. Porro hic Olillus privignum ad exteras regiones relegavit, qui aliquamdiu peregrè moratus amicitiâ cum alienigenis initâ, immensum alienigenarum exercitum contraxit, et in Hiberniam duxit. Moxque bellum Arturo avunculo, fratribusque suis Olilli Olumi filiis indixit; cum quibus apud Muighcrumniam prælio manu Lioghurni (qui filius Eochodii Balbi et nepos Eochodii Fionfualui, Lugadiique comes in exilio fuit) confosso. Anno Domini 195, Mundi 5394.

Lugadius ille cognomento Maccon, secundo prælio apud Muighcrum-

[y] See p. 469, note [g], *suprà*.

[z] Son of Mogh Nuadhat, and progenitor of the principal Eiberian families of Munster.—*Ogyg.*, p. 326; *Keating*, p. 263, Dublin, 1841. With the aid of the three Carbries, he defeated the Ernai, who had seized Desmond fifty-seven years before the Christian era.—*Ogygia*, p. 266. See *ibid.* p. 328, the descendants of Olill Olum. Tighernach records, with some details, the victory of Olill's sons in this battle (Cendabrad) against the Ernai and Ithians, A. D. 212.

[a] Seven of those sons fell in the battle of Mucruimbe.—*Tighernach*, A. D. 218. The race of Eogan and Cormac Cas, two of Olill's sons, were, according to his last will, to enjoy alternately the crown of Munster. *Ogygia*, p. 326; *Book of Rights*, p. 72. From Eogan were descended the Eoganachts, i. e. Mac Carthys, &c. &c.; from Cas, the Dalcais, i. e. O'Briens, &c. &c., for whom see *Irish Nennius*, p. 258. The position of the Eiberians in the south, the tradition that the Milesians landed there, at Inverschein, from Spain, and the resemblance of the name Eiberian to Iberi might appear to prove that the Eiberians were the Spanish colony of Irish tradition; but some of the Eiberian branches were very probably Belgic. I should have stated (note [p], p. 435, *suprà*) Niebuhr's opinion, founded on the scattered position of the Celts in Spain, that they were not, as Thierry believed, invaders of that country, but rather were invaded by the Iberians, who drove them to the western shores, crossed the Pyrenees, and pushed their conquests to the banks of the Garonne, where they were found by Cæsar. As both opinions admit the existence of Celts in Spain at a very early period, they do not contradict so far the tradition of a Spanish colony in Ireland. Niebhur's would rather favor such tradition, as emigrations to distant lands were generally the consequence of successful invasions. But I cannot discover, either in the traditional history of the Eiberians, or in the position of their territories, previous to Mogh Nuadhat and Olill Olum, grounds for conjecturing the true history of the tribe. Dr. O'Conor (*Proleg.* pars ii. pp. 90, 94) appears to think that those Eiberians had

Suidhi[y], for having treacherously betrayed his father, Con, to the Ultonians, and murdered his own brothers, Conlai and Crionni. Saba, sister to Arthur, married Magned, son of Lughaidh, and bore him a son, Lughaidh, who was surnamed Macconus. After the death of her first husband, she married Olill Olum[z], King of Munster, by whom she had nine children. But the stepson of Olill, being banished by his father, succeeded in enlisting the support of the people among whom he lived, and returned with a powerful army of foreigners to Ireland. Declaring war against his uncle, Arthur, and his stepbrothers, the sons of Olill[a], he met them on the field of Magh-Mucruimhe, and gained a decisive victory. His seven brothers were slain in the battle, and Arthur himself fell by the hand of Liguirne, son to Eochoidh Balbus, and grandson to Eochoidh Fionfuatha, who had followed Lugaidh into exile, A. D. 195, A. M. 5394. A. D.

After this fortunate engagement at Magh-Mucruimhe, Lughaidh[b],

preserved in its purity the Fenian (i. e. Phœnician) language, and quotes a passage from the Stowe manuscripts, in which the prerogative of Cork is "Bearla Feine Erend Corcagh,"—the "Fenian language of Ireland in Cork;" but, with all due respect for the zeal and prodigal erudition with which the learned writer endeavoured in vain to work out the timid conjecture of O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 221), Bearla Feine is not explained "Phœnician language" by any native Irish authority; it is the dialect of the Irish in which the Brehon laws are written. In the modern Irish language, Feine is applied to the Irish militia of Fingal in the third century. Ireland was also called Fuinidh, i. e. Hesperia (*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 202), and its inhabitants "Feine," and their laws Dlighthe na Feine, from the old language in which the laws were written.—*Petrie's Tara*, p. 55. But if Feine were the same as Phœnician, is it not strange that the bards, who were so clever in incorporating with their own history, facts from the Scriptures and profane writers, have never interpreted Feine as Phœnician? From the specimen of the Bearla Feine given in Mr. Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii. pp. 286, 429, it differed from the common Irish as Dryden differs from Spenser, or as the old language of the Irish martyrologies differ from the glosses appended to them in the course of ages.

[b] Tighernach records this reign, with the usual doubt, "*alii aiunt* Lugadium Mac Con post hoc bellum (i. e. Mucruimne) regnasse annis . . . . . vel xxx. *ut alii dicunt*."—See *Ogygia*, p. 150. Magh Mucruimne is near Athenree, about eight miles from Galway. The name of the spot where King Art was killed is still preserved, Turloch Airt, between Moyseola and Kilconnan.—*Ogygia*, p. 329; *West Connaught*, p. 43. Lughaidh was the third and last Ithian King of Ireland. His family, it was believed, had enjoyed, alternately with the Eiberians, the kingdom of Munster before the invasion of the Ernai or Deagad.—*Ogygia*, p. 149. But O'Flaherty himself speaks very suspiciously of the regal lines of Munster anterior to

niam facto, regis sibi fastigium vindicavit, et per annos triginta retinuit. Is in Olilli ædibus pusio versatus nondum vestigia per ætatem figere valens ad canem venaticum manibus repens accessit, qui puerulum crebrò benigniùs lambens amorem hujus adeo sibi conciliavit, ut hic ab illius consortio coerceri non potuerit. Quæ res nomen Maccon, id est, canis venatici filius, illi peperit. Eum Temoriæ diu persistentem Cormacus Arturi filius in avitas Momoniæ terras ablegavit. Ubi dum Lugadius aurum et argentum literatis, et cujusvis alterius ordinis hominibus (quorum ad illum magna copia confluxerat) profusè largiretur, Fergusius Comari filius Druidum unus, percussor a Cormaco subornatus (qui dudum in omne se latus vertit ut Lugadii trucidandi opportunitatem aucuparetur) locum adit, et promiscuæ immistus, multitudini, pone rhedam, cui Lugadius innitebatur collocatus hastam validè in Lugadii tergo fixit, et averso illi vulnere inflicto protinus exanimavit. Anno Domino 225, Mundi 5424.

ITH.

Fergusius cognomento Dubhdedach, sive dentiniger, quòd duos dentium ejus ordines nigredo tinxit, Ultoniæ rex, Monarchiæ amoto Cormaco Arturi filio, se ingessit, et injuriæ contumeliam adjiciens, dum Cormacum convivio exciperet, ejus crines candelâ a famulo injectâ cremari curavit. Deinde in Conaciam amandat. Quo damno et opprobrio Cormacus stimulatus, Tadeo Cini filio, Olilli Olumi nepote, Lugadio Lago Moghi Nuadathi filio, triginta regulis, quinquaginta chiliarchis et innumeris copiis in subsidium adscitis, signa cum Ultoniensibus, apud Crinnobreagh contulit[17]; in quo conflictu, trium fratrum Fergusii dentinigri Fergusii Foltleabhor, sive Comati, et Fergusii Casfiaclach, id est, dentium rugosorum, capita Lugadius ille amputavit, [70] et ante Cormaci regis ora collocavit, | quòd illi tres jacturæ, et ignominiæ Cormaco inferendæ authores fuerunt. Hoc facinore necem Arturo Cormaci patri illatam in pugnâ Muighcrumnensi aliquatenus expiare nitens. Tadæus etiam Cianiades, pugnâ septies eodem die redintegratâ,

EIR.

[17] Ex Annalibus Tighernachi.

Olill Olum.—*Ibid.*; and p. 326. For the conflicting accounts regarding the genealogies of the Ernai (*Irish Nen.* p. 263), probably, the Erdini and Dornii of Ptolemy, the former in west, the latter in east Ulster, see Appendix—"Ithians."

[c] Keating gives this story, but O'Flaherty is silent. Cu, a hound, and its diminutive cuan, are often found in the composition of Irish proper names; as Cuannan, Connall, Colchu Onchuo.—See *Colgan, Acta Sanct.* p. 251, n. [3], p. 277, n. [3], p. 379, n. [3].

surnamed Maccon, claimed the royal power, and reigned thirty years. A. D.
While he was yet an infant in the palace of Olill, and not able to walk, he 250
crept on all-fours to a greyhound, which licked and fawned on him so affectionately, that thenceforward Lughaidh conceived an extraordinary attachment to the animal, and could never bear to have him from his side. This was the origin of his surname, Maccon, which means literally son of the greyhound[c]. Having for a considerable period resided at Tara, he was at last driven to Munster by Cormac, son of Arthur, where he distributed treasures of gold and silver to the learned men, and every other order, that flocked around him from all quarters. But Fergus, son of Coman, one of the Druids, being hired by Cormac, who had long sought in vain an opportunity of assassinating his rival, coming to the place, and mingling with the immense crowd, watched Lughaidh, who was leaning on his chariot, and, stealing behind him, plunged a spear into his back. Lughaidh expired on the spot[d], A. D. 225, A. M. 5424.

Fergus, King of Ulster[e], surnamed Dubhdedach, or the black-toothed,
from the color of the two rows of his teeth, having supplanted Cormac 253
Mac Art, ascended the throne, and, adding insult to injury, ordered one of his retinue to apply a torch to Cormac's hair, after inviting him to a banquet[f]. Cormac, after this indignity, was banished to Connaught; but, burning with rage for this disgraceful treatment, he induced Tadhg, son of Kian, and grandson of Olill Olum, Lughaidh Lagha, son of Mogh Nuadhat, thirty kings and fifty chiliarchs, to march with an immense army against the Ultonians, whom they encountered at Crinnabreagh. In the battle, Lughaidh cut off the heads of the three brothers, Fergus Foltleabhoir, of the long tresses; Fergus Casfiachlach, of the crooked teeth; and Fergus of the black teeth; and presented them to King Cormac as an atonement for the injury and digrace which they had inflicted on him. By this achievement he sought to expiate, in some way, the death of Arthur, father to Cormac, in the battle of Magh-Mucruimhe. Teige, son of Kian, also charged seven times in the battle, and made terrible havoc[g],

[d] Tradition pointed out the place where Lughaidh fell. In Magh Feimin, near Dearg Rath, now Derrygrath, four miles north-east of Cahir, co. Tipperary, on the north of Ath na gCarbat, at the place called to this day, says Keating, Gort-an-oir, the Golden-field.

[e] Grandson of Ogaman, the first Ernaan King of Ulster.—*Ogygia*, p. 331; note [x], p. 473, *suprà*.

[f] O'Flaherty makes Cormac the host.—*Ogygia*, p. 331.

[g] These particulars of the battle of Crin-

latam stragem edidit. Quare Cormacus regnum assecutus, ob operam in eâ pugnâ tam præclare navatam, tantum Tadæo terræ spatium largitus est, quantum itinere unius diei currui insidens obire posset. Hinc ille agrum Triochachedcian, id est, cantredum Ciani dictum scilicet a Glasnerâ ad montes Mailli Liffaeo amni propinquos, tempore a Rege destinato, curru emensus sibi posterisque vindicavit. Pugnâ verò illâ initâ, et vita, dignitasque Fergusio unius tantùm anni adempta est. Anno Domini 226, Mundi 5425.

EIR. Deinde Cormacus Ulfhada regnum tot laboribus partum iniit, vir tam Marte, quàm arte; tam bello quàm eruditione clarus. Illum in triginta sex pugnis Tighernachus victorem evasisse memorat. Ausus est Rex Lageniæ Dunlingus Endæi Niadi filius triginta regias virgines, quarum singulis, triginta virgines aliæ famulabantur, Temoræ Clonfartam tanquam Parthenion incolentes internicioni dare[19]. Quod facinus

[19] Ex Annalibus Tigernachi.

na are given nearly in the words of Tighernach, A. D. 236, except "the seven charges," for which he has "four battles gained on that one day."

[h] This territory of the Eiberian Cianachta included the barony of Ferrard, in the south of the county of Louth, and a large portion of Meath, Dublin, &c., extending to Maeldoid, on the banks of the Liffey.—*Book of Rights*, p. 186, *n*. Notices of the chiefs of this territory frequently occur in the Irish annals.—*Ib.* But, in later ages, their name was Feara Arda, i. e. men of the heights (whence Ferrard), probably because the Danish invasions had driven them from the low and fertile plains of Meath to the hills of Slieve Breagh, which extend across the barony of Ferrard. From page 471, note [k], *suprà*, and *Book of Rights*, pp. 181, 182, it appears that the borderers of North Leinster were nearly all Eiberians, namely, the Luighne, Gaileanga, Cianachta, Dealbhna of Delvin More, and of Demifore in county Westmeath; the Cuirene of Kilkenny west, same county; the Dealbhna of Garrycastle barony, King's County, and other Dealbhna, in the ancient Teffia. Few other Eiberians are located in Leinster, except the Eoganachts of Rossargid, in the county of Kilkenny. There was one isolated branch of the Cianachta located in Londonderry, who have left their name to the barony of Keenacht.—*Book of Rights*, p. 122. St. Canice, of Kilkenny, was of this race, and patron saint of the tribe.

[i] A place near Drumiskin, in the county of Louth.

[k] Tighernach records the accession of Cormac, A. D. 218, and thirty-six of his battles against the provinces, down to the year A. D. 236, when he was deposed by the Ultonians. Between those two dates, Tighernach records Cormac's "marine excursions with a large fleet for three years." Having recovered his throne by the aid of the King of Munster, and the defeat of the Cruithne, he was again, in 248, exiled for seven months, and dethroned by the Ultonians, until he recovered his rights in the battle of Crinna-Breagh related above.

for which he received from King Cormac, in reward of his distinguished valor, as much land as he could encircle in a day's drive in his chariot. It was thus that Teige acquired for himself and his posterity the territory of Triochached-Kianachta[h], that is, the cantred of Kian's race, which extended from Glasnera[i] to the hills of Maeldoid [at the Liffey], round which he drove in the time fixed by the King. Down to the battle in which Fergus lost his kingdom and his life, he had reigned only one year, A. D. 225, A. M. 5425. A. D.

Cormac Ulfhada having thus secured the throne, after so many trials and exertions, acquired the highest reputation in arts and arms, in war 254
and learning. Tighernach writes that he was victorious in thirty-six engagements[k]. Dunlaing, King of Leinster, son of Enda Niadh, having dared to murder thirty royal virgins, who dwelt in the Cloenfert of Tara, as a sacred asylum, with thirty other virgins[l], their handmaids[m],

O'Flaherty (p. 333) dates that battle A. D. 254; O'Conor, A. D. 251 (*Proleg.* pars ii. p. xx.), but contradicts himself repeatedly. —*Ibid.* pp. xxi. ciii.

[l] Tighernach, whom Dr. Lynch quotes, makes the number of attendants much more numerous.

[m] Dr. O'Conor, under the influence of the Vallancey mania, inferred that these women were Druidesses, and guardians of the holy fire, *because* there was a holy fire in Kildare, and Kildare is near Tara!—*Proleg.* pars i. p. xxviii. But the statement and *vis consequentiæ* are of the same character as those which acquired such unenviable notoriety for the speculative antiquarians of that school. Tighernach's words do not imply that the occupants of the Cluainfeart of Tara were Druidesses; but they may have been, if by that term be understood a community of women like those who are described by Plutarch, Pliny, Mela, and Strabo, as inhabiting the island of Sena (now Sain), off the extreme western point of Bretagne, and another island in the estuary of the Loire. Their reputation, as prophetesses, magicians, &c. &c., was diffused over Europe. Their rites were believed to resemble, in some points, the abominable rites of Bacchus, and those of Samothrace; but there is no allusion to holy fire. These women were part of the Gaulish Druidic system.—*Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 87, *et seq.* None but women of the tribe Nannetes (*alias* Namnitæ), which occupied the country north of the mouth of the Loire, were admissible into the sacred island in the mouth of that river. Nannetes, or Namnatæ, is very like the tribe Nagnatæ, which Ptolemy places in the north-west of Ireland, occupying, apparently, part of Westmeath, and other more western districts, if such a map can justify any conjecture. To me it appears that the city Rheba, the greatest on the map, can be no other than Uisneach. It was the central and most sacred hill in Ireland; and, if we believe the records of Tuathal Teachtmar's reign, it was the great annual mart of the kingdom, and would thus acquire its importance in the eyes of merchants, from whom alone Pto-

adeò Cormacus indignè tulit, ut duodecem e Lageniæ tyrannis sigillatim interemerit, vetustumque censum quem Boarium vocant, ex asse Lageniensibus imperaverit. Itaque flagitii atrocissimi et regiæ Majestatis violatæ pœnas, Lagenienses tandem dederunt. Denique aliquot secundis præliis Connacienses debellavit, quatuor præliis Momonienses profligavit, quinque præliis Ultonienses confecit, quos ex Hiberniâ in Manniam ejecit ut hinc Ulfhada dictus, quòd procul Ultonienses abegit.

De litteraturâ, culturâque Cormaci Ketingum audi "Nemo," inquit, "ante Cormacum Hiberniæ capessivit imperium, quem ille rerum scientiâ non vicerat, quippe qui librum elucubravit ad Carbreum filium 'Principis Institutionem' inscriptum, et plurimas edidit sanctiones ad optimum Reipublicæ regimen apprimè utiles, etiamnum in Hibernicæ jurisprudentiæ libris extantes. Nec alius post hominum memoriam ex decessoribus fuit illo, aut hospitalitate præstantior, aut qui numerosiorem familiam continenter aluerat. Nam ei mille, centum et quinquaginta

lemy could have derived his information. The site of the northern Regia, on the River Argita, agrees also with that of Clogher, where the gold-covered God of all the northern Irish was kept.—p. 424, note [h], *suprà*.

[n] See p. 159, *suprà*. When the notes to that and the subsequent pages were written, I had not arrived at the conclusion given, p. 461, n. [p]. Here it must be admitted that Ullτα and Cρuιτhne are not synonymous in Tighernach's annals; and so far his authority is against the identity of the Cruithne and Irians. But the priority of the Irian family in Ireland, the main point of my opinion, is not dependent on that identity. That they preceded the Eiremonians, and were conquered by them, can be proved by the topographical argument alone, if I do not mistake its application by the best historians. To the proofs already given, add, that Carbre Luachra was called the Pict, because he was educated in Cearraighe Luachra, one of the Irian territories.—*Ogygia*, p. 384.

[o] For a statement of the arguments on the origin of the use of letters in Ireland, the reader is referred to Mr. O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, Introduction, p. xxvii., and to Mr. Petrie's *Essay on the Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 14. No evidence, or even probability worthy of the name, can be found in tradition or monuments, for the introduction of letters into Ireland by the Phœnicians.—p. 475, note [a], *suprà*. But the use of Ogham, on occult Druidic characters, in Pagan times, appears to me highly probable, because it does not suppose a degree of civilization superior to that of the Irish Celts; its existence has been constantly asserted by all our native writers; and though Thierry would not absolutely assert that "Ogmius," the Gaulish god of eloquence, is the same as "Ogma," from whom the Scots were said to have derived their letters (p. 420, n. [t], *suprà*), still the identity appears as evident as the Greek and

Cormac was so incensed at this horrid crime, that he cut off, one after A. D. another, twelve kings of Leinster, and ordered the levy of the Borumean tribute from the revenues of Leinster. Thus the Lagenians paid a heavy penalty for their atrocious crime and treasonable violation of the royal rights. Cormac was also victorious in some battles against the Conacians; four times he defeated the men of Munster, and five times the men of Ulster, whom he forced to take refuge in the Isle of Man, and hence he was named Ulfadha, because he expelled the Ultonians[n].

Keating gives the following account of the learning and institutions of Cormac[o]: "Cormac surpassed in knowledge all his predecessors on the Irish throne; he composed a work on the education of a prince[p], for the use of his son, Carbry, and established, for the good government of the kingdom, many very useful laws, which are still preserved in works on Irish jurisprudence[q]. Of all his predecessors, none equalled him in bounteous hospitality, or in the munificence with which he supported his numerous household. Not less than 1150 servants[r] attended him

Irish forms of the same word would allow. Innes, who reasons with great force and truth against the supposed eastern origin of the Irish alphabet, Bethluisnon, and maintains that Ireland derived her letters from Christians, did not venture to deny the use of Ogham by the Pagan Irish. Still it must be admitted that no Ogham inscription of undoubtedly Pagan origin has yet been discovered. — See Mr. O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, p. xlvii.; and Petrie's *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 82. But I believe the same can be said even of the Druidic literary remains of Gaul, yet it is certain that the Greek characters were used there by the Celts.

p This work attributed to Cormac is still extant. It was read to each king at his accession to the throne, and thus might retain some of its original features, embellished, no doubt, by the additions of later ages.—Petrie's *Tara Hill*, p. 15.

q Many of those laws attributed to King Cormac are extant, scattered through different libraries in the empire. If the ancient history of that Celtic race, which overspread Europe from the mouth of the Danube to Gibraltar, and figured in the most stirring episodes of the Greek and Roman empires, be an object of interest, the publication of those Irish laws should be one of the most valuable aids that an individual or a government could give for the elucidation of the ancient history of Europe. In France they would have been published centuries ago; but nineteen-twentieths of the French are Celts, and glory in their descent (*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. x.); whereas our learned vulgar, with the history of ever-powerful France before them, find, in the irreclaimable imperfections of Celtic character, a solution for all moral, social, and political enormities.—See chap. xx. p. [157], *infrà*, which treats of the old Irish laws.

r May not the thirty virgins mentioned above, have been daughters of Cormac?

famuli ministrabant, in Temorensis aulæ triclinio, ab ipso in tantam amplitudinem producto; ut ejus longitudo ad trecentos pedes, altitudo ad triginta cubita, latitudo ad quinquaginta protensa fuerit: ad quod ingressus per quatuordecem januas patuit. In eo centum et quinquaginta cyathi gemmei, aurei, et argentei ad ministerium quotidianum adhibebantur. Cum hâc erga hospites benignitate justitiam etiam et æquitatem erga omnes conjunxit. Ita ut eum Deus Optimus Maximus septem ante obitum annos Christianæ fidei luce perfuderit. Quæ res tantum illi apud Druides odium conflavit, ut præstigiis ei mortem attulerint. Post munus regium ægregiè et regiè annos triginta obitum. Anno Domini 266, Mundi 5465."

"Longo deinde temporis intervallo" (inquit Ketingus) "sanctus Columba locum Cormaci sepulchro memorabilem, apud Rosnarighe prope Boinnium amnem adiens, in Cormaci cranium fortè incidit, quo ritè humato, inde non antè recessit, quàm Missæ sacrificium eo consilio peregerit, ut Deum defuncti animæ propitium redderet."

Sed et in eodem loco templum hodie visitur finitimorum frequentiâ

* To those who are not acquainted with the Essay, so often cited in those pages, namely, Dr. Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, it may be useful to know the plan of that work, and its results, especially as many of the monuments of that once royal palace are connected with Cormac. Tara ceased to be a royal residence in the year 565. Its royal monuments must, therefore, have been erected before that date, yet nearly all of them can be identified at the present day, from the manuscripts published by Dr. Petrie, which describe them such as they were previous to the twelfth century at least. Two maps of the hill are given (pp. 105, 128); the former compiled from the manuscripts, the latter giving the present appearance of the hill. The conformity between the two is so striking, that the tourist, with both maps in his hand, has little difficulty in recognising all the principal remains, though, to the careless observer, they appear to be only broken ditches, or natural inequalities of surface, or ordinary raths, like those so common throughout Ireland. The Teach Miodchuarta cannot be mistaken. The fidelity of Irish tradition, its accordance with actual remains in the case of Tara Hill, is one of the arguments on which we can rely for the truth of the few meagre records of Irish Pagan events given by Tighernach, the only historian of Pagan events, who, in the Editor's opinion, is likely to command belief; though the publication of the other copious poems on the same period will assuredly, at no distant day, solve fully the long vexed question on the primitive population of Ireland.

[t] For the state of the arts among the Irish, from the earliest ages down to the English invasion, the reader is referred to chap. xii. p. [112], *infrà*, in which Dr. Lynch has collected many passages from ancient native writers on the subject.

in the banquet-hall of Tara. He enlarged that hall to 300 feet long, thirty cubits high, and fifty in breadth; and made in it fourteen doors[s]. One hundred and fifty dishes of gold and silver, studded with gems, were there for the daily use of his table[t]. But his justice and equity to all were not inferior to his hospitality to his guests, so that the great and most bountiful God illumined his soul with the light of Christian faith seven years before his death[u]. The Druids were so incensed against him for his conversion, that they wrought his death by magic spells[w], in the thirtieth year of his truly royal and glorious reign, A. D. 266, A. M. 5465[x]." A. D.

"Several centuries later," adds Keating, "St. Columba, walking one day to Rosnarigh[y], on the banks of the Boyne, the place which had been celebrated as the sepulchre of Cormac, found, by chance, that monarch's skull, but committed it to the earth with due ceremonies, and did not depart without offering up the sacrifice of the mass, with the intention of drawing down the mercy of God on the departed."

A church stands in the very spot even to the present day, and is

[u] The seven years before his death were spent in seclusion and retirement, because, having lost one of his eyes, he was compelled to abdicate; the Irish laws not allowing, it is said, any deformed person to sit on the throne.—*Ogygia*, p. 340. But Tighernach, who records the blinding of Cormac, describes him as defeating the Desii four times after that accident, and banishing them to Munster.—p. 469, n. [g], *suprà*. The tradition of his belief in the true God is very ancient and general. But when we reflect that the Celts of Gaul, had some centuries before the Christian era, revolted against the Druids, and almost destroyed their temporal power, perhaps Cormac's hostility to the Irish Druids was, in the lapse of ages, interpreted as a proof of his Christian belief. In a very ancient manuscript he is described as saying, "that he would not adore stones or trees, but Him who made them." It is in his reign that the first shadowy outlines of an Irish monarchy, that is, of the whole island, appear.

[w] According to other accounts he was choked by the bone of a salmon. Tighernach gives both versions.

[x] Dr. O'Conor dates his death A. D. 265 (*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. xxi.); O'Flaherty, A. D. 277. But Tighernach, who records his accession A. D. 218, states that he reigned forty-two years, A. D. 260; that he was succeeded the next year by Carbre Liffeachair, who reigned twenty-five years, to A. D. 285. Where authorities do not agree, Tighernach has the best claims to be heard. Dr. O'Conor states that "all catalogues and manuscripts agree not only on the order and names, but even on the reigns of all the Pagan kings, from Cormac to St. Patrick."—*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. ciii. But a glance at the very page in which the statement is found contradicts it.

[y] Ros na Riog, i. e. *boscus regum.*

celebratum. O'Duveganus refert tria gymnasia, unum ad militarem disciplinam, alterum ad rem antiquariam, seu patriæ historiam, postremum ad jurisprudentiam ediscendam Cormaci jussu Temoriæ patuisse: et Hiberniam, quadriennio post Cormacum fato functum, Rege caruisse[19].

EIR. Tum Eochodius Gonnatus Rex Hiberniæ renunciatus est, cui post unicum annum regnando exactum, Lugadius Meann Ultoniensis vitam ademit. Anno Domini 267, Mundi 5466.

[71] | Carbræus Liffecharius dictus, quòd prope Liffæum amnem in La- EIR. geniâ infantiæ nutricationem, et rudioris ætatis educationem nactus fuit, Cormaci filius, qui septem præliis Momonienses fudit jus Lageniensium defendens, decimum septimum regni annum[20] attigit, quando signis cum Moighcorbo ad Gabhram non procul a Temoriâ collatis, et singulari certamine cum Osgero, Ossini filio congressus; quem vulneribus laniatum, plurimis etiam vulneribus relatis, confecit; pugnæ se plagis

[19] P. 212. [20] Tigernachus.

[z] For the existence of this church, and the story of St. Columba's mass for Cormac, there is no authority but Keating. In the researches made by the Ordnance Survey, it was found that tradition still pointed out a small *dumha* or mound (recently levelled) as the tomb of Cormac, at Ros-na-Righe, near Slane, on the banks of the Boyne; but there was no trace or tradition of a church there. Colgan takes no notice of such a church, though he was well acquainted with Keating's History of Ireland. Keating's general character for fidelity must exculpate him from the charge of forgery. He probably found the story in some modern romance, and, according to his custom, gave it as he found it.

[a] The work of O'Dugan, from which these, perhaps questionable, statements are taken, was once the property of Sir William Betham (Petrie's *Tara*, p. 25); but, like many other valuable MSS., it has passed into the hands of some stranger. Before we leave Cormac, the great Irish legislator, it may be well to say that, notwithstanding this tradition that he died a Christian, "the Druid, Brehon, physician, poet, historian, and musician, were never absent from the Irish monarch's side, down to the arrival of St. Patrick;" and this custom was perpetuated in Christian times, the only difference being that the bishop took the place of the Druid, so that there was not a considerable principality in all Ireland which had not its bishop, whose see was generally coextensive with the chieftain's dominion. Certain fixed revenues were allotted to each of these six orders.—*Ogygia*, p. 337. When to the liberal provision thus made for these orders (that is, for the public), we add the 2760 ballybiatachs (p. 429, note [t], *suprà*, and p. [130], *infrà*), which were public property in a more literal sense, we must restrict, if not totally reject, the assertion of Niebuhr, vol. ii. chap. xi.: "The nobility alone enjoyed any consideration among the Celts; the people lived in the state of the most abject clientship; a relation like

visited by crowds from all the neighboring districts[z]. O'Dugan states A. D.
that three colleges were founded by Cormac at Tara: one for military tactics, another for antiquities or national history, and a third for jurisprudence[a]. According to the same authority, the Irish throne was vacant four years after the death of Cormac[b].

Eochod Gonnat was then proclaimed King of Ireland, and after a 277
reign of one year he was slain by Lughaidh Meann, the Ultonian, A. D. 267, A. M. 5456.

Carbry Liffeachair, son of Cormac, so called because he was nursed 279
and acquired the first rudiments of education on the banks of the Liffey, succeeded to the throne. He fought seven battles against the Momonians, in defence of the rights of the Lagenians, and, in the seventeenth year of his reign, encountering Moghcorb[c] at Gabhra[d], near Tara, he slew Osgar, son of Ossin[e], in single combat, but, rushing into the thickest

that which existed in Ireland until within the last two centuries." Had he known the history of the last two centuries, perhaps he would have dated the rise of a *real* abject clientship in Ireland at the very time which he has assigned as its extinction.—p. 280, note [u], *suprà*. Even great men are sometimes deceived by names. *Names* of governments or constitutions are often unsafe guides on the real amount of liberty and happiness enjoyed by a people. No person, for instance, acquainted with Irish history, could deny that there has been more human misery, in every shape, in Ireland during the last three years, more loss of human life, more compulsory exile, more ruined fortunes, more houses unroofed, under the British constitution, the envy of the world, than under the old Celtic government of Ireland, during any of the worst centuries of its existence, from the days of King Cormac to the abrogation of Brehon law, in the commencement of the seventeenth century.

[b] Tighernach (p. 483, n. [x], *suprà*) makes Carbre Liffeachar succeed Cormac without any interregnum.

[c] King of Munster, grandson of Finn Mac Cumhail or Fingal, and ancestor of the celebrated tribe, the Dalcais of Munster. After the death of Fingal (O'Conor, 273; O'Flaherty, 284), his tribe, which had been the "prætorian guards" of Cormac, revolted from Carbre, and transferred their allegiance to Modcorb of Munster, after waging a seven-years' war with Aedh Garaidhe, the last Domnonian King of Connaught, who had been chosen to fill the place formerly held by Fingal.—*Ogygia*, p. 341.

[d] O'Flaherty fixes the date of this battle, A. D. 296; Dr. O'Conor, A. D. 284.—*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. xxiii.; *Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 57. This battle was the subject of one of the Ossianic poems, published by Mac Pherson.—See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i. p. 107; Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 134.

[e] The celebrated poet, whose writings were the subject of so many literary discussions at the close of the last century, after the publication of Mac Pherson's forgeries. No sane critic of the present day ventures to deny that Ossian's fame, what-

pertusus immiscens, a Simeone Kirbi filio interemptus est. Anno Domini 284, Mundi 5483.

III. Fothadius Argteach, et Fothadius Cairbteach fratres Carbrio successerunt, qui regnum ultra unum annum non protraxerunt. Nam ille consortem regni non ferens, hunc occidit; et ipse paulo post a Coiltio in pugnâ Ollarbensi in Muighlinne morte mulctatus est. Anno Domini 322, Mundi 5521.

ever it be, belongs to Ireland. — See Dr. O'Conor's *Dissertation* on the subject. *Rerum Hiber.*, vol. ii.: also the first volume of *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.

[f] For the Ogham inscription said to have been found on the tomb of this Fothad Argteach, the reader may consult Mr. O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, p. xlv. Though we have abstained (p. 480, n. *, *supra*) from discussing whether the Pagan Irish had the use of letters or not, it may be observed here that the arguments by which the affirmative has generally been supported, arguments which defend or suppose the succession of Irish monarchs, as digested by O'Flaherty, have prevented this question from receiving that dispassionate consideration which may at last elicit the truth. The true mode of putting the question is: had the Irish Celts that use of letters which the Celts of Gaul are known to have possessed? Cæsar found the Greek letters used in Gaul.—*Bel. Gal.* lib. i. c. 23, lib. vi. c. 14. Tacitus states, but without pledging himself for its truth, a rumor, that in the country lying between the borders of Rhætia and Germany, tombs and other monuments were found with inscriptions in Greek letters.—*De Mor. Ger.* 3. And Lipsius observes on this passage: "Quid autem mirum de illis, cum etiam Helvetii et Galli literaturâ Græcâ usi sint, Romanis characteribus juxta cum imperio ignotis?" But while defending these passages, modern French historians, who certainly cannot be accused of want of patriotism, speak very modestly of the literary acquirements of their Celtic ancestors, attributing them to the Greek colony planted at Marseilles 500 or 600 years before Christ, and restricting them to that moderate standard which might be forced on a barbarous nation by long commercial intercourse with an enlightened people living in the same land.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 142. Now is there any proof that the Pagan Irish had the use of letters even in this humble sense? According to Dr. O'Conor and his school, the Irish had from the Phœnicians, in the remotest ages, the *supposed* sixteen Cadmeian letters *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, i, l, m, n, o, r, s, t, u* (*Rer. Hib.* vol. ii. p. 129), though in his *Prolegomena*, pars ii. pp. vi. lxxxvi., he had allowed *h* and *p* also a place in the Irish alphabet. O'Flaherty admits the eighteen Irish letters, and cites Aristotle from Pliny, lib. vii. c. 57, to prove that eighteen was the number of the primitive Greek letters; but he omitted to state that the eighteen mentioned by Aristotle (*a, b, g, d, e, z, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, c*) differ in power from the eighteen used generally by the Irish: for though the Irish "c" is always *k*, and ϱ may be taken, and has been sometimes written in one of our oldest manuscripts (the *Book of Armagh*), for *f*, the ζ of the Greek is certainly unknown in the modern pronuncia-

of the battle bleeding from every pore, he was slain by Simeon, son of Kirbi, A. D. 284, A. M. 5483. A. D.

Fothadh Argtheach, and his brother, Fothadh Cairbtheach, succeeded Carbry, but they reigned only one year[f]. For Argtheach, jealous of any colleague in the kingdom, slew his brother, and himself was not long after slain by Coilti, in the battle of Ollarba, in Maghline, A. D. 322, A. M. 5521[g]. 296

tion of the Irish language. I have been informed, moreover, by Mr. O'Donovan, a most competent judge in this matter, that ᵹ is frequently used by ancient Irish writers for *cs* or *gs*, and ú for ḃ [v]. From such uncertainty regarding the number of Irish letters, and the undeniable fact, that in none of the ancient Pagan duns or cemeteries have any inscriptions or traces of such, in any characters, Greek or Latin, been as yet discovered, it is now inferred by the best Irish scholars, that the Irish first became acquainted with letters in the second or third century of the Christian era, probably through Christian missionaries, who adopted from the Latin as many of the Roman letters as they required to express the simple sounds of the Irish language. This opinion, if it needed other arguments, could be established indirectly by the authority of Tighernach, the most trustworthy of all our annalists; for, while his notices of Irish history, down to the third century, are confined to a meagre list of kings, and a few events which tradition could easily preserve, he descends to details in the reign of Cormac, that is, the period which, in tradition, has been associated with the dawnings of the Christian faith in Ireland. For the Phœnician letters in Ireland, the reader may consult page 469, note [e], page 475, note [s], *suprà*. The Phœnicians had disappeared for centuries, even the Carthaginians had been defeated in the first Punic war, probably before the foundation of Eamania. But with regard to O'Flaherty's opinion, though it is at present as baseless as O'Conor's, yet *if* any direct evidence, monumental or written, even of a dubious character, should ever be discovered of the use of letters in Ireland, previous to the Christian era, many collateral proofs could be urged to sustain it. The Greeks of Marseilles were an Ionian colony; the Ionian letters were the first *generally* received in the West: "Gentium consensus tacitus primus omnium conspiravit ut Ionum literis uterentur" (*Pliny*, lib. vii. c. 58); eighteen, according to Aristotle, was the number of the *most ancient* Greek letters; the Ionian colony of Marseilles carried on an extensive trade with the interior of Gaul, and especially with its western ports, then the great depots of British tin (*Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 140); and, finally, the legend of St. Cadroe, written in the eleventh century (*Colgan, Acta Sanct.* p. 494), brings a colony of Greeks to Ireland, in very remote times, from Asia Minor, the home of the Ionians. But how vain conjectures are on the origin, number, and powers of letters, every one knows who has ever taken the trouble of inspecting learned treatises on the subject; and the difficulty here would be considerably increased by Pliny's remark, "the Ionian letters are the same which the Romans now use."

[g] The two Fothads were of the race of

EIR. Fiachus Srabhtenus Carbræi Liffecharii filius, iis in regno substitutus est, qui postquam sex præliis Lageniensium audaciam compressit, a tribus Collais, suis ex Eochodio Dumhlenio fratre nepotibus, bello nefariè impetitus apud Duibhchomair, locum Taltinæ ab austro finitimum, in medios hostes ultro irrupit, ubi rescivit in fatis esse ut regnum ad ejus posteros, ipso cadente, ad hostium propaginem ipso superante, venturum esset: trigesimo septimo regni anno periit. Anno Domini 322, Mundi 5521.

Tigernachus ait, aliquos asserere Fiachum hunc a Breasmolio Lageniæ rege occisum, et O'Duvegani liber, Hiberniam et Albaniam annos quadraginta possedisse.

EIR. Collaus Uais assumpto regno, tot molestiis a Muredacho Tirach Fiachi filio lacessitus est, ut regnandi tempus ultra quadriennium non produxerit, quando ipse in Albaniam cum aliis duobus fratribus, ac trecentis comitibus abactus est, ubi humaniter ab Albanis habiti sunt, cùm quòd Oileacham Vadoiri regis Albaniæ filiam, matrem habuerint; tum quòd armis et bello strenui fuerunt. Hinc in militiam adsciti, tres annos ibidem stipendia meriti substiterunt, quorum major natu Uais, quod nobilem significat, ideo dictus est, quia cæteris fratribus nobilitate præstitit, ut qui solus ex iis, diademate regio insignitus fuit. Alter ejus frater, Collaus Dachrioch, postremus, Collaus Meann agnominatus est, cùm proprium nomen primo, Cairellus, alteri, Muredachus, postremo, Aidus fuerit.

lth. They are not numbered among Irish monarchs by Tighernach or O'Flaherty.—See *Ogygia*, p. 342.

[h] Battles of Irish monarchs against the Lagenians form a permanent staple of Irish history from about this period to the remission of the Borumhean tribute in the sixth century; whence it would appear that Leinster was the last of the provinces to admit the supremacy of the Irish monarch, i. e. the unity of the kingdom.

[i] There was another Eochaid Domhlein, Belgic king of Leinster in the reign of Tuathal Teachtmar.—*Suprà*, p. 467.

[k] The battle was so called, from Dubchomar, the name of King Fiacha's chief druid, who was slain there.—*Ogyg*. p. 359. In Fiacha's reign, his son, Muredach Tireach, became King of Connaught, which, to this period, had been governed by the Firbolg race.—*Ibid*. pp. 341, 348. Henceforward, says O'Flaherty, "Muredachus Tirius, ejusque posteri Connactiæ principatu potiti sunt mille plus minus annos."

[l] The number allowed by the Four Masters and Tighernach; though O'Flaherty, on the authority of the *Book of Lecan*, says thirty.—*Prolegom*. pars ii. p. civ.

[m] Those conflicting accounts contradict but too plainly Dr. O'Conor's assertion, that

Fiacha Srabhtine, son of Carbry Liffeachair, succeeded them in the A. D.
kingdom. He suppressed the insurgent Lagenians in six battles[h], but 297
the three Collas, the sons of his brother, Eochoidh Doimhlein[i], rising in rebellion against him, a battle was fought at Dubhchomar[k], a place near Tailtin, to the south, in which Fiacha cast himself into the thickest of the fight, and found the death he desired; because he knew fate had decreed that, if he survived, the crown would pass to a hostile branch, but would remain in his family if he were slain. He was killed in the thirty-seventh year[l] of his reign, A. D. 322, A. M. 5521.

According to some accounts cited by Tighernach, Fiacha was slain by Breasmoil, King of Leinster; and O'Dugan writes that he was King of Ireland and Alba forty years[m].

Colla Uais, having ascended the throne, was so violently pressed by 327
Mureadhach Tireach, son of Fiacha, that, after a reign of four years[n], he was compelled to fly with his two brothers and thirty companions to Alba, where they were hospitably received by the king, both on account of their great military power, and for the sake of their mother, Oileach[o], who was daughter to Vadoir, King of Alba. Entering into the royal army, they served the king during three years. The eldest was called Vais, or noble, because he had worn the crown, a dignity which the other two brothers had not enjoyed; the second was called Colla da Crioch[p]; and the third, Colla Meann. The proper name of the first was Cairell; of the second, Muredhach; of the third, Aedh.

all catalogues, bards, chronicles, &c. &c., agree in the number, succession, and reign of the kings, from Cormac Ulfhadha to St. Patrick.

[n] All authorities agree on this point; but the date of the king's accession varies from A. D. 322 to A. D. 327.—*Proleg.* pars ii. p. civ.

[o] For the history of this lady, the reader is referred to a poem of Cuan O'Lochain's, published in the Ordnance Memoir, parish of Templemore, p. 226. She eloped from her royal spouse, and, flying to Ireland, obtained from Eochaidh Doimhlein a grant of the famous Dun of the Dagda, otherwise Ailioch Grianan, the most extensive and perhaps most ancient stone monument of Pagan Ireland, and which continued, almost to the English invasion, to be the residence of the kings of Ulster. In the Memoir the reader will find a copious description of the present state of its ruins, and many historical references collected from the Irish annals. Though erected, it is said, by the Tuatha de Dananns, it happened to be the residence of two of the only three Ithian monarchs who figure in our regal catalogues.—*Ibid.* p. 229.

[p] The same, probably, as the Colla Cridi mentioned in the poem of Cuan O'Lochain.

EIR. Muredachus cognomento Tirach sibi regnum armis comparavit. Tres Collai triennio in Albania exacto, in Hiberniam reversi, Muredachum conveniunt, et cum eo gratiam ineuntes potestatem impetrant belli Ultoniæ inferendi. Ubi secundis aliquot præliis factis regiones quasdam Clannaruriis vi ereptas, suæ ditionis fecerunt, nominatim Mugdornam, Ibhchremthaniam, et Ibhmacuasiam, ac denique quidquid cis lacum Eachum est, scilicet agrum Dunensem, et partem agri Antrimmensis. In prælio apud Achaidleithdearg in Farmuighâ a Collais conferto, Ultonienses Fergusium Foghaum, filium Fiachrii Fortruin Ultoniæ Regem; Collai, fratrem juniorem Collaum Meannum desiderârunt. Post hoc prælium, Emaniam, regum Ultoniæ regiam, Collai funditus everterunt, ita ut nullus Ultoniæ rex, illam exinde incoluerit. Muredachum verò trigesimum regni annum agentem Coelbadius Croubadrii filius, Rex Ultoniæ apud Portri prope Dubhall interemit. Anno Domini 356, Mundi 5555.

[q] The wife of this Muredhach was a Gallgaoidheal, i. e. a foreign Irishwoman; but of what country O'Flaherty cannot say.—*Ogygia*, p. 360. The word "Gallgaoidheal" of itself proves very clearly the wide difference between the two simple words of which it is compounded, "Gall" a foreigner, "gaoidheal" an Irishman; but to infer, as some do (*Moore, History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 3), that the Irish could not be of Gaulish origin, because they called all foreigners Galls, appears to be bad logic. Could not the English, in the sixth century, call the Germans foreigners? Moreover, the inference manifestly supposes that the Pagan Irish knew their Celtic brothers of Gaul by the Roman name, Galli, and not by the native name, Celtæ ("ipsorum linguâ Celtæ, nostrâ verò Galli vocantur"—*Bel. Gal.* lib. i. c. 1), which is by no means a probable supposition.

[r] The territory held by the clan or descendants of Roderic or Rury, Irian King of Ireland, in the first century.

[s] Cremorne, in the county of Monaghan.

[t] Included in the barony of Slane, county of Meath.—*Book of Rights*, p. 152, n. f.

[u] A territory in or near the county of Armagh. — *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor*, by Rev. W. Reeves, p. 387.

[x] Though we allow here the widest meaning to the word "cis," in the Latin context, it is yet probable that Dr. Lynch believed the principal of the Colla's conquests were situated east of Lough Neagh. A perusal, however, of chapter lxxvi. of the *Ogygia*, pars iii., and of the notes to the *Book of Rights* (Ua Colla), will prove beyond a doubt, that the more extensive conquests were on the west or south-west of that lake. The three Collas broke the power of the old Irian and Deagaid or Ernaan race of Ulster kings, and restricted it almost to the territory of Dal Araidhe (see *Book of Rights*, p. 136, n. k), situated, as we have already remarked, partly in Down and Antrim. For the ancient history of

Muredhach[q], surnamed Tireach, having secured the crown by the sword, received into favor the three Collas, after their three years' exile in Alba, and allowed them, on their return to Ireland, to make war against the Ultonians. Fortune favored them in several battles, by which they conquered for themselves some districts in Clanna-Rury[r], namely, Mughdorna[s], Ui-Cremthainn[t], Ui-Mic-Uais[u], and, in a word, all the land about[x] Lough Neagh, the present county of Down, and part of Antrim. In the battle of Achadhleithdearg[y], in Fearnmhagh, against the Collas, the Ultonians lost Fergus Fogha, King of Ulster, and son of Fiachra Fortruin[z], while the Collas lost their youngest brother, Meann. After this battle the victorious Collas destroyed Emania[a], the royal palace of the Ulster kings, in which, thenceforward, no king of Ulster dwelt[b]. In the thirtieth year of his reign, Muredhach was slain at Port-righ, near Dabhall[c], by Coelbadh, King of Ulster, and son of Croubadri, A. D. 356, A. M. 5555[d]. A. D. 331

these counties, we refer the reader to the Rev. W. Reeves, who has exhausted the subject in his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor*.

[y] In the barony of Farney, county of Monaghan.—*Book of Rights*, p. 136. The battle was fought, according to Tighernach, A. D. 332.

[z] *For*truin sounds Pictish.

[a] Tighernach records this epoch (for such it is in Irish annals) A. D. 332. The Annals published by Dr. O'Conor, from a manuscript in Trinity College Library, Dublin, record that the Collas were assisted in the battle of Achaleithdearg, and in the destruction of Eamania, by seven legions (catha) of the clanna bolg of the Domnonian race, *alias* the Olnegemachts of Connaught.—*Rerum Hib*. vol. ii. p. 76; *Ogygia*, p. 360. Singular that these Domnonians, who, according to bardic story, had enjoyed the province of Connaught more than 200 years before the landing of Eireamoin, and, uninterruptedly down to this present date, should now be enlisted under Eireamonian banners, to destroy their fellow-sufferers, the Irians. So singular does it appear to me, that I doubt whether those Domnonians and other Firbolgs may not have been the last race of invaders before the Danes; in other words, that the Collas themselves, and other contemporary Eireamonians, were Firbolgs or Belgic tribes.

[b] Dr. Lanigan (vol. i. p. 314, note [135]) ascribes the downfall of Eamania to the growth of Armagh; but on that untenable conjecture see *Book of Rights*, p. 22, n. [t].

[c] Near Armagh.

[d] It is useful to bear in mind the conquests of the Collas in this reign, for though they are not said to have been effected by foreign aid, they were, in the strict sense of the word, conquests, which imposed new masters, a new aristocracy, on portions of Meath, Westmeath, and Louth, and on almost all Ulster, except parts of Tyrone, Down, and Antrim. These conquests were but of recent date when St. Patrick preached

IR. Coelbadio Croubadrii filio primus regni annus fuit ejusmodi regni et vitæ postremus, quam Eochodius Moghmedonius illi eripuit. Anno Domini 357, Mundi 5556.

EIR. Eochodius Moghmedonius ad regni deinde gubernaculum admotus plurimum inde memorabilis erat, quòd quinque filios Brianum, Fiach-
[72] rum, | Ollillum, Fergusium et Nellum noviobsidem plerisque Christianis Hiberniæ regibus generis authores genuit, priores quatuor ex Mongfionnâ Fiadogi filiâ, postremum ex Carennâ Saxonum Regis filiâ. Ipse rex octennis Teamoriæ diem clausit extremum. Anno Domini 365, Mundi 5564.

the Gospel in Ireland, a fact which may explain the distinction which his writings clearly suggest between a dominant race, called by him "Scotti," and the mass of the natives, "Hiberni," or "Hiberniones." From page 490, note [x], *suprà*, and page 493, notes [g], [l], it appears that the aristocracy, in almost every part of Ireland, acquired about this period those possessions, which, with slight fluctuations, they continued to hold down to the twelfth century. Among all those families there was none which pretended to higher privileges than the Orghialla of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, &c., whose rights and duties are chronicled in the *Book of Rights*, p. 136, in bold and flowing metre suited to the pride of the clan. Their territories not being generally reduced to English shire-ground before the sixteenth century, they enjoyed more than 1200 years of power. It was a branch of the Orghialla that kept the succession of the Archbishopric of Armagh in their own family during almost 200 years, until Archbishop St. Celsus or Ceallach, one of their own blood, succeeded in securing the succession to St. Malachy. —*Ogygia*, p. 363; *Dr. Lanigan*, vol. iv. p. 30.

[e] Coelbadh is the last Irian monarch on the regal catalogues. He is omitted by Tighernach, on whose authority Dr. O'Conor undertakes to prove that Muredhach Tireach was killed in the year 357.—See *Prolegom.* pars ii. p. cv. As Ængus Ceile De, the famous hagiologist, who composed, in the eighth century, metrical martyrologies in the Irish language, not unlike the Menologia of the Greeks, was a descendant of Coelbadh (*Colgan*, *Acta Sanct.* March 11), we may take occasion to remark here that the ancient hagiologists generally adopted in their works the received story of the Milesian brothers, and often traced up the genealogies of the saints to Eireamoin, Eiber, Ir, or Ith. Thus, in a genealogical martyrology in my possession, which was revised, it is said, by Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, there is a selection of 300 saints of the Eireamonian line, sixty-two of the Irian, forty of the Eiberian, and nine of the Ithian. It can hardly be necessary to say that the substantial authority of these genealogical martyrologies, both as to the tribe of the saint and his religious fame, is in no manner affected by the denial that Irish genealogies are authentic beyond the third or fourth centuries of the Christian era.

[f] All authorities agree in this number.—

After a brief reign of one year, Coelbadh[e], son of Cronbadhri, was deposed and slain by Eochoidh Moghmedon, A. D. 357, A. M. 5556. A. D. 357

Eochoidh Moghmedon, succeeding to the throne, reigned eight years[f], and died at Tara, A. D. 365, A. M. 5564. He is remarkable as the great progenitor of most of the Christian kings of Ireland, who were descended from some of his five sons[g], Brian[h], Fiachra[i], Olill[k], Fergus, and Nial[l] of the Nine Hostages. The last was son to Carenna, daughter to the King of Saxony[m]; the mother of the four first was Mongfinna, daughter of Fidhach. 358

Proleg. pars ii. p. cv. Like his immediate predecessors, this king was engaged in a long war against the Lagenians.—*Ogyg.* p. 373.

[g] They were the progenitors of all the Milesian nobility of Connaught; but for the particulars of their history we must refer the reader to *Iar Connaught*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and *Ogygia*, p. 374.

[h] Ancestor of the Hy Briuin-ai, Hy Briuin-breifne, Hy-Briuinseola, the three families which gave kings to Connaught down to the fourteenth century.—*Ogygia*, p. 375; *Iar Connaught.* Under its former masters, the Olnegemacht, a race of plebeian Belgæ, the province had been divided into three parts (*Ogygia*, p. 175), and the division was long retained by its Eireamonian conquerors.—*Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 177.

[i] Ancestor of the Hy-Fiachrach of Connaught, for whom see *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach.*

[k] The poem published in the *Ordnance Memoir*, p. 229, calls her a Pict. Tighernach plainly styles her "the Saxon woman." It is remarkable that the greatest names in Pagan Ireland are connected with foreigners. Ugaine Mor was married to a French lady; Tuathal Teachtmar to a Fomorian Finnlander. Con of the Hundred Battles was son of a Danish woman ("ex Una Danicâ").—*Ogygia*, p. 313. Do these matrimonial alliances with the north imply a Teutonic invasion, or a Scandinavian colony in Ireland? All legendary authority contradicts, in my opinion, the hypothesis of colonization of Teutons, for though some legends bring the ancient Irish through the Baltic (*Keating*, p. 177), these may have been Cimbri or Cymri, not Teutons. It is true, many of the bronze remains found in Ireland are similar to those found in Scandinavia, but the doubtful argument founded on those remains can be discussed more conveniently at another place. — Chap. xii. p. [112], *infrà.* On Niall's marriage to the Saxon woman, O'Flaherty observes: "It was very natural that there should be intermarriages between tribes which were associated together in war against the Roman empire."—*Ogygia*, p. 377.

[l] Had eight sons, four of whom remained in Meath, which then included, besides the two counties of the name, part of Longford and the King's County. Their descendants were the southern Hy-Niall. Four others invaded Ulster, principally the part not occupied by the Orghialla, and founded there the families of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, which were called the northern Hy-Niall. From these northern and southern Hy-Niall almost all the kings of Ireland were taken down to the twelfth century.—*Ogygia*, pp. 401, 408.

[m] Olill died without issue, but bequeathed

EIB. Crimthanius regnum adeptus plures prædas e Galliâ, Saxoniâ, et Albaniâ retulisse dicitur; Illi decimum tertium regni annum percurrenti, Mongfionna soror, veneno propinato, sibique vitæ finem acceleravit, ut filius ejus Brianus, cujus amore multùm præ cæteris filiis flagrabat, initium regnandi maturiùs faceret. Anno Domini 378, Mundi 5577.

EIR. Nellus cognomento Naogiallach, id est noviobses, quòd novem obsides quinque scilicet ex totidem Hiberniæ regnis, et quatuor ex Albaniâ, ut ait Ketingus, Temoriæ penes se habuit, regnum consecutus

his name to Tirolill, now Tirerril, a barony in the county of Sligo.—*Ogygia*, p. 374.

[n] All the monarchs of Ireland, from this Crimthann to Brian Boromha, exclusive, being of the Eiremonian line, according to our author, we may dispense henceforward with the genealogical reference in our Latin margin. The sole object in printing these references was the hope that they may supply some clue in the elucidation of the early history of Ireland, when all the manuscript authorities have been published; not that the genealogies are to be regarded as authentic history, for "all our genealogical lines, all our regal lists, antecedent to the reign of Feradach the Just, in the first century, bear evident marks of bardish forgery. To extend back the antiquity of the nation, generations have been multiplied, princes acknowledged only by their several factions have been put in regular succession after each other" (*Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 37), a censure from which none of the genealogies, except the Eiremonian regal line, are entirely exempt, even after the reign of Feradach the Just. What is the value, then, of those early genealogies? Though false as history, they may contain an ethnographical truth, by classifying into different families the different races settled in the country at the time the genealogies were drawn up. The family, or rather tribe, being the great, almost the sole element of Celtic political life, the Celtic bard or historian would naturally regard the whole kingdom as a family, and arrange its different branches according to their still existing characteristics, aided, perhaps, by tradition. Hence, when the Irish were deriving the descent of many kindred European nations from a certain number of brothers,—Albanus, Britus, Francus, Gotus, &c. &c. (*Irish Nennius*, p. 33),—what was more natural than to apply the same philosophy, and in the same age, to the different branches of the Celtic stock in their own country, and invent the four Irish patriarchs,—Eireamon, Eiber, Ir, and Ith,—to explain the existence of four different Celtic families? This system appears to have attained its full development in the hands of Moelmura of Fathan, in the ninth century. — *Irish Nennius*, pp. 221, 253. It does not appear fully in the *Battle of Magh Rath*; neither Eireamon nor Eiber is mentioned there—one of the many proofs, in my opinion, of the great antiquity of the principal part of that poem. The topographical argument, founded on the localities occupied by the four tribes in the earliest ages, has been already applied (p. 461, note [p], *suprà*) to the Irian branch; and, perhaps, when applied to the other three in the Appendix, it will confirm, or at least

Crimthann[n], after ascending the throne, made, it is said, many successful predatory descents on Gaul, Saxony, and Alba. In the thirteenth year of his reign, his sister[o], Mongfinna, poisoned him, in the hope of accelerating the accession of her favorite son, Brian, to the throne, A. D. 378[p], A. M. 5577. A. D. 366

Niall, surnamed Naigiallach, from the nine hostages, whom, Keating writes, he took from the five provinces of Ireland, with four from Alba[q], ascended the throne. The hostages were confined at Tara[r]. He 379

will not contradict the view here given of the truth involved in the Milesian genealogy. For to me it appears, that if four different colonies landed, and rose successively to ascendancy in Ireland, they would be found in the very places where history shows to us the Irians, Ithians, Eiberians, and Eireamonians, located in the earliest period of authentic history. The reader may consult Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, chap. ii. vol. i. on the Ænotrians, for the use made of genealogical tables, by that sceptical but acute writer, in ascertaining the primitive population of Italy. Thierry also employs it, but with more prudence: "Enfin nous retrouvons les mêmes idées de parenté exprimees dans ces vieilles fables gréco-tyriennes qui rappellent les généalogies des Hebreux, et cachent souvent comme elles, un sens ethnologique profond: elles nous parlent du Roi Pretanus ou Bretannus, dont la fille, nommeè tantôt Celtinê, tantôt Celto, eut commerce avec Hercule et mit au monde Celtus, auteur de la race des Celtes." — *Histoire des Gaulois*, Introduct. p. lxxxii. The reader must easily understand that the authority of the genealogical tables compiled in historic times is not impaired by the rejection of the literal sense of the old genealogies. From the reign of Cormac Mac Art, or Eochoidh Muighmedon, or Niall Niagiallach, down to the twelfth century, Irish genealogies are as authentic as anything of the kind in Europe. But of the previous genealogies I have given above, from the *Ogygia Vindicated*, the judgment of Charles O'Conor, an excellent authority, and from whom the force of truth alone could have wrung so candid a confession.

[o] O'Flaherty gives a detailed account of all the Eiberian kindred of Crimthann in Ireland and Scotland. Some of them retained great power in their primitive territories down to the sixteenth century.— *Ogygia*, chaps. lxxxi. lxxxii. lxxxiii.

[p] All authorities, prose and metrical, allow thirteen years' reign to Crimthann.— *Proleg.* pars ii. p. cvi.

[q] O'Flaherty observes on this title, that though it is unanimously accorded to Niall, accounts disagree on the nine regions from which the hostages were taken; "the maritime parts of Gaul and Great Britain" are mentioned as being the foreign dependencies (*Ogygia*, p. 400), which probably is true as far as Alba is concerned; but in other countries the *hostages* taken were all the plunder and captives that the hordes of Niall could stow into their boats or currachs. Perhaps the nine hostages could be found within the coasts of Erin, which, at that period, contained more than that number of half independent principalities; two Munsters, three Connaughts, Eiremonian Ulster and Irian Ulster, and two, if not more, Leinsters. Political Ireland re-

est. Vir ægregiè fortis, et bellandi peritissimus, ut qui crebris insultibus Albanos, Pictos et Gallos attriverit, magnâ captivorum et pecorum, multitudine frequentiùs ex eorum finibus abductâ. Lagenienses vadem ei dederant, Eochodium sui Regis Endei Kinseloghi filium, et designatum regni successorem, in ejus obsequio se semper perstituros. Hic adeundæ patriæ potestatem a Nello nactus, apud Nelli poetam Ladghennam in itinere diversatus, indignissimè tulit, quòd ab illo pro dignitate non exceptus fuit. Quare contumeliam ulturus, armatorum copiis agros ejus populatus filium interemit. De quâ jacturâ Ladgennus apud Regem conquestus, eum adduxit, ut Lageniensibus arma inferret, et a vastationibus non ante desisteret, quàm Eochodius ei denuo dederetur. Eochodius in regis potestatem iterum relatus, e custodum unguibus ultra mare elapsus, Nellum in fines Armoricos, circa Ligerim amnem bello grassantem, venenatâ sagittâ ex insidiis confixit, et confecit, vigesimum septimum regni annum agentem. Anno Domini 405, Mundi 5604.

Ab instituto alienum esse non videtur si verba Cambrensis hic attexero dicentis: "Nello Hiberniæ Monarchiam obtinente, sex filios Muraedi Regis Ultoniæ in classe non modicâ boreales Britanniæ partes

mained to the twelfth century nearly such as Niall left it.—*Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 177. He could say in his palace, as Duinseach said to her husband, King Domhnall, to appease his fears, "Tarry with me, O king! and do not heed visions of the night, and do not be affrighted by them, for the race of Conall and Eoghan, the Oirghialla, &c. &c., are around thee this night in this house, and therefore remain steady to reason."—*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 9.

[r] There is a mound or fort of the hostages shown in a map of ancient Tara. Its remains have been identified, and are shown on the map of Tara, as it now stands.

[s] Among those captives was St. Patrick, who was destined to be the Apostle of Ireland. His first captivity commenced in the fifteenth year of his age; but for the conflicting opinions on this matter, see *Dr. Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 129.

[t] In note [c], p. 468, *suprà*, we have given the singular distribution of the Borumhean tribute. In the authority there quoted, it is said that after the conquest of the greater part of Ulster by the Orghialla, they became entitled to that portion of the tribute which had been from Tuathal's days paid to the King of Eamania. Now there is nothing in the state of the Irish world, during Tuathal's reign, to make a combination of the three provinces against Leinster at all probable; but, after the conquest of Ulster by the Orghialla and Hy-Niall (p. 490, note [x], p. 493, note [f]), and of Connaught by the sons of Eochaidh Muighmeadon (p. 493, note [g], *suprà*), and the settlement of many Eiremonian families in Munster (p. 469, note [g]), it is easy to conceive that three provinces might combine

was a monarch highly renowned in war, and of great valor, which he displayed in successful expeditions against the Albanians, Picts, and Gauls, from whom he carried home in triumph great spoils, both of captives[s] and cattle. The Lagenians, as a pledge of their allegiance, had given up to him Eochaidh, the son of their king, Enna Kinselagh[t], and heir apparent to their throne, who, having obtained permission to return to his country, paid a visit on his way to Laedghen, a bard of Niall's. But, not being received with the honor due to his rank, he deeply resented the insult, and, with a band of armed followers, laid waste the poets' lands, and slew his son. Ladgen complained to the king, who, at his instigation, once more burst into Leinster, and resolved not to lay down his arms or desist from pillage until Eochaidh was given up. Eochaidh was taken, but, contriving to escape from his guards, he tracked the king, and treacherously slew him with a poisoned arrow on the banks of the Loire[u], in the twenty-seventh year of his reign[w], A. D. 405, A. M. 5604. A. D.

It will not be foreign to my purpose to introduce here the words of Cambrensis: "During the reign of Niall, King of Ireland, six sons of Muredus, King of Ulster[x], descending in a large fleet on the northern parts of Britain, formed a settlement, which remains to the present

and share among themselves the tribute on Leinster. There must be under that Borumhean tribute some question of race, which is not clearly explained by tradition.

[u] The author of the Additional Notes to *Irish Nennius*, p. xix., is very facetious on these foreign excursions of Niall. But wit is not argument. Niall was the most powerful of his race; his subjects, i. e. the Scots, are mentioned by contemporary Roman authorities (*Ogygia*, p. 399) among the other barbarous nations which assailed the Empire on the west; and where is the improbability that the king himself should head his marauding subjects, and seize the lion's share of the plunder? Dr. Lanigan suggests that, as old authorities state Niall was killed near the Portus Iccius (not far from Boulogne), Dr. Lynch mistook Ligeris for Liane, the river which falls into the sea below that town.—*Ecc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 139.

[w] Authorities generally agree on the period of this reign, and the years of its close, with the exception of some hypercritical remarks of Dr. Lanigan, vol. i. p. 138.

[x] According to the comprehensive catalogue of Ulster kings, published in the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 353, there was no Muireadhach contemporary with Niall Naoigialliach, but a Muireadhach Muindearg became king of Ulster in A. D. 451, and reigned twenty-eight years. For the notices of Scotch history, the reader is referred to subsequent chapters. Giraldus has here confounded dates and persons.

occupâsse. Unde et gens ab iis propagata, et specificato vocabulo 'Scotica' vocata, usque in hodiernum diem angulum illum inhabitant[21 y]. Hinc apud O'Duveganum Nellus ille Hiberniæ et Albaniæ rex vocatur.

EIR. Dathias e Fiachro fratre Nelli nepos paganorum Hiberniæ regum ultimus[z], viginti tres annos regiâ dignitate functus est[a]. Feredachus nomen ejus proprium erat, sed Dathias inde agnominatus est, quòd arma sibi quàm celerrimè induere consuevit. Vox enim Hibernica "Daitheadh" celeritatem significat. Ille Galliam armis infestabat, et non procul ab Alpium finibus tum versabatur, cùm tactus de cœlo animam efflavit[b], divino numine pœnas ab eo reposcente violati Parmenii[c] viri memorabili sanctimoniâ præditi. Anno Domini 428, Mundi 5627.

A vero non abhorrere videtur, Hibernorum armis Galliam per hujus et superioris Regis tempora, vexatam fuisse, cùm Sanctus Hieronimus anno Christi nati 420, denatus dixerit se "adolescentulum in Galliâ vidisse Scotos (ita habent libri editi, Attacotos inediti) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus, et cùm per silvas, porcorum greges, et armentorum pecudumque reperirent, pastorum nates, fœminarumque papillas abscindere solitos, et eas solas delicias arbitrari[22]." Credibile

[21] Top. dist. iii. c. 16. [22] Lib. ii. contrà Jovin.

[y] From the time of Giraldus, this title, "Scoti," began to be appropriated to the Irish colonies which settled in "*North Britain*," as Scotland is pleased to style itself. The pretensions of some enthusiastic Scotchmen, who would prove that the "holy and learned Scotia" of the ancients was modern Scotland, not Ireland, are now generally abandoned, though it must be admitted that the Scotchmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made the best of a bad cause.

[z] There are some reasonable doubts of the truth of this assertion; for though it is certain that Christianity acquired a paramount ascendancy in the reign of Loegaire, the next succeeding occupant of the Irish throne, it is doubtful whether himself did not die in the religion of his Pagan fathers.

[a] The period fixed by O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, p. 415); but Dr. Lanigan seems inclined to extend it to another year.—Vol. i. p. 140.

[b] See this story in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 19. Dathi, it is said, was carried home by his soldiers, and interred in the royal cemetery of Rath Cruachan, where his monumental pillar-stone stands to this day.—*Ibid.* p. 25. In *Irish Nennius*, p. xix., Dathi's expedition is treated as a "ridiculous fable;" but as St. Jerome saw British marauders penetrating into the heart of France, why could they not push their way to the foot of the Alps?

[c] Written "Formenius" in *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*, and by O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, p. 416) "Firmin." There were two bishops of Amiens of that name, but the last was martyred 100 years be-

day in possession of their descendants, who still are known by the characteristic name of Scoti[y]." For this reason Niall is styled by O'Dugan, King of Ireland and Alba. A. D.

Dathi, nephew to Niall by his brother Fiachra, was the last Pagan[z] King of Ireland, and reigned twenty-three years[a]. His proper name was Fearadhach; but he was surnamed Dathi, from the rapidity with which he used to put on his armor: "Daitheadh," in the Irish language, signifying swiftness. He pillaged Gaul, and carried his arms even to the Alps[b], where he was suddenly struck dead by a thunderbolt from heaven, thus expiating his sacrilegious cruelty to Parmenius[c], a man highly distinguished for sanctity, A. D. 428, A. M. 5627. 405

It is by no means improbable, that Gaul was scourged during this and the preceding reign by predatory invaders from Ireland; for St. Jerome, who died A. D. 420, writes, "that, when a very young man, he saw in Gaul the Scots (or, as they are called in unpublished manuscripts, the Attacots[d]), a British tribe, devour human flesh; and that whenever they fell in with a drove of swine, or flocks and herds, in the forests, they cut off the women's breasts and the shepherds' haunches, and feasted sumptuously on them[e]." It is probable that there must have been large

fore Dathi's death.

[d] Supposed to be the same as the Athachtuatha or plebian Irish, subjugated by the Scoti. Like the barbarians, the Attacots were taken into the imperial service.—*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. cvi. Dr. O'Conor proves clearly that the Roman writers mention Scots and Attacots as distinct tribes. He also labours to prove that the latter were an Irish tribe, and not found either in Gaul or Britain. — *Ibid* p. lxxvii. Attacots, Scots, Picts, and Saxons, are mentioned as the assailants of the Roman empire in Britain and Gaul, and the inroads of the three former into Britain, recorded by Ammianus, agree with the dates fixed in Irish annalists.—*Ibid.* p. cviii.

[e] Dr. O'Conor answers this charge by saying that, as St. Jerome was very young when he thought he saw the Attacots eating human flesh, it was probably a nursery tale to deter truant schoolboys from wandering into the woods or lonely places: "Nec facilè quemquam induci posse ut potius pastoris nates manducarent, præsente adolescentulo Hieronymo, quàm Hieronymum ipsum."—*Prolegom.* pars i. p. lxxv. But as it must be confessed that Diodorus, Strabo, and Mela, had made the same charge against the Attacots before St. Jerome, we defer a fuller examination of this point to those chapters in which Dr. Lynch discusses the foreign testimonies regarding Ireland. Tacitus knew hardly any difference between the habits ("ingenia cultusque") of Britons and Irish (*Agric.* c. 24); and Turner thinks "that the present state and people of New Zealand exhibit more nearly than any other those of Britain when the Romans entered it."—vol. i. p. 68, ed. 6.

igitur est Galliam Hibernorum (qui soli tum Scoti dicebantur) multitudine tunc abundâsse, quando eorum aliquot manipuli per silvas excurrentes tam inhumanis et efferis grassationibus licentiâ militari fræna impunè laxârunt. Nec enim Christianismus inhumanitate illos adhuc exuerat. Hibernos autem solos eâ tempestate Scotos fuisse vel locus e Cambrensi paulò ante productus cumulatè convincit. Etenim Sanctum Hieronimum anno ætatis octogesimo secundo mortuum, adolescentiæ annos egressum fuisse, nello sub annum Christi 379, regnum ineunte oportuit. Nello autem imperante fundamenta Scoticæ gentis in Britanniâ jacta sunt. Hieronimo igitur adolescente, Scoti solius Hiberniæ incolæ fuerunt. Nec obest quòd gens Britannica Hiberni vocentur, quia in Britannicarum insularum numerum a scriptoribus priscis, et recentibus, Hibernia relata est.

[f] But it is doubtful whether the greater part of those Scots may not have been auxiliaries taken into the pay of the Romans. The barbarian auxiliaries, when disbanded or disappointed of their pay, often inflicted in those terrible times frightful ravages on the helpless provinces which they had been enrolled to protect.

[g] The Christian religion had been embraced, very probably, by many in Ireland, more than a century before this period. Nor is that fact by any means irreconcilable with the imputed cannibalism of some of the Pagan Irish; for even, in the sixteenth century, some of the native Irish, acknowledging no subjection either to native chiefs or English rulers, lived in their morasses and forests, in a state of utter barbarism. The most marked contrasts, in the social state of different classes of Irishmen, occur in almost every page of our history to the present day. It is evident, at all events, that Dr. Lynch, as well as other historians, was utterly ignorant of that glorious Christian Church which, according to Sir William Betham, preceded St. Patrick in Ireland, and was corrupted and destroyed by him.—*Antiquarian Researches*.

[h] Chaps. xvii. xviii., *infrà*.

[i] In the ninety-first year of his age, according to Prosper's *Chronicle*, edited by the Benedictines.—*Proleg.* pars i. p. lxxiv.

[k] Chaps. xvii. xviii., *infrà*.

[l] For the present we must refer the reader

bodies of the Irish in Gaul[f] (in that age the Irish alone were Scots), when bands were thus found pushing their way into the forests, and indulging with unbridled licentiousness in savage devastations and inhuman crimes[g]. The Christian religion had not yet reclaimed their savage nature. It is clear, even from Cambrensis himself, that the Irish alone were called Scots in those times[h]. For St. Jerome, who died in the eighty-second year of his age[i], was not a young man when Niall ascended the throne in 379; and, as the Scots made no permanent settlement in Britain[k] before the reign of Niall, the Scots could not have been in any country but Ireland when St. Jerome was a young man. It is no objection that the "Scots[l]" are called a British tribe, because, by writers ancient as well as modern, Ireland was classed among the British Isles. A. D.

to the Additional Notes, *Irish Nennius*, and to *Ogygia*, p. 344, for the various conjectures on the origin of this name, and how it came to be synonymous with "Irish." Nothing satisfactory has yet been discovered. To me it appears most probable that the Irish never called themselves in their own language "Scuite" or "Scoti," before the introduction of Christianity; but as that was the name by which the Roman missioners called the inhabitants of Ireland, it began thenceforward to be used occasionally by the natives; but Gaoidhil or Gael has been always the national name. The bardic derivation of Scoti from Scota, a daughter of Pharoah, manifestly betrays its Christian origin. Another derivation, from "Scoth," a flower or blossom, as if the Scots were so called from such objects painted on their bodies, is not so clear, as may appear at first sight. Camden cites the original passage from St. Isidore of Seville: "Scoti propriâ linguâ nomen habent a picto corpore;" but says he does not understand it. "Nec ego," says O'Flaherty, "cui Scotica vernacula est, capio."—*Ogygia*, p. 244. In *Irish Nennius* the passage is interpreted to mean, "the Scoti are so called from a word in their own language, which signifies painted;" but is not the passage susceptible of another meaning, "those whom we call Scoti have a name in their own language from a word which signifies painted?" But what was that name?

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER VIII. OF CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.

BELIEVING it extremely improbable that any researches could fix, with even an approximation to chronological accuracy, any facts in the pagan history of Ireland, except the few meagre records of Tighearnach, I had resolved to edit the eighth chapter of "Cambrensis Eversus" without any annotations. But, as the work progressed slowly through the Press, I was insensibly led to notice some popular opinions, and to correct or complete our author's story by the learned labors of O'Flaherty, Dr. O'Conor, and the editors of the Irish Archæological Society's works. There was no intention of proposing a hypothesis. The notes were intended merely as a correct compilation of the opinions of the most trustworthy guardians of Irish tradition. An unprejudiced and diligent collation of these authorities, at length, inclined me to believe that the publication of the various manuscripts cited by Dr. O'Conor will enable future investigators to ascertain the principal primitive races of Ireland, the order in which they succeeded each other, and, probably, some leading facts in the undigested mass of bardic prose and poetry, which has hitherto been dignified with the title of a history of pagan Ireland.

How far this belief may prove to be only a fancy, engendered by some study of the subject, the publication of the manuscripts themselves will show. The study was certainly by no means inviting; it was not inspired by what Mr. Moore terms a "mournfully significant" clinging "to the fondly imagined epoch of those old Milesian days," which, unfortunately, have engrossed too much valuable time, zeal, and talent, to the neglect of the Christian ages, when Ireland was another name for piety and learning in most of the languages of Europe. Neither was there any insensibility to the difficulty of attempting to explain, by the lights of topographical and genealogical tradition, the succession and history of the various Irish Celtic colonies in pagan times, because we all know how insensibly and rapidly, successive colonies, of different races, had amalgamated in historic and even Anglo-Norman ages. Thus, 150 years after the first descent of the Northern pirates on the Irish shores, the Irish Danes had become Christian and Irish; 150 years after the reign

of Henry II., the Strongbownians, in the rural districts, had become so Irish in language, dress, and manners, that the English found it necessary to enact the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny. In less than 150 years after that Statute, which was chiefly defensive, and intended for the Pale, all its principal provisions were abandoned by the Parliaments of the Pale; some of the most influential of the few remaining *Anglo*-Irish threatened that they "would all become Irish;" and Cromwell complained to the Council of Henry VIII., that "the English blood was worn out of the land." The same law of amalgamation operated after the reign of Henry VIII., and with a regularity which admits of calculation, if due allowance be made for three extensive English colonies in the course of the seventeenth century, and other well-known extraordinary obstacles to a fusion of the races. How difficult, then, must it not be to attempt to define the various invasions and revolutions of homogeneous Celtic races in Ireland during the 700 years from the foundation of Eamania to the death of the last pagan king, Dathi. But that the difficulty is insuperable no person can believe, who is acquainted with the system employed by Amedee Thierry in fixing the localities of the different Celtic races in Gaul, and by A. Humboldt in his comparative view of the Spanish and Gaulish Celts. The following pages may, perhaps, contribute to elicit some of the facts involved in our legendary history:

I.—Eiremonians.

In a treatise on the pagan cemeteries of Ireland there is a passage which may throw light on the origin of the Eiremonian family. The writer is not treating expressly of the regal succession, but of the cemeteries in which the kings were buried; and, perhaps, for that very reason he is entitled to greater respect, as sepulchral monuments, associated in national tradition with certain kings, or races of kings, would be more credible witnesses than naked genealogies. The treatise is published by Mr. Petrie (*Round Towers*, p. 96) from a manuscript of the twelfth century; but the original must have been several centuries more ancient, coeval, at least, with Tighearnach.

After enumerating the eight principal cemeteries of the Irish, "before the faith," the author proceeds: "Oenach Cruachan, in the first place; it was there *the race of Eiremon*, i. e. the kings of Tara, were used to bury until the time of Crimthan, the son of Lughaidh Riabhndearg, viz. Cobthach Coelbreagh, and Labhraidh Loingseach and Eochoid Feidlech, with his three sons, and Eochoid Airemh, Lughaidh Riabhndearg, the six daughters of Eochoid Feidleach, and Ailill Mac Moda, with his seven brothers." He then explains why these kings were buried at Cruachan, in Roscommon; and adds, that from Crimthan, son of Riabhndearg, included, down to Loegaire, the Eiremonian kings were, with a few exceptions, buried at Brugh, on the banks of the Boyne. This writer manifestly had never heard, or did not believe, that there were Eiremonian kings before Labhraidh Loingseach, or he would have told us where they are interred. It is to be observed also, that the reigns of this Labhraidh Loingseach and Lughaidh Riabhndearg must have been remarkable epochs in Irish history. Both are mentioned by Tighearnach; the former, as the first of thirty Lagenian kings of Ireland (notes, p. 446, *suprà*); the latter, as the first of thirty kings of Leath Cuinn (notes, p. 472, *suprà*, A. D. 79). Labhraidh, I conclude, was therefore the

first historic Eiremonian king; but his territory was confined to Leinster and Connaught, i. e. Gailian and Olnegmacht.—*Round Towers*, p. 99. Lughaidh became the first Eiremonian king of Leath Cuinn; his son, Crimthan, naturally leaves his burial ground at Cruachan for Brugh; and with Crimthan's son, Feradhach the Just, commences, according to Charles O'Conor, the first authentic Eiremonian genealogy.—Note [n], p. 494, *suprà*. Lughaidh was, therefore, the founder of that northern kingdom which gradually acquired a permanent ascendancy in the island, and preserved thenceforward the most correct genealogy of its kings.

Another proof of the modern date of the Eiremonian family may be taken from the admission of O'Flaherty himself, that all the Eiremonians were descended from the dubious and comparatively modern personages, Ængus Tuirmeach and Loegaire Lorc (*suprà*, p. 449); and how frail the evidence founded on their claims must be, has been proved in the notes, *suprà*, pp. 445, 446, 447.

The story of the extirpation of the nobles by the Athachtuatha, in the first century, was another convenient bardic device to conceal the modern origin of the dominant race; yet novelty is stamped on its whole history. For, from the moment that Crimthan comes to be buried at Brugh, we can trace, by tradition, the Eiremonian genealogy becoming consistent in his son, Feradach; the Eiremonian kingdom assuming something like a reality in the formation of Meath by Feradach's grandson, Tuathal Teachtmar (p. 467, *suprà*); and the Eiremonian race extending its ascendancy gradually over parts of Munster (p. 469, note [g], *suprà*), of Leinster (p. 473), and over nearly all Ulster and Connaught (pp. 491, 493, *suprà*), before the commencement of the fifth century.

Without intending to deny positively that an Eiremonian, named Ugaine Mor, may have preceded Labhraidh Loingseach by some years, and conquered those fair districts, which always have been the first seized by invaders (*suprà*, p. 445), I would fix the real origin of the Eiremonian power in Ireland at the invasion of Labraidh Loingseach, A. C. 89, 63. According to tradition, Labhraidh came from Gaul, and as Leinster and Connaught, which anciently included a large portion of Meath province, were, according to all authorities, and Charles O'Conor's map, the principal seats of the Firbolg or Belgæ, it is but natural to conclude that Labhraidh's followers were the Belgæ, who had long been in possession of the south of Britain, and of the greater part of Gaul. But here a great difficulty arises: What are we to think of the colony of Belgæ, which, under the conduct of Slainghe, seized Ireland even before the Tuatha de Dananns? Is it a fable, or must we admit, as Thierry admits for France, several Belgic invasions? Or how can we account for the marked distinction, preserved even to the seventeenth century, between the Eiremonian and Firbolg genealogies in Connaught? Now, in forming his opinion here, the reader must remember, 1st, that a Labhraidh Loingseach was *admiral* under the traditionary Slainghe (*Prolegom.* pars ii. p. lviii. note [1]); 2ndly, that Ireland was divided into five provinces by Slainghe, and a similar division was made by the Eiremonian Eochaidh Feidleach, nearly contemporary of *King* Labhraidh Loingseach; 3rdly, that, according to Keating, the Firbolgs, who had been expelled by the Tuatha de Dananns, suddenly return to Ireland, no one knows how, after more than 1000 years, and acquire lands in Leinster and Connaught at the very time when the Pentarchy was *revived*[?] by Eochaidh Feidleach

(*Haliday's Edit.* p. 193, note, *suprà*, p. 434); 4thly, that the best soldiers of the great Eiremonian, Cormac mac Art, and of his father and son, were Firbolg (*Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i. p. 54; *Ogygia*, pp. 328, 341), and that he found a retreat from his enemies among the Connaught Belgæ (p. 477, *suprà*); 5thly, that the Firbolg Gamanradii are expressly styled "the great Milesians" (*Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 291); finally, that the soldiers of the three Collas, who destroyed the palace of Eamania, and conquered the greater part of Irian Ulster, were all Belgæ.—*Suprà*, p. 491. These may be only coincidences in the history of the traditionary Firbolgs of Slainghe, with the historic invasion of Labhraidh Loingseach; but they are coincidences sufficiently strong to justify great doubts of the former, especially as Dr. O'Conor (notwithstanding note [e], which I have taken from him, p. 417, *suprà*) admits, in another place, that some of the best authorities do not mention the first colony of Firbolgs. Moreover, nothing is more common in merely traditional history than an inversion of dates and events. When the conquering Belgæ and the conquered had been amalgamated into one people, and began after some centuries to digest their history, it would not be unprecedented in bardic story to find them antedating, by some thousand years, the Firbolg invasion, an event which occurred shortly before the commencement of the Christian era, and adopting as their own the genealogy of another race settled with them in Ireland. Thus, because the Romans, who conquered Britain, were descended from Æneas, the Britons soon discovered that their own ancestor, Britus, belonged to the same family.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 35. And when, about the middle of the fourteenth century, nearly all the rural Strongbownians had adopted Irish names and dress, they found no difficulty in tracing their origin to Milesian, or to any stock but the English; though the continued presence of English power in Ireland, and the constant influx of English blood, must have counteracted powerfully the process of amalgamation, and the general adoption of Milesian notions. I think it manifest from Irish history, that, if new English colonies had not been planted in this country in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term "Saxon," or "Englishman," or "Norman," would have been long since, even in the baronial halls of Butlers, Burkes, and Fitzgeralds, as opprobrious an epithet as "Firbolg" ever was in the ancient raths and cathairs of the so-called Eiremonian nobles. But there are two other means of explaining how Firbolg and Eiremonian, though really the same race, might yet have been distinguished:—first, by admitting that at different intervals, from A. C. 300 cir., colonies of Belgæ may have landed in Ireland from Britain or Gaul, but that they were subdued by the great Belgic colony in the year A. C. 83, 69; or by what appears to me a more probable supposition, that the Belgæ of Leath Cuinn, that is, the race of Crimthan, A. D. 79, gradually extended their conquests over their kindred in Connaught and in Leinster, during the course of the three following centuries, and that thus the conquered Belgæ of Leinster and Connaught came to be regarded as mere Firbolgs, while the conquerors were metamorphosed into Eiremonians. But however these matters may be explained, no advocate of the antiquity of the Eiremonian colony can explain how it happened that Tighearnach could not find a regular succession of Eiremonian kings before the Christian era, though he gave a list of Irians from the foundation of Eamania, A. C. 305, 226.—*Suprà*, p. 445.

Though Mr. Moore adopts the opinion that the Belgæ were a Teutonic race, there can

be little doubt that they were Celtic. Amedee Thierry has demonstrated the fact beyond the possibility of cavil. It is admitted by all, that the Gauls, or Galatians of Asia Minor, were Celts; and St. Jerome attests that he heard them use the same language which he had heard used by the natives of Treves, confessedly the very centre of the Belgic population. We may remark, too, that one of the arguments which determine the date of the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, is the use of the word γαισος by the translators. It is derived from the Gaulish (i. e. Galatian) word for spear, "gaes," the word which gave its name to the province of Leinster, and which, to this day, is preserved in the Irish language.

But it must be admitted that the Cauci, who figure on Ptolemy's map on the central east coast of Ireland, were probably not a Belgic people; and it is highly probable, from their position in the rich plains of Meath and Dublin, that they were comparatively a modern colony. Now to account, if possible, for this admixture of races on those lands, which all our traditions regard as Eiremonian, it may be useful to state briefly the revolutions in Gaul, especially during the first century before Christ, because they appear to confirm Tighearnach's date of Labhraidh Loingseach. Gaul, from the earliest ages, was occupied by Celts, except the south, where Iberians, Ibero-Ligurians, and Celto-Ligurians, reigned from the mouth of the Garonne nearly to the Alps. About 600 years before Christ, the Gaulish Celts were invaded by the Cymri, a kindred tribe, who introduced Druidism, and effected settlements, especially in the north and west. The mixed race arising from the amalgamation of Celts and Cymri is called Gallo or Celto-Cymric. About 350 years before Christ, a second invasion of Cymri, who, for distinction's sake, are called Cymri-Belgæ, reduced the two Ligurian nations under the yoke. The conquered territory was nearly co-extensive with the province of Languedoc. The conquerors were called Volcæ, Ouoalki, Volgæ, Bolgæ, and divided into two branches, the Tectosagi and Arecomiki. Thus we have in this southern province a mixed population, Ligurians, Celts, Cymri, and Iberians. It is highly probable that an additional element was added during that memorable invasion of the Cymri and Teutons, who combined their forces against Rome in the commencement of the first century before Christ. For, as soon as the Cymro-Teuton horde had penetrated to the south of Gaul, the Tectosagi and Arecomiki flew to arms with them against the Roman province; and though Marius defeated, and, it is said, annihilated their combined armies, it is not an improbable supposition that some, and among them the Teutons, may have escaped and found refuge in the territories of their friends in Languedoc. But the argument for the correctness of Tighearnach's date is independent of that supposition. For when Sertorius, who fought under Marius in the Cymro-Teuton war, retired to Spain during the civil wars some twenty years later, and bade defiance to the power of Rome, he was assisted by the Tectosagi and Arecomiki, who, after his defeat by Pompey, became the helpless victims of Roman tyranny and atrocious cruelty. All who were able, to save themselves from the sword, or famine, or slavery, fled to the Pyrenees, where, aided by Spaniards and Iberians of Aquitaine, they defied for a considerable time the whole power of Pompey. Compelled at length to yield, they dispersed, or were transplanted to the banks of the Garonne, about seventy-five years before Christ, where they gave its name to the town "Convenæ," which expresses their mixed origin. If, then, we admit the authority of Tighearnach, and the tradition which brings Labhraidh Loingseach from Gaul,

is there any part of that country from which an emigration would more naturally take place, at that time, than from the south? The argument, I know, is not evidence, though it is corroborated by an Act of Elizabeth's Irish Parliament, A. D. 1569, which rests her title to the Irish Crown on the fact that, according to authentic annals, Gurmond, son of Belenus, King of Great Britain, was lord of Bayonne, when Eiber and Eireamon set out from that port as fugitive exiles!!! But, however feeble this bastard title may appear, the coincidence of dates, events, and traditions, is entitled to some respect, especially as it would explain what our own writers, and Giraldus, as well as learned philologists have asserted, that the Irish were a people of very mixed race, and their language a compound of all the tongues of Babel. It would also explain how the Eiremonians, though Belgæ, might, from the proximity of their original country to Spain, and their admixture with Iberians, adopt the tradition in Ireland of a Spanish origin,—if any colony from Spain had preceded them, a question which shall be discussed immediately.

The more common opinion of our writers, I am aware, derives the Menapii and Cauci from the mouth of the Rhine and Germany. When the Cymri and Teutons were pouring their united forces southwards, an emigration from that quarter is probable enough, but not well sustained by tradition. A careful edition of ancient Irish documents, with *explanatory* notes, similar to these appended to *Irish Nennius*, is the only certain means of deciding whether the Eiremonian Belgæ, i. e. "the Firbolgs of Erin," came directly from the mouth of the Rhine or the more civilized districts south of the Garonne. If they came from the south, we can easily understand Keating's traditionary story of the battles and sufferings of the Firbolgs in the classic lands of Greece, for it was from Tolosa, the Belgic capital of southern Gaul, that the barbarian hosts issued, which defeated the Greek successors of Alexander the Great, pillaged the temple of Delphos, and hung up, after their return, the spoils of the Grecian Apollo in the temple of their own Gaulish Apollo, Belenus. The Irish certainly wore the tight bracchæ of the southern Gauls.

II.—Ithians.

In the preceding sketch of the Eiremonians, I have supposed that the Deagaidh, the reputed descendants of Fearmara, son of Ængus Tuirmeach (p. 449, *suprà*) were not Eireamonians. But as O'Flaherty and others maintain that they were, the following arguments are proposed to support my opinion:

According to the treatise on the Pagan cemeteries, the Eiremonian kings, before Crimthain, were buried at Cruachan; but Conaire Mor, who was of the Deagaidh race, preceded Crimthan, and was, according to the same authority, buried at Magh Feci in Bregia, or at Tara, according to others.

The same writer states, that the clan Dedad (Deagaidh) and the Ernai were one race; and O'Flaherty constantly uses both names as synonymous. Yet MacIlruan, probably the most ancient authority on the subject, traces the descent of the Ernai to Ith, and gives them the first place among his descendants.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 263. Their principal cemetery, called Teamhair Earann, or Teamhair Luachra Deaghaich (*Book of Rights*, p. 255) was situated near Castle Island, in Kerry, a district which, in ancient times, was part of the principal possessions of the Ithian race.

Charles O'Conor may also be cited to support this opinion, for in his map he represents the Ernaan Dalfiatach of Ulster as "Iberi Septentrionales;" and good arguments can be adduced to prove that those whom he marks by the different names,—Iberi, Ernai, Lugadii,—were really branches of the same Ithian family. It is true, he calls the Ernai a Belgian race, but I have never met any authority for a Belgian colony in Kerry, which, as he allows, was one of the possessions of the Ernai Australes.

It appears, too, that "Dergtinnii" or "Dergthene," was another *alias* name for the Ithians.—(*Ogygia*, p. 268). It is not unlike "Darnii," the tribe which Ptolemy places in that part of Ulster, which, according to tradition, was occupied in the second century by the Deagaidh Dalfiatach.

Finally, in the Eireamonian genealogies (*infrà*, p. [248]), I find no names to explain how the same tribe could be called "Deagaidh" and "Dergtinne;" but in the Ithian genealogy (*Ogygia*, p. 149) we have a "Dergene," and a "Deagaidh ꝺeaꞃᵹ," which explain the common appellation, if we admit that the Deagaidh were Ithian. The Derga are expressly classed among the Ithians by *Irish Nennius*, p. 262.

Supposing then, as very probable, the identity of the Ithian, Deagaidh, and Dalfiatach races, we proceed to the traditional history of the family, and the territories which they are known to have occupied at different periods. From the Milesian conquest, South Munster was, it is said, the territory of the Ithians; they enjoyed, alternately with the Eiberians of North Munster, the crown of the united provinces.—*Ogygia*, pp. 149, 268. But, about fifty years before Christ, the Deagaidh invaded Munster, and drove both Ithians and Eiberians towards the western shore.—*Ibid.* The former never recovered their power, but were thenceforward confined nearly to the limits of the modern diocese of Ross (*Book of Rights*, p. 46): the latter continued to enjoy, alternately with the Deagaidh, the provincial crown, and under Olill Olum, A. D. 237, they acquired the sovereignty of the whole province; Olill's sons, Eogan and Cas, being appointed by his will heirs of the two Munsters, and thenceforward kings, by alternate succession, of the whole province.—*Ogygia*, p. 326.

The date of this Deagaidh invasion of Munster, and of the Dalfiatach invasion of Ulster, which preceded it by some years (*Ogygia*, p. 266), coincides very remarkably with the date already assigned to the establishment of the Belgæ in Leinster, Meath, and Connaught Can it be that the Deagaidh and Dalfiatach were expelled by the Belgæ, and sought other settlements? Are there any proofs that the Deagaidh were the immediate predecessors of the Belgæ in Tara? The reader can decide from the following data: Suppose that we find a race driven north and south from Meath at a given period, and the same race retiring to the mountains of Wicklow and Waterford, and broken into scattered fragments in Connaught at the same time; suppose, moreover, that history records an invasion at that time, and the growing ascendancy of the invaders in the central districts of the island; is it not rational to infer that the dispersion of one race was the consequence of the invasion of the other? Now, from comparing some of the preceding references with the sketch of the Ithian (i. e. Deagaidh) race (*Ogygia*, pp. 322, 329), it appears that from about the first settlement of the Belgæ, but especially from the destruction of the Deagaidh Conaire Mor, in his own palace, at the foot of the Dublin mountains

(p. 455, n. [c], *suprà*), the Deagaidh race presents all the appearance of a people sinking under a more powerful race. They rallied occasionally, for instance, under Conary II. and Lugaidh Mac Con, but, with the exception of the Dalfiatach branch, which was confounded with the Irian in Ulidia (*Reeves's Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 352) and the Ithians of Corcolaidhe (diocese of Ross), they soon ceased, as O'Flaherty (p. 322) and Dr. O'Brien (*Book of Rights*, p. 42) observe, to figure among the leading families in the island. The fate of their race is represented not inaptly by that of one of their chief principalities. Muskerry, so called from the Deagaidh, Carbry Musc, once included the richest part of Tipperary, Limerick, and Cork, but is now confined to the most barren district in the latter county. It would be too tedious to propose other arguments. For the present, it is enough to say that, by a line of reasoning nearly the same as that employed (p. 461, n. [p]), it may be inferred that the Ithian race, taking it to include Deagaidh, Dalfiatach, Derga, Ernai, &c. &c., must at one period have occupied nearly the whole south of Ireland, the plain of Leinster and Meath; and that the invasion of Munster and Ulster, by the so-called Eiremonian Deagaidh, was nothing more than the retreat of the Ithians of central Ireland before the invading Belgæ.

Charles O'Conor places on his map two tribes of Iberians. If there were any such in Ireland, they were certainly Ithian. To test the truth of his conjecture, I submitted to Mr. O'Donovan a selection of Iberian names, especially topographical prefixes and suffixes, taken from Humboldt's "Inquiry into the Primitive Population of Spain[a]." The result is, that the difference between Iberian and Irish topographical nomenclature is in general so great that, even where they agree, it is more natural to infer that Humboldt was mistaken, than that we had an Iberian colony. For instance, he states that the word "bearna" is Basque or Iberian, and that it means a hollow between mountains (p. 41), the sense in which the word is commonly used in Irish. There are other coincidences; but the want of a good Irish dictionary, which would give correctly the ancient and modern topographical forms, renders it impossible to pronounce a safe judgment; especially as Iberian and Celtic forms are sometimes so confounded in Spain, that neither Astarlao nor Humboldt can distinguish them. It would therefore be premature to infer, from mere topographical names, that we ever had a purely Iberian colony in Ireland; but there are several reasons, none conclusive of themselves, yet all tending to prove the truth of the constant and universal tradition, that we had at least a *Celt*iberian colony, and that the Ithians were that colony. Thus, there was a place named "Musciria" in Spain.—*Humboldt*, p. 25. Baschaoin, the name of a Deagaidh tribe in the county of Clare, sounds very like Basque, Vasque, the various aspirated forms of Eusc, Ausc, the national name of the ancient Iberians.—*Ibid.* p. 55. There was also a Rauda in Spain.—p. 20. Now, the three most distinguished branches of the Deagaidh are derived by tradition from three brothers, Carberry Musc, Carberry Baskin, and Carberry Reuda.—*Ogygia*, p. 322. There is also in general a greater resemblance between the Spanish and Ithian names (*ibid.* p. 329; *Irish Nennius*, p. 263) than between the Spanish and any other *class* of Irish names. It

[a] "Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Uberwohner Hispaniens vermittelst der Vaskischen Sprache."—*Berlin*, 1821.

should also be stated, that among the characteristics which, according to Humboldt (p. 145), distinguished the Spanish Celts from the Gauls, some apply to Munster, and to no other part of Ireland. Nothing but a careful collation of the ancient Irish manuscripts with the learned works of continental scholars, can decide this question; nor is it my intention to contend for more than a probability.

The claims of the Ithians to be regarded as the ancient Spanish colony, must rest on the fact, that Ptolemy places the Spanish tribes in the southern territory, attributed by tradition to the Ithians in the second century; that Ith, according to all accounts, preceded his Milesian brethren in Ireland, and appropriated to his own descendants the name Deagad, which (Deagath) was the name of one of the principal progenitors of the Milesian family.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 237. It is written Deaċa (p. 239), which, in sound at least, and nearly in orthography, is identical with Dea, the name of a people in the south of Gaul, and with the *Deo*briga, *Deo*brigula, of the Spanish Celts.—*Humboldt*, pp. 84, 94. Ith's father, Breogan, grandson of Deagath, and traditionary conqueror of Spain, bequeathed his name to the richest of all the Muskerries, Muskerry Breogan, the "golden vale," situated in the south-west of the county of Tipperary.—*Book of Rights*, p. 45.

III.—Eiberians.

The traditional story of the Eiberians is more perplexed, and the position of their territories more inexplicable, than those of any other branch of the Milesian family. The usual story is that Eiber took the south of Ireland, that his descendants were subsequently confined to North Munster, which they held until the Deagaidh invasion, when they were driven to the western shores. But, recovering strength gradually, they obtained exclusive possession of all Munster under Mogh Nuadhat and Olill Olum, and compelled Con of the Hundred Battles to give them the southern half of Ireland, A. D. 192, 237. Judging from topography alone, we should incline to believe that the Eiberians preceded the Eiremonians, and were severed by the Eiremonian invasion into two great sections, one forming the northern line of the present Leinster, stretching from Dublin and Drogheda to the Shannon, and occupying a strong position in north-east Connaught (p. 471, n. [k], *suprà*); the other co-extensive with the greater part of north Munster, and having no connexion with the Leinster branch, except through the Delvins of the King's County: so that the whole family presents the appearance of an irregular semicircle in the centre of the island. But if we consult genealogy, the inference would be, on the contrary, that the Eiberians were later than the Eiremonians, and were, like them, Belgæ. 1st. Irish Nennius, p. 259, mentions no Eiberian family which does not descend either from Mogh Nuadhat, or his son Olill Olum. 2ndly. Some of these are expressly called Firbolg.—*Ibid.* p. 260, n. [x]. 3rdly. Others occupied Firbolg territories, paid Firbolg tribute, and hardly differed, if at all, from Firbolg in name.—*Suprà*, p. 471, n. [k]. 4thly. Several remarkable names in the genealogy of Mogh Nuadhat (*Ogygia*, p. 145) have a suspicious resemblance to names in the genealogy of the widely extended and ancient Ithian family, such as Dearg, Dergineus, Macniadus, &c. &c. (*Ogyg.* p. 149); as if the Eiberians adopted the most distinguished progenitors of the race whose territories they seized. 5thly. About

the period when Gaul, Spain, and Britain, were convulsed by the contest between Albinus and Severus, Irish tradition records the return (arrival?) of Mogh Nuadhat, the Eiberian patriarch, with a large army, from Spain, by which he laid the foundation of the permanent greatness of his family.—*Ogygia*, p. 315. This invasion is, of itself, sufficient to explain the origin and history of the Eiberians, except the singular position of the Leinster branch. Whether the grant, said to have been made by Cormac Mac Art to the Eiberians after the battle of Crinna Breagh (p. 479, *suprà*), can explain the point, I know not; but if Tighearnach's period of Munster kings (p. 473, n. [r], *suprà*) be ever found unmutilated, it may clear up the matter. Finally, judging from the name of the tribe, which appears to be the same as Eburini, Eburones, &c., it would be impossible to guess whence they came; for, though it was very common in Celtic Spain, it was also found among the Belgæ of northern Gaul.—*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 37; *Humboldt*, p. 101.

IV.—Tuatha Dea Danann.

I have already directed attention to the mysterious part which the Tuatha Dea play in Irish tradition. They have left nothing after them but their fame and their reputed buildings. No genealogist has traced any Irish family to their race during more than 1000 years, though the genealogies of the Firbolgs, who, it is said, preceded them, are yet preserved. They disappear almost totally, as an Irish race, the moment the Milesians subdue them. Like beings of another world, they haunt the mountains, or other secluded places, and occupy, in popular Irish story, nearly the same position as the fabled Willis of the mountains of Hungary in the traditional tales of the Maygars of the plains.

The inevitable inference is, that they were either a very small body of men, superior to other Irish races in civilization, or, what is far more probable, that they are either the Irians or Ithians under another name. The oldest and best authorities confess they know not whence they came.—*Ordnance Survey*, p. 231. Their name, *Dea* Danann, and Dagda, one of the greatest of them, bear a suspicious resemblance to Deatha and Degad of the Ithian.—p. 509, *suprà*. Two of the Ithian monarchs also reigned in Aileach, the great monument of the Dea Danann; but coincidences of this kind are quite insufficient to justify any conclusion, for it is manifest that the traditionary stories of different Irish races have, as might naturally be expected, been strangely jumbled. Aine, who was one of the last of Dea, and bequeathed her name to Cnoc Aine in the county of Limerick, is said, in popular story, to have been ravished by Olill Olum, King of Munster, in the fourth century.

One feature distinguishes them from all other colonies. They had a mythology,—all the gods of Irish pagan story being connected with their race. They had a god of the sea; a great queen, "Morriogna;" a goddess of war, "Badbh;" and other tutelary deities of the arts and sciences. So many absurdities have been gravely broached on the Finians, or Irish Phœnicians from Africa (where, by the way, the Pœni never called themselves Pœni [Feine], but Chenani, as St. Augustine assures us), that it is most desirable to avoid rash conjectures on the existence of a colony in Ireland from the civilized nations of the ancient world. But the history of the Ionian colony of Marseilles, correctly compiled by Thierry (vol. i. p. 26, vol. ii. p. 111) from the classic authors, bears so

striking a resemblance to the legend of St. Cadroe (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 495), which brings an Ionian colony to Ireland, that we can safely say, ***either there was a Greek colony in Ireland, or that legend of St. Cadroe was compiled in the eleventh century, from the classic authors, and adapted to Irish story.*** Events from Scripture history have been incorporated with our legends, and it yet remains to be proved that some learned monk, catching up the traditionary wanderings of our progenitors from the East, and finding them resemble in so many points the story of the fugitive Ionians, may not, by a very natural error, have confounded both. Against such a supposition it might be urged, it is true, that the learned reveries of Christian hagiographists could never have popularized, among the Christian Irish, the great queen "Morriogna," and "the God of the Sea," &c.,—the favorite Diana and Apollo of the Gaulish Ionians.—*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 128. It might also be urged that Segobriges, the name of the Gaulish tribe which gave the settlement at Marseilles to the Ionians, and united with them, appears identical with Siabhra, an *alias* name of the Tuatha Dea Danann, or Ana (*Round Towers*, p. 96, n. [d]); and that the hospitable Segobrigian king was called Nann. But we must leave the topic to others, with this confident conjecture, that ordinary industry, starting from the assertion of *Irish Nennius*, p. 225, that there was a Greek colony in Ireland, could compile a defence of that assertion far more ingenious than all that has been written during the last seventy years in favor of a Phœnician colony.

The inquiry into the arguments derived from the remains of ancient art in Ireland, must be deferred to their proper place. They are not inconsistent, I believe, with any of the views proposed in this Appendix. The golden tinge observed on some of our bronze remains, reminds us of the well-known fame of Marseilles in the art of gilding. The Gauls themselves, acquired an acknowledged pre-eminence in similar arts: "Stannum album incoquitur æreis operibus, Galliarum invento, ita ut vix discerni possit ab argento."—*Plin.* l. xxxiv. c. 17. They never could equal the fame of the ancient Spaniards in tempering their steel; but in works of brass, and copper, and bronze, their fame was universally admitted.—*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. ii. p. 43.

Conclusion.

The preceding notices, with the notes p. 461, and note [n], p. 494, give what appears to me the most consistent account of the traditionary Milesian family, as far as ancient topography and genealogy can be depended on. The date of the several invasions can never be ascertained, except, perhaps, by inference from the revolutions on the continent. The Vallancey theories of *direct* colonization from the East appear utterly devoid of monumental, historical, or even traditional testimony, unless we class among the evidences of Eastern origin the tradition that most of the Irish colonies came from Thrace. The traditional story of all our colonies does point in that direction, and so far justifies the epithet applied by Humboldt to the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, "the western high-road of the human race;" but no Irish colonies are so freshly stamped with the Eastern mark, that they may not have tarried in Spain, Gaul, or Britain; and it is, therefore, from the revolutions of these countries we must conjecture the number, date, and succession of Irish

colonies. Now it happens that the *number* of Irish colonies nearly coincides with those of Britain and Gaul. The Welsh Triads admit four for Britain; Thierry admits three for Gaul; while our accounts vary from three to four.

1st. The Nemedians of our story are probably of that primæval Celtic race which first penetrated to the western shores of Europe. The name is found in the mountains of Auvergne, and in the Asturias; and also in places subsequently occupied by Gauls of the second race; but the word is Gaelic.—*Humboldt*, p. 103; *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. cxxiv. An ancient authority derives the word "Nemed" or "Nimidæ" from the sacred woods,—"De sacris silvarum quæ *nimidas* vocant," (*ibid*),—a sense which is still preserved in the Irish word neimheadh, "a sacred wood," or simply "a wood."—*Petrie's Round Towers*, p. 59. If the Fomorians of our traditions were Phœnicians, it is these old Nemedians they should have found in Ireland, and so all traditional stories declare. The Nemedian reign was one long and bloody war against the Fomorian pirates.—*Keating*, p. 179.

2nd. Two colonies next arrive, in rapid succession, the fabled Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Dananns. Admitting those invasions as a fact, however we may doubt the *names* of the invaders, the invasion of Gaul and Britain by the Cymri, about 600 years before Christ (*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. iii. p. 2), would explain the descent of two colonies in quick succession on this country about the same period. The original Celts of Britain, perhaps of Gaul, would fly westward from the Cymri, as the Britons and Gauls of later ages fled from the Romans. Those fugitive British Celts were probably the first invaders of Ireland (i. e. Firbolgs) after the Nemedians. But as we have a distinct tradition of an ancient colony of Cruithnians direct from Gaul (*Irish Nennius*, p. 133), and as the advanced guard of Cymri conquerors of Gaul, were themselves compelled, some sixty or seventy years later, to fly with the vanquished Celts before fresh Cymri hordes (*Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. 40), it accords well both with native tradition and foreign history to admit that a colony of mingled Celts and Cymri, that is Cruithnians, arrived in Ireland not long after the British Celts. The Pictones were Cymri-Celt, and occupied the sea coast between the Loire and Garonne (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 31), the very place from which *Irish Nennius* brings the Irish Picts. I have already given my reasons for believing that the Irians of Eire were the Cruithne, and that they must have at a remote period occupied nearly the whole island.—p. 461. Thierry is of opinion that the Picts were a mixed race, Celt and Cymri.—vol. i. p. cxx.

3rd. About 200 years after the last invasion, tradition places the great colony from Spain. It would be ridiculous to insist on coincidence of dates, but we may remark that these 200 years, dating from the close of the sixth century before Christ, would nearly bring us to the conquest of Spain by the Carthaginians, an event which would naturally compel many of the Spanish Celts to seek new settlements. The Ithians apparently were Celtiberians; the Irians, defeated and driven from Tara, built Eamania in Ulster, but, in other quarters of the island, are found only in the mountains and bogs. These two tribes were, as far as topography and genealogy can be relied on, the most widely diffused of all Irish tribes before the reign of Tuathal in the second century; and, in my opinion, they are the Guiddil Fichti and Guiddil Coch of the British Triads.—*Irish Nennius*, p. xxxviii.

Coch, i. e. red, as an epithet for the Ithian or Spanish Celts, may agree with the remark of Tacitus on the Silures of Britain: "*Colorati* vultus ..... Iberos veteres trajecisse, fidem faciunt."—*Agricola*, 11.

4th. After a glorious reign of some 1000 years, the Spanish colony was brought to the verge of ruin, we are told, by a great conspiracy of all the plebeians or Athach-tuatha, in the commencement of the Christian era. There is not a shadow of evidence for the 1000 years' reign. I have already given my opinion of the foundation of the Irish monarchy in those ages, by the Eiremonian, and, perhaps, Eiberian Belgæ, who commenced by conquering the midland districts, and gradually extended their sway over the whole island. We should naturally expect that, during the progress of the Roman arms in Gaul and Britain, the kindred Celtic tribes of Eire, though not invaded, should feel the shock. And in truth it is in those very ages that the scene of most of our romantic tales is laid:—all is confusion; province fights against province; "the ghosts that stalk through the twilight of tradition" begin to acquire something like the distinctness of a historic age.

In conclusion, the chief object in proposing this theory of "Irish invasions" is to elicit from scholars, who are better acquainted with Irish manuscripts and tradition, a more consistent theory on Pagan Ireland. We have had a surfeit of etymological and imaginary monumental Irish ethnology. It may be said that the ancient glory of the country is renounced. But it is enough that Ireland was one of the most ancient Christian monarchies in Europe; that no country, its means considered, made a more heroic and successful battle against the Danes; that, during more than five centuries, Ireland was synonymous with learning and piety in western and central Europe; and that, if England took precedence of France in the General Council of Constance, it was because the King of England was Lord of the ancient kingdom of Ireland.—*Hib. Dominicana*, p. 807.

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